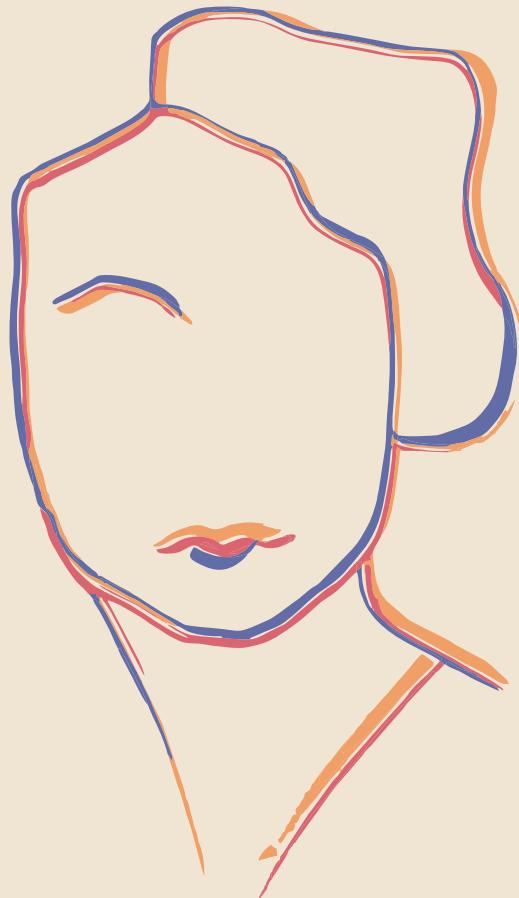


FILOZOFIJA  
KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ  
—  
THE PHILOSOPHY OF  
KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ



Beograd • 26/27 maj 2022 • Zgrada Rektorata

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KNJIGA APSTRAKATA  
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



*Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu | 2022*  
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Međunarodna naučna konferencija  
**Filozofija Ksenije Atanasijević**

Beograd, 26–27. maja 2022.

International Scientific Conference  
**The Philosophy of Ksenija Atanasijević**  
Belgrade, 26–27 May 2022

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2022

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# Filozofija Ksenije Atanasijević

## The Philosophy of Ksenija Atanasijević

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# Uvodna reč

Odjelenje za filozofiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i Univerzitet u Beogradu organizuju međunarodni naučni skup povodom obeležavanja stogodišnjice odbrane doktorata Ksenije Atanasićević. Ksenija Atanasićević je prva žena koja je stekla titulu doktora nauka na Univerzitetu u Beogradu, odbranivši doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom *Brunovo učenje o najmanjem*, 1922. godine. Dve godine kasnije, izabrana je za docentkinju na Filozofskom fakultetu istog univerziteta, čime je postala prva docentkinja u Kraljevini SHS.

Svojim teorijskim, kao i društveno angažovanim radom, Ksenija Atanasićević je nastojala da filozofiju približi široj javnosti i ukaže na značaj filozofije za svakodnevni život čoveka. Aktivno je učestvovala u radu nekolicine feminističko-pacifističkih udruženja i otvoreno se borila za poboljšanje položaja žena u društvu. Bavila se pisanjem, tumačenjem i prevodenjem filozofskih spisa čitavog života. Opus njenog stvaralaštva obuhvata proučavanje istorije filozofije od antike, preko novovekovne filozofije do njenih savremenika, kao i kritičko razmatranje književnosti, feminizma i društvene i političke situacije vremena u kom je živela.

Smatramo da je preispitivanje tema kojima se Ksenija Atanasićević bavila najbolji način da se ovaj jubilej obeleži. Stoga konferencija ima za cilj da pozove na razmatranje njenog dela i uticaja koji je izvršila na filozofiju i kulturu uopšte, ali i da podstakne na dalje istraživanje oblasti filozofije kojima je ova izvanredna filozofkinja posvetila život.

*Organizacioni odbor*

# Foreword

The Department of Philosophy of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and the University of Belgrade organize a conference to mark the centenary of Dr. Ksenija Atanasijević's doctoral dissertation defense. Ksenija Atanasijević (also written as Xenia Atanassievitch) was the first woman to obtain the title of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, with a dissertation entitled *Brunovo učenje o najmanjem* (*Bruno's Doctrine of the Minimum*) in 1922. Two years later, her appointment as Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy made her the first female university professor in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

With her theoretical and socially engaged work, Ksenija Atanasijević endeavored to bring philosophy closer to the general public and emphasize its relevance to everyday life. She engaged in several feminist and pacifist initiatives and openly fought for the improvement of women's position in society. Writing, studying, and translating philosophical literature was what she devoted her entire life to. Her work includes commentary on the history of ancient, modern, and contemporary philosophy, as well as a critical consideration of literature, feminism, and the social and political situation of her times.

We believe that re-examining the topics Ksenija Atanasijević researched is the best way to mark this jubilee and honor her memory.

*Organizing Committee*



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**APSTRAKTI IZLAGANJA  
PO POZIVU /  
ABSTRACTS OF KEYNOTE  
LECTURES**



Irina Deretić

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## ŠTA KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ PODRAZUMEVA POD FILOZOFIJOM?

Cilj ovog predavanja je da ukaže na one novine u teorijskom stvaralaštvu Ksenije Atanasijević koje su uticale na to da ona postane najvećom srpskom filozofkinjom 20. veka. Pored izuzetne erudicije – počevši od njenog izvrsnog poznavanja gotovo svih perioda u istoriji filozofije, poglavito antičkog, preko filozofije Istoka sve do slovenskih i srpskih doprinosova teorijskoj i životnoj mudrosti – Ksenija Atanasijević je posedovala izraziti istraživački, polemički i sistematski dar. Životne nedaće je nisu sprečile da sve ove raznorodne sadržaje – kojima se kontinuirano bavila tokom svog dugog života – kritički preispitava i prenese kako jugoslovenskoj, tako i međunarodnoj, a pre svega francuskoj javnosti.

U ovom izlaganju nastoјaću da preispitam odnos dve njene konцепциje filozofije: kao 1) „intelektualističkog“, izrazito preciznog i strogo pojmovnog mišljenja, kao i 2) gotovo neraščlanjenog filozofskog sadržaja artikulisanog u figurativnoj i simboličnoj formi naših narodnih umotvorina. Odnos između ova dva smisla filozofije u stvaralaštvu Ksenije Atanasijević mogao bi se višestruko protumačiti. Prema interpretativnoj hipotezi, koju zastupa Ilija Marić, reč je o svojevrsnom filozofskom „obrtu“ nastalom emancipacijom od filozofske škole i metafizičkog mišljenja Branislava Petronijevića, što je imalo za posledicu okretanje ka životnijoj i aktuelnijoj filozofiji koja se zasniva na intuiciji, duševnom iskustvu i praktičnoj mudrosti.

Premda smatram da se u filozofskom radu Ksenija Atanasijević sve više udaljavala od svog učitelja Petronijevića, čini se da nije sasvim primerno kazati da postoji neki potpuni „obrt“ u njenoj filozofiji. Reč je o tome da se naša filozofkinja postepeno otvarala i za teme koje nisu striktno „intelektualističkog“ i naučnog karaktera kao što su, na primer, stvaralaštvo Dostojevskog i karakteristike tvorevina srpskog kulturnalnog i duhovnog nasleđa. Tome što sam rekla ide u prilog i to da Atanasijevićeva ne oduštaje ni od konceptualnog ni od kritičkog pristupa u proučavanju srpske kulturnalne baštine.

U ovom predavanju ču, takođe, težiti i da kritički preispitam drugi način na koji je Ksenija Atanasijević shvatala filozofiju. Drugačije kazano,

nastojaću da odgovorim na pitanje u kojoj meri i na koji način je filozofski relevantno mišljenje što se ne zasniva na pojmu i podrobnoj argumentaciji, nego koje na figurativan, katkada eliptičan i više značan način teži da saopšti, poput srpskog narodnog stvaralaštva, istine o svetu, Bogu i nama samima.

Ključne reči: Ksenija Atanasijević, filozofija, intelektualizam, životna mudrost, srpska kulturna baština

## WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY FOR KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIC?

The upshot of this lecture is to point out the novelties of the theoretical studies of Ksenija Atanasijevic which contribute to her becoming the best Serbian, women's philosopher of the 20th century. Apart from her erudition – including her excellent knowledge of almost all periods of the history of philosophy, particularly the Ancient Greek one, as well as Philosophy of East and Slavic and Serbian contributions to practical wisdom – Ksenija Atanasijevic was a person of the exploring, critical, and systematic gift. Her life misfortunes did not prevent her from critically and systematically exploring all these various questions, with which she dealt continuously during her creative and long life. In addition, she published numerous papers and books in which she presented her views not only to the Yugoslav but also to the international Academic community, particularly the French one.

In this presentation, I will particularly explore the relationship between the two concepts of philosophy in the works of Ksenija Anastasijevic: i) the first one is to be characterized as an intellectual one, based on the precise, and the stringent conceptual thinking, and ii) the second one based on the almost "indistinguishable" philosophical content articulated in the figurative form of the Serbian national heritage including epic and lyric poetry, puzzles, sayings, etc. The relationship between these two meanings of philosophy in her works might be interpreted in various fashions. Ilija Maric, for example, is of opinion that there is a specific "turn" in her philosophical development, caused by her emancipation of the metaphysical thought of Branislav Petronijevic, which resulted in Anastasijevic's turning to for her the vital and more relevant questions, grounded on intuition, physic experiences, and practical wisdom.

Although I concur with the claim that Ksenija Atanasijevic increasingly distanced from her teacher Branislav Petronijevic, it does not seem

to be entirely appropriate to say that there was a complete turn in her philosophy. Rather, she opened herself to new themes which were not of a strict “intellectualistic” or scientific character, such as Dostoyevski’s novels or the feathers of the Yugoslav, particularly the Serbian cultural and philosophical heritage. What I have just said is supported by the fact that Atanasijević never disproves her own conceptual and critical approach to our cultural heritage.

In this lecture, I will also endeavor to critically examine the second way in which Ksenija Atanasijevic understood philosophy. In other words, I will tend to address the question about the ways in which is philosophically relevant a kind of thinking which is not grounded on conceptual analysis and elaborate argumentation. Using figurative, equivocal, and elliptic styles, this kind of thinking tends to convey the truths of the world, God, and our inner existence, which might be found in the Serbian literary and cultural heritage.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijevic, intellectualism, philosophy, practical wisdom, philosophical heritage

**Magdalena Koch**

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## THE PLACE OF WOMEN AT THE UNIVERSITY: REFLECTIONS ON KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ'S ETHICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAY FIGURES OF INTRIGUE

In my presentation I will reflect on the power-knowledge discourse at the University of Belgrade affected the scholarly career of Ksenija Atanasijević, the first female professor at academic world in Serbia. As a result of uncorroborated and slanderous plagiarism charges and scheming of the authorities of the Faculty of Philosophy, Anastasijević ultimately quit the University of Belgrade in 1936. I will revisit her ethical-philosophical essay Likovi intrige (Figures of intrigue) from 1937 in which she provides a theoretical account and a general typology of intrigue in social life, and in particular in hierarchical elitist institutions of power. I will also outline the social, moral and cultural changes related to women's intellectual labour in interwar Serbia and expose mechanisms of the patriarchal order which underpinned academy – an institution as of then unprepared to face profound transformations and shifts in the gender paradigm within the power structures.

Keywords: power-knowledge discourse, first women in academy, intrigue, University of Belgrade, Ksenija Atanasijević

# APSTRAKTI / ABSTRACTS



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## **KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ KAO TUMAČ NJEGOŠEVOG MISLILAŠTVA**

**U**radu se razmatraju pogledi Ksenije Atanasijević na idejni aspekt dela Petra II Petrovića Njegoša. Njeno tumačenje se najpre posmatra u širem istorijskom kontekstu i sledu tumačenja Njegoša, s posebnim osvrtom na odnos koji ostvaruje prema tumačenjima Anice Savić Rebac. Dalje se izdvajaju ključne ideje i originalni doprinosi njene studije o Njegošu – u prvom redu jesu razmatranje religijskog, filozofskog i ezoteričkog pogleda na ljudsku egzistenciju, kao i metafizičko-kosmološka problematika postojanja zla. Konačno, određuje se pozicija koju Njegoševa ličnost i delo zauzimaju ne samo među ostalim misliocima i književnicima koje autorka izdvaja u svojim studijama, već i u odnosu prema filozofskim uporištima i povlašćenim temama bavljenja i tumačenja Ksenije Atanasijević. Cilj rada jeste da osvetli mesto Ksenije Atanasijević među tumačima Njegoševog dela i omogući njenu širu savremenu recepciju u budućim tumačenjima dela ovog srpskog pesnika.

Ključne reči: Njegoš, etika, filozofija, srpska književnost, dualizam

## **KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ AS AN INTERPRETER OF THE IDEAS IN THE LITERATURE OF NJEGOŠ**

**T**his paper discuss the interpretations of the ideas in the literature of Petar II Petrović Njegoš by Ksenija Atanasijević. Firstly, we tend to chronologically present her place in the historical context of academic studies of Njegoš, with special attention to relations between her and Anica Savić Rebac. Furthermore, we discuss the key ideas and original thoughts in her study of Njegoš, and most importantly, we mark the position of human existence in the context of religion, philosophy, and mysticism with the metaphysical questions of evil itself. Finally, we are showing the position which Njegoš has among the other philosophers and poets in Ksenija's studies and her work in general. The aim of this research is to illuminate the place of Ksenija Atanasijević in the tradition of interpreting

Njegoš and his literature, and also to make her more visible as a possible source in the future interpretations of this Serbian poet.

Keywords: Njegoš, ethics, philosophy, Serbian literature, dualism

Ivana Bašić

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## FILOZOFIJA MIRA KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ U SAVREMENOM KONTEKSTU

**U**radu se analizira filozofija pacifizma Ksenije Atanasijević, njen neposredni društveni angažman, kao i lično držanje, u vreme neposredno pre, za vreme i nakon Drugog svetskog rata. Kao dosledni pacifista, Ksenija Atanasijević izložila je kritici koncept opravdanog rata, zalažeći se za njegovu dekonstrukciju zarad doslednog sleđenja zadatka filozofije kao „puta ka istini, dobroti, pravičnosti i skladu“, ali jednak i mirovne organizacije i profesionalne pacifiste koji su svojim delovanjem izneverili sopstvenu zvaničnu misiju. Zasnovavši svoj koncept pacifizma ne samo kao teorijski stav, već kao življenu filozofiju, Ksenija Atanasijević se poziva na značajne filozofske i religijske koncepte u svojoj odbrani mira, koju gradi u protivstavu i prema lažnom pacifizmu i prema apologiji rata. Odbacujući u potpunosti nasilje, Ksenija Atanasijević je izabrala da sama postane meta ideooloških nasilja, ali ne i njihova žrtva. Poziciji žrtve, koja sa sobom nosi tragove resentimana, suprotstavljala je „plodonosnu borbu u ime načela pravičnosti i bratstva“ kao jedini put ka iskorenjavanju zla. Pacifistička misao Ksenije Atanasijević razmatra se u kontekstu njene etike hrabrosti, a obe pak u kontekstu savremenih društvenih zbivanja i stavova angažovanih intelektualaca prema ratu u Ukrajini, koji preti da će se pretvoriti u sukob svetskih razmara. Angažovani, kao i teorijski tekstovi Ksenije Atanasijević, pokazuju svoju punu aktuelnost upravo danas, demistificujući društveni angažman pojedinih savremenih intelektualaca, te dominantne medijske naracije kao vid prikrivene apologije ili opravdanja rata.

Ključne reči: Ksenija Atanasijević, pacifizam, etika hrabrosti, naracije rata

## KSENIJA ANASTASIJEVIC'S PHILOSOPHY OF PEACE IN A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

**T**his work analyzes Ksenija Atanasijević's philosophy of pacifism, her immediate social engagement, as well as personal attitude, in the time before, during and after World War II. As a consistent pacifist, Ksenija Atanasijević exposed to critique the concept of justified war, advocating

for its deconstruction for the sake of consistent following the tasks of philosophy as a “road towards truth, goodness, fairness and harmony”, but to the same extent peace organizations and professional pacifists who in their doing betrayed their own official mission. Establishing her concept of pacifism, not only as a theory, but as a lived philosophy, Ksenija Atanasijevic recalls important philosophical and religious concepts in her defense of peace, which she builds in opposition to fake pacifism and the apology of war. Completely denouncing violence, Ksenija Atanasijevic has chosen to become herself the target of ideological violence, but not their victim. The position of victim which within itself carries traces of resentment, challenged “fruitful battle in the name of principles of fairness and brotherhood” as the only road towards eradication of evil. Pacifistic thought of Ksenija Atanasijevic is considered in the context of her ethics of courage, and both of those in the context of contemporary social happenings and stances of engaged intellectuals towards the war in Ukraine, which threatens to escalate to a world-wide conflict. Engaged, as well as theoretical texts of Ksenija Atanasijevic, show their full actuality nowadays, demystifying social engagement of some contemporary intellectuals, and dominant media narration as a form of hidden apology and justification of war.

Keywords: Ksenija Anastasijevic, pacifism, ethics of courage, narration of war

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## JEDAN PORTRET ORTEGE I GASETA

Predmet saopštenja je prijem filozofije Hosea Ortege i Gasete u delu Ksenije Atanasijević. O Ortegi je u Jugoslaviji pisano još početkom tridesetih godina 20. veka, a tokom iste decenije je prevođen na ovaj jezik. Međutim, esej Ksenije Atanasijević „Humanistička misao španskog filosofa Hose Ortege i Gasete“, objavljen u časopisu *Savremenik* 1967. godine, prvi je sintetički prikaz Orteginog života i dela u ovdašnjoj sredini. Esej o kome je reč razmotren je sa dve osnovne tačke gledišta. Sa jedne strane, sagledan je sadržaj tog eseja, a sa druge, njegovo mesto i značaj u odnosu na istoriju prijema dela španskog filozofa u jugoslovenskoj i srpskoj kulturi.

Ključne reči: Hose Ortega i Gaset, Ksenija Atanasijević, recepcija, Jugoslavija, Srbija

## A PORTRAIT OF ORTEGA Y GASSET

The subject of the paper is the reception of José Ortega y Gasset's philosophy in the work of Ksenija Atanasijević. In Yugoslavia, certain authors wrote about Ortega in the early 1930s, and he was translated into Serbo-Croatian language during the same decade. However, Ksenija Atanasijević's essay "Humanistic Thought of the Spanish Philosopher José Ortega y Gasset", published in the journal *Savremenik* in 1967, is the first synthetic presentation of Ortega's life and work in Yugoslav space. The essay in question is discussed from two basic points of view. The paper inquiries into the content of the essay, as well as its place and significance with regard to the history of the reception of the Spanish philosopher's œuvre in Yugoslav and Serbian culture.

Keywords: José Ortega y Gasset, Ksenija Atanasijević, reception, Yugoslavia, Serbia

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## ŽENSKA MUŠKOST: FILON ALEKSANDRIJSKI IZMEĐU MIZOGINIJE I FEMINIZMA

Filon Aleksandrijski je svakako najznačajniji posrednik između judaizma i helenizma na razmeđu stare i nove ere. Njegov uticaj na razvoj hrišćanske egzegeze ali i teologije i etike u celini bio je ogroman, zbog čega je zadobio mesto oca crkve *honoris causa*. Njegov stav prema ženama mnogi su opisivali kao izrazito mizogen, pripisujući mu čak maligni uticaj na kasnije hrišćanske pisce. Pokušaćemo da u ovom radu pokažemo da je to samo donekle tačno. Bez namere da branimo Filona ili da ga predstavimo kao perjanicu borbe za prava i dostojanstvo žena, problematizovaćemo shvatanje njegove koncepcije muškosti i ženskosti u svetu opisa i kvalifikacija asketskih postignuća terapeutkinja čiji uzvišeni filozofski život opisuje i hvali u *Vita Contemplativa*. Na našem jezičkom prostoru, Filonu je posvećeno izrazito malo pažnje. Među retkim i prvima koji su o njemu pisali bila je i Ksenija Atanasijević. Iako je reč o članku manjeg obima, činjenica je da u decenijama koje su usledile, nije napisano mnogo više, nasuprot svetskim tokovima, gde se *Studia Philonica* može pohvaliti nizom kritičkih izdanja, monografija, konferencija i časopisa. Kao što je poznato, Ksenija Atanasijević je bila veoma zainteresovana za pitanje položaja žena, ne samo u vremenu u kome je živila već i u antici. Njena zapažanja o Platono-vom pozitivnom sagledavanju žena u *Državi*, koje odstupa od uobičajenih shvatanja njegovog doba, ukazuju na značaj koji je pridavala istorijskom aspektu ovog pitanja, kao ključu za razumevanje sadašnjosti a možda i za iznalaženje kreativnih rešenja za pitanja koja se danas nalaze u fokusu. Stoga smatram da izučavanje ženskosti i muškosti kod Filona Aleksandrijskog, predstavlja hod po putu koji je Ksenija Atanasijević utrla.

Ključne reči: Filon Aleksandrijski, muškost, ženskost, asketizam, Terapeuti

## FEMALE MASCULINITY: PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA BETWEEN MISOGYNY AND FEMINISM

Philo of Alexandria is certainly the most important mediator between Judaism and Hellenism at the crossroads of the old and new eras. His

influence on the development of Christian exegesis, but also on theology and ethics in general, was enormous, which is why he gained the position of the father of the church *honoris causa*. Many described his attitude towards women as extremely misogynistic, attributing to him even a malignant influence on later Christian writers. We will try to show that this is only somewhat true. Without intending to defend Philo or present him as the flagship of the struggle for women's rights and dignity, we will problematize the understanding of his conception of masculinity and femininity in light of the descriptions and qualifications of the ascetic achievements of *Therapeuts* whose lofty philosophical life he describes and praises in *Vita Contemplativa*.

Keywords: Philo of Alexandria, male, female, asceticism, Therapeuts

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## BERGSONIZAM I BODLERIZAM U DELU KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ

Prilikom svog prvog boravka u Parizu, pored koncerata, izložbi, filmova, predstava, knjiga i časopisa kojima obiluje kulturna prestonica Evrope, tada još mlada doktorantkinja Ksenija Atanasijević pažljivo je slušala predavanja uglednih naučnika i filozofa sa Sorbone i Francuskog koleža (Collège de France) kao što su Leon Roben, Emil Breje, Lisjen Levi-Bril i verovatno najuticajniji i svakako najpopularniji među njima – Anri Bergson. U našem izlaganju podvući ćemo neke bitne odlike Bergsonove filozofije (intuicija, trajanje, stvaralački elan) koje se, očigledno ili prikriveno, očituju u filozofskom radu Ksenije Atanasijević, pre svega u njenim *Filozofskim fragmentima*. Povrh toga, ukazaćemo i na neke ključne elemente Bodlerove poetike (a to znači istovremeno i na ključne elemente većine modernih poetika 20. veka) koji se takođe jasno prepoznaju u mislima srpske filozofkinje, budući da Ksenija Atanasijević pledira za pesničku metafiziku i dakako intelektualnu filozofiju, ali nužno prožetu religijskim, literarnim i emocionalnim sklonostima. Kult svesti i razuma, pesnička i religijska uznesenost, moralna obazrivost i dinamika osećanja – to su, prema Kseniji Atanasijević, četiri civilizacijska oslonca na kojima (treba da) počiva duh svakog pojedinca, a onda i duh svakog društva i naroda.

Ključne reči: Anri Bergson, filozofija, pesništvo, Bodler, Ksenija Atanasijević

## BERGSONISM AND BAUDELAIREISM IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORK OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ

During her first stay in Paris, in addition to concerts, exhibitions, films, plays, books and magazines that abound in the cultural capital of Europe, Ksenija Atanasijević, a young doctoral student at the time, listened carefully to lectures by eminent scientists and philosophers from the Sorbonne and the Collège de France such as Léon Robin, Émile Bréhier, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and probably the most influential and certainly the most popular among them – Henri Bergson. In our presentation, we

will underline some important features of Bergson's philosophy (intuition, duration, "élan vital") which are manifested in the philosophical work of Ksenija Atanasijević, primarily in her *Philosophical Fragments*. Moreover, we will point out some key elements of Baudelaire's poetics (and that means the key elements of most modern poetics of the twentieth century) which are also clearly recognized in the thoughts of the Serbian philosopher, given that Ksenija Atanasijevic pleads for poetic metaphysics and of course intellectual philosophy, necessarily imbued with religious, literary and emotional inclinations. According to Ksenija Atanasijević, the cult of consciousness and reason, poetic and religious exaltation, moral prudence and dynamics of feelings are the four pillars of civilization on which the spirit of every individual (should) rest, and therefore the spirit of every society and people.

Keywords: Henri Bergson, philosophy, poetry, Baudelaire, Ksenija Atanasijević

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## LITERARILY OR LITERARY SPEAKING? ON HOW TO READ NIETZSCHE'S GENEALOGIES

**D**uring the last years of his working life, when he was most prolific and his stylistic apparatus seemed at its peak, Nietzsche relied less heavily on quick-witted aphorisms and more and more on a longer essay format for the exposition of his ideas. In this period Nietzsche's use of the genealogical approach also culminated in his *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (1887). Aided by its essayistic and seemingly down-to-earth documentary style, this work has exerted its significance throughout the humanities and well beyond – but influential as it might be, the jury is still out on what might be called the 'epistemological status' of Nietzschean *Genealogie*.

The views range from Nietzsche's genealogical approach being simply historiography to it being a method of its own. From Nietzsche being a historian to Nietzsche being a dreamer. From Nietzsche as a proponent of Logos to him being rather on the side of Mythos. Questions that loom above this philosophical territory are: Is genealogy true or 'just' fiction? How do we know that? Should we take Nietzsche at face value or should we read between the lines?

In my paper, I suggest that in order to bridge these dichotomies it is helpful to qualify Nietzsche's *Genealogie* by using a model that we know from the world of literature, namely the genre of 'alternative history'. The epithet 'alternative' in alternative history does not signify a *non-history*, a series of events that simply did not take place, but a history that, given the present, *could have* occurred. This means that while an alternative history (or: a genealogy) is not *factual*, it is *historical* in the sense that the sketched events have not taken place due to reasons internal to history itself. That also explains why genealogies are such useful instruments in practices of liberation: alternative histories ultimately show the alterity of 'real' history, that is: they show that what has happened is not necessary but contingent, and that the present, therefore, is changeable.

Keywords: Nietzsche, Genealogy, Literature, Liberation

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## SPINOZINO SHVATANJE EMOCIJA

Cilj mog izlaganja će biti da prikažem Spinozino shvatanje emocija, ali i da, specifičnije, branim tezu da on, iako emocijama pruža značajniji položaj u odnosu na druge racionaliste tog vremena, emocije i dalje razume iz kognitivističke perspektive.

Argument na osnovu koga nameravam da branim tezu da je Spinoza kognitivista u pogledu prirode emocija zasniva se na njegovim metafizičkim stavovima. Naime, Spinoza izvodi svoje stavove iz oblasti psihologije, na osnovu svojih metafizičkih ideja. Štaviše, njegova metafizika se razvijala na osnovu kritike Dekartovog dualizma supstancija. To je bitno jer Spinoza zagovara bliži odnos duha i tela. Preciznije, on tvrdi, za razliku od Dekarta, da je supstancija jedna, ali da ima dva atributa ili oblika pojavljivanja: duh i telo. Prema mom mišljenju, ispostaviće se da je ova teza ključna za razumevanje prirode emocija, tj. onoga što Spinoza naziva afektima. On smatra da afekti nisu samo stvar duha, već i tela. Shodno tome, ovaj Spinozin stav smatram argumentom u prilog tezi da je on kognitivista po pitanju prirode emocija, što ću pokušati i da prikažem u izlagaju.

Ključne reči: Spinoza, emocije, afekti, Dekart, supstancija

## SPINOZA'S THEORY OF EMOTIONS

In my presentation, I intend to discuss the topic of Spinoza's theory of emotions. Especially, I will strive to defend the idea that Spinoza, although he gives emotions a more significant position in his system than other rationalists in that period, still understands them from the cognitivist point of view.

The argument which I will use to defend the thesis that Spinoza is cognitivist regarding the nature of emotions is based on his metaphysical ideas. Namely, Spinoza deducts his stance in psychology on the ground of his metaphysical concepts. Moreover, his metaphysics was largely developed on the account of his critique of Descartes's dualism of substance. That is relevant because Spinoza demands closer relations between mind and body. More clearly, unlike Descartes, he says that substance is one, but

that it has two attributes or forms of appearances: mind and body. In my opinion, it will turn out that this thesis is crucial for comprehending the nature of emotions, or what Spinoza calls affects. He considers that affects are not just a matter of the mind, but the body as well. Consequently, I think that Spinoza's stance is an argument in favor of the idea that he is cognitivist-oriented when it comes to the nature of emotions, which I intend to show in my presentation.

Keyword: Spinoza, emotions, affects, Descartes, substance

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## TEZE O SREDNJOVEKOVNOJ KNJIŽEVNOSTI U ESEJIMA KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ: MIŠLJENJE SA ISPOVEDNIM GLASOVIMA

**U**radu se razmatra nekoliko eseja Ksenije Atanasijević o likovima i ličnostima srednjeg veka. Eseji se posmatraju u teorijsko-interpretativnom ključu za analizu likova koji nude Toril Moi, Rita Felski i Amanda Anderson. Iz sadejstva onoga što iz srednjovekovnog nasleđa bira i žanrovskog okvira feminističkog eseja, proizilazi tumačenje Ksenije Atanasijević koje anticipira paradigme savremenih teoretičarki. Poput T. Moi, R. Felski i A. Anderson, koje se u kritici depersonalizovanog, modernističko-formalističkog tumačenja književnih dela vraćaju pitanjima identifikacije, empatije i mišljenja sa likovima, i Atanasijevićevo (implicitno) postavlja pitanje zašto su bitni, ili zašto bi nam mogli biti bitni, srednjovekovni tekstovi koje tumači. Ova dela autorka čita u skladu sa njihovom izvornom intencijom – kao egzemplume, ali kao egzemplume koji nadilaze svoju istorijsku ukorenjenost i funkcionalnost, pronalazeći ono što mogu da pruže savremenom čitaocu. Birajući da čita mahom dokumentarni i ispovedni diskurs, Atanasijevićevo izbegava pitanja o fikciji i ontološkom statusu pripovedačkih glasova, i, u dijalogu sa njima, artikuliše i tumači i sopstvena iskustva. Ovako implicirana kritičarska praksa potvrđuje se poređenjem sa stavovima eksplisiranim u tekstu „Ispovest i književnost“.

Ključne reči: srednjovekovna književnost, ispovest, modernističko-formalistička kritika

## THESES ON MEDIEVAL LITERATURE IN KSENIJA ATANASIEVIĆ'S ESSAYS: THINKING WITH CONFESSIONAL VOICES

**T**he paper deals with several essays Ksenija Atanasijević wrote about medieval characters and individuals. The essays are viewed through the theoretical framework for interpreting literary characters proposed by Toril Moi, Rita Felski and Amanda Anderson. This framework is based

on the critique of modernist-formalist criticism and on turning back to the questions of identification, empathy and thinking with characters. Atanasijević similarly, implicitly, poses the question of (potential) present relevance of the medieval texts she is interpreting. The author reads these texts according to their original intention – as examples, but also as examples that transcend their historical functionality, thus finding what they have to offer to the contemporary reader. From the choice of certain texts from medieval heritage and the framework of feminist essay stem exegetical strategies which anticipate paradigms of contemporary critics. By choosing to interpret mostly documentary and confessional discourse, Atanasijević goes around the questions of fictionality and the ontological status of the narrating voice. In a dialogue with these voices, she manages to articulate and interpret her own experiences. This implied critical practice is confirmed in comparison with the stance in her text “Confession in Literature”.

Keywords: medieval literature, confession, modernist-formalist criticism

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## PACIFISTIČKA DOKTRINA KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ

Predmet rada je pacifistička doktrina Ksenije Atanasijević, kao teoretski obrazložen postulat zagovaranja i popularisanja kroz njeno predočavanje vrednosti čoveka i njegovog dostojanstva, uz zalaganje za ravnopravno učešće i žena i muškaraca na stvaranju atmosfere slike i mira. Za to dobro stanje mira potrebno je beskompromisno delanje, hrabro i otvoreno. Sveukupno ta doktrina je za nju neophodna i predvidiva posledica nepristajanja na zlo. Suočavanje sa mnogobrojnim pojavnim oblicima i destruktivnom dinamikom zla je u konkretnim manifestacijama u realnom životu za nju delovanje *hic et nunc*. Ka dostizanju istinski pacifističkog stanovišta analiziraju se tri orientacije pacifizma u filozofiji Ksenije Atanasijević: prvi – njeno verovanje u jačanje religioznih osećanja, odnosno njena religiozna posvećenost duhovnoj delatnosti osnivača velikih religija, naročito hrišćanstva, drugi – feminizam koji preko unapređivanja žene unapređuje i čitavo čovečanstvo, jer je polazna tačka feminizma ukidanje nasilno postavljenih razlika i nejednakosti između ljudskih bića, kao osnove ljudskih konflikata i treći – međunarodni kontekst globalne napetosti između dva svetska rata, sa jasnim nagoveštajima nastupajućeg globalnog sukoba, uprkos nastojanjima žena Male Antante da spreče katastrofu.

Cilj je poređenje sa današnjim shvatanjima bezbednosti, koja sve više polaze od nivoa pojedinačnog ljudskog bića kao osnovnog. Sa tih osnova mogu da imaju primenu na međunarodnom nivou, u stvari se nastavljujući na filozofiju pacifizma Ksenije Atanasijević. Suština je u nedvosmislenom uključivanju velikog broja muškaraca i još većeg broja žena koji smatraju da treba pribegavati čovečnjem načinu rešavanja međunarodnih sporova, nego što je ubijanje.

Nameće se zaključak da je u svojoj evoluciji svet došao u kritično stanje, koje se može i mora izbeći Ksenijinom vodećom idejom o pripitomljavanju egoizma u svim njegovim pojavnim oblicima. Potrebno je opredeljenje za pravičnost, empatiju i širokogrudost, te zato treba dati ženama priliku da daju punu meru svojih priloga, a što je zapravo poštovanje filozofskog, feminističkog i pacifistički trasiranog nasleđa Ksenije Atanasijević. To je njena, a i naša savremena vizija bezbednijeg i egalitarnijeg sveta i korist za univerzalno dobro – mirniji svet.

Ključne reči: Pacifistička doktrina, rat, feminizam, ljudsko dostojanstvo

## THE PACIFIST DOCTRINE OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ

The subject of the paper is the pacifist doctrine of Ksenija Atanasijević, as a theoretically explained postulate of advocacy and popularization through her presentation of human values and dignity, with advocacy for equal participation of both women and men in creating an atmosphere of harmony and peace. Overall, this doctrine is a necessary and predictable consequence of not agreeing to evil. Dealing with numerous manifestations and destructive dynamics of evil is a concrete manifestation of *hic et nunc* in concrete manifestations in real life. Towards reaching a true pacifist position, three orientations of pacifism in Ksenija Atanasijević's philosophy are analyzed: the first – her belief in strengthening religious feelings, her religious commitment to the spiritual activity of the founders of great religions, especially Christianity, the second – feminism that, through the advancement of women, advances all of humanity, the starting point of feminism is the elimination of violent differences and inequalities between human beings, as the basis of human conflicts, and the third – the international context of global tensions between the two world wars, with clear hints of impending global conflict, despite the efforts of the women of the Small Antanta to prevent disaster.

The goal is to compare with today's understandings of security, which increasingly start from the level of the individual human being as the basic one. On these grounds, they can be applied at the international level, in fact, continuing the philosophy of pacifism by Ksenija Atanasijević. The essence is in the unequivocal inclusion of a large number of men and an even larger number of women who believe that a more humane way of resolving international disputes should be resorted to than killing.

The conclusion is that in its evolution, the world has reached a critical state, which can and must be avoided by Ksenija's leading idea of taming egoism in all its manifestations. We need a commitment to justice, empathy and generosity, and that is why we should give women the opportunity to give the full measure of their contributions, which is actually respect for the philosophical, feminist and pacifistly traced heritage of Ksenija Atanasijevic. That is her and our modern vision of a safer and more egalitarian world and a benefit for the universal good – a more peaceful world.

Keywords: Doctrine of pacifism, war, feminism, human dignity

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## OSNOVNA NAČELA PITAGOREJSKE TRADICIJE

**G**otovo svaki istraživač antičke filozofije bavio se pitagorejcima i pitagorejskom filozofijom, pa tako i Ksenija Atanasijević u svojim spisima razmatra neke od najpoznatijih navoda o Pitagori i njegovom učenju. Ovom prilikom, podsetićemo se osnovnih načela pitagorejske tradicije, kao što je, recimo, shvatanje da se struktura sveta može izraziti putem harmoničnih, celobrojnih odnosa fizičkih veličina, što je inače podstaknuto muzičkom analogijom. Za upućene pitagorejce (*mathematikoi*), upravo je neprekidna dinamika simetrije i asimetrije ono što konstituiše razliku između reda, poretka (*kosmos*) i nereda (*haos*). Iako je sa stanovišta modernih prirodnih nauka ovakav pojednostavljen, gotovo estetski pristup proučavanju prirode uglavnom prevaziđen, značajno je primetiti da on u jednom drugačijem, osavremenjenom obliku opstaje u nekim od vodećih naučnih teorija. Takođe, biće reči i o pitagorejskom učenju o metempsihoziji (*metempsychosis*), tj. „selenju duša“, koje usvaja i Platon u nekolicini svojih dijaloga. Svakako, Ksenija Atanasijević posvećuje pažnju pitagorejskoj praksi da se filozofsko obrazovanje omogući i nadarenim ženama. Premda se antički feminizam po mnogo čemu razlikuje od savremenog, može se reći da su pitagorejci načinili prve ozbiljnije korake u pravcu ženske emancipacije.

Ključne reči: pitagorejstvo, počeci nauke u antičkoj Grčkoj, metempsihiza, feminizam

## THE BASIC TENETS OF PYTHAGOREAN TRADITION

**A**lmost every researcher of ancient Greek philosophy dealt with the Pythagoreans and Pythagorean philosophy. In her writings, Ksenija Atanasijević discusses some of the most famous allegations about Pythagoras and his teachings. On this occasion, we will recall the basic principles of the Pythagorean tradition, such as, for example, the understanding that the structure of the world can be expressed through harmonious,

whole-number ratios of physical quantities, which is inspired by musical analogy. For the learned Pythagoreans (*mathematikoi*), it is precisely the continuous dynamics of symmetry and asymmetry that constitutes the difference between order (*kosmos*) and chaos (*haos*). Although from the point of view of modern natural sciences this simplified, almost aesthetic approach to the study of nature is mostly outdated, it is important to note that it survives in a different, modernized form within some of the leading scientific theories. Also, we will discuss the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, ie. “transmigration of souls”, which is adopted by Plato in several of his dialogues. Certainly, Ksenija Atanasijević pays attention to the Pythagorean practice of providing philosophical education to gifted women. Although ancient feminism differs in many ways from modern feminism, it can be said that the Pythagoreans took the first serious steps in the direction of Women's emancipation.

Keywords: Pythagoreanism, the beginnings of science in ancient Greece, metempsychosis, feminism

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## KSENIJA ATANASIEVIĆ KAO ZRELA KRITIČARKA POEZIJE

**S**vest o neraskidivom odnosu između poezije i filozofije može se potisnati kao jedan od najzrelijih kritičarskih manira. Ovakav pristup tumačenju stihova vrsno je primenjivala, primarno filozofkinja (na ovakvoj kontekstualizaciji će se i insistirati), a onda i kritičarka Ksenija Atanasijević. Njeno iščitavanje poetskih redaka odnosilo se na najznačajnije pesnike nacionalne književnosti, ali i na sve one koji takvo obeležje nadrastaju svojim tendencijama svetskog, a samim tim i univerzalnog pesničkog baštinja. Otud ne iznenađuje činjenica da je istom preciznošću i posvećenošću pisala o Miljanu Rakiću, Vladislavu Petkoviću Disu, Tanasiju Mladenoviću, Zori Topalović, ali i Rabindrantu Tagori i Sofoklu i Eshilu. Njeno filozofsko utemeljenje interpretatorske misli obezbedilo je zreo uvid u pesničke konцепције svih onih kojima se bavila iz oduševljenja individualnim stihovima, ali ne zadržavajući se na impresionističkom uvidu, već se odajući suštini poetskog stvaralaštva čak i u veoma kratkim kritičkim tekstovima. Sposobnost da o poeziji govori lirska nadahnutim jezikom zasvođenim odgovarajućom filozofskom postavkom, u odnosu na datog pesnika, razotkrila je esenciju pesničke žedi za metafizičkim saznanjima, koja nisu naivno zapadanje u mistifikaciju ili pak proizvoljna promišljanja sveda. Otud je bila vešta da osudi Tagorinu upotrebu hinduističke filozofije i budističke misli, ali da ga i dalje posmatra kao velikog pesnika „pročišćene lepote i neprolazne privlačnosti“, ili da Rakićev i Disov stoicizam objasni kao vitalan, a ne mračan i ograničen pogled na svet. Unutar tog postupka razotkrivanja filozofskog potencijala poetske misli uspela je da prevaziđe oštре podele na „velike“ pesnike davnina i „male“ pesnike sadašnjice, te da poetske tvorevine Tanasija Mladenovića i Zore Topalović predstavi kao izvanredne, vredne pomena i promisli, iako je pisala o Eshilu i Sofoklu. Interesovanje Ksenije Atanasijević za poeziju kao sestrinsku disciplinu filozofije, odnosno preciznije rečeno njihovu neraskidivu egzistenciju, javlja se kao dokaz izrazito zrelog pristupa humanističkoj misli, koji čuva ono klasično oplemenjujući ga svežinom aktivnog savremenog promišljanja.

Ključne reči: poezija, filozofija, Ksenija Atanasijević, stoicizam, budizam

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVĆ AS A MATURE CRITIC OF POETRY

The awareness of an inseparable relationship between poetry and philosophy can be seen as one of the most mature critic's manners. That approach to the interpretation of the verses was done primarily by the philosopher and then a critic Ksenija Atanasijević. Her reading of verses was related to the most important poets of national literature, but also to all of those who want to break that kind of national borders with universal poetic tendencies. On that basis it is not surprising that she was writing about Milan Rakić, Vladislav Petković Dis, Tanasije Mladenović, Zora Topalović, but also about Rabindranath Tagore and Sophocles and Aeschylus with the same precision and commitment. Her philosophical foundation of interpretation provided a mature perspective into poetic conceptions of all poets. At first, she had interest in the individual verses, which didn't retain an impressionist insight, but the focus was to represent the essence of poetic creation even in very short critical texts. The ability to talk in a lyrically inspired language about poetry, grounded on an appropriate philosophical concept, in regards to a specific poet, has uncovered the essence of the poetic thirst for metaphysical knowledge, that is not a naive entry into mystification or arbitrary thinking. Therefore, she was skillful enough to condemn Tagore's use of Hinduism philosophy and the Buddhist thoughts, but still to see him as a great poet "of purified beauty and continuous attraction", or that Rakić's and Dis's stoicism explain as a vital but not dark and limited standpoint. Within the procedure of uncovering the philosophical potential of poetic thought, she managed to overcome the firm division of "big" poets from the past and the "small" poets from that time, and representing the poetic works of Tanasija Mladenovića i Zore Topalovića as extraordinary, worth mentioning and rethinking, although she also wrote about Aeschylus and Sophocles. The interests of Ksenija Atanasijević for poetry as a sister discipline of philosophy, or their unbroken existence, serves as evidence to a solid mature approach to humanistic thought, that preserves the classic, but dignifies it with a fresh and active modern reflection.

Keywords: poetry, philosophy, Ksenija Atanasijević, Stoicism, Buddhism

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## **HRABROST U DELIMA KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ**

Pojam hrabrosti predstavlja jedan od ključnih pojmljiva filozofije Ksenije Atanasijević, ali i njenog društvenog i ličnog angažmana. U ovom izlaganju analiziraćemo Ksenijino razumevanje ovog pojma iz dela *Filozofski fragmenti*, kao i iz objavljenih kraćih kritičkih tekstova publikacije *Etika hrabrosti* koju je priredila Ljiljana Vučetić. Istražuje se način na koji filozofija Ksenije Atanasijević uspeva da nadide teorijski karakter i postane praktično angažovana delatnost. U tom smislu, upravo preko pojma hrabrosti teorijsko razmatranje uspeva da zadobije kvalitet razumevanja kroz neposredno praktično delovanje, konstruišući filozofiju koja mora biti zastupana samim životom onoga koji takvu filozofiju zastupa. Na taj način, filozofija Ksenije Atanasijević ostvaruje gotovo sasvim zaboravljen stari filozofski ideal u kojem je cilj saznanja vođenje dobrog života. Ispratićemo način na koji je razumevanje i razmatranje pojma hrabrosti uticalo na njene životne odluke, i posledično, na koji način su njena iskustva i do-gađaji kojima je svedočila uslovili dalje istraživanje i ispitivanje ovog pojma. Na kraju, tumačeći pojам hrabrosti iz vrednosne perspektive, posebno konteksta etike vrline, zaključićemo da je razumevanje pojmljiva koji se u filozofiji razmatraju, za Kseniju Atanasijević predstavljalo „adekvatnu duhovnu i duševnu doživljenost“. Za Kseniju Atanasijević „reči imaju moral“, a ispravnost ovakvog stava pokušaćemo da pokažemo tumačenjem i razumevanjem njene bogate zaostavštine, u kojem sintagma naslova našeg izlaganja – hrabrost u delima – ne referira niti teorijski, niti praktično, već zaista predstavlja reč koja je ostvarila moralnost kroz doživljenost hrabrosti.

Ključne reči: hrabrost, ideal, moral, doživljenost

## **COURAGE IN THE WORKS OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ**

The notion of courage is one of the key notions of Ksenija Atanasijević's philosophy, but also of her social and personal engagement. In this presentation, we will analyze Ksenija's understanding of this concept from

the work *Philosophical Fragments*, as well as from the published short critical texts of the publication *Ethics of Courage* edited by Ljiljana Vučetić. The way in which Ksenija Atanasijević's philosophy manages to transcend the theoretical character and become a practically engaged activity is investigated. In that sense, it is through the notion of courage that theoretical consideration manages to acquire the quality of understanding through direct practical action, constructing a philosophy that must be represented by the very life of the one who represents such a philosophy. In this way, the philosophy of Ksenija Atanasijević realizes an almost completely forgotten old philosophical ideal in which the goal of knowledge is to lead a good life. We will follow the way in which the understanding and consideration of the notion of courage influenced her life decisions, and consequently, the way in which her experiences and events she witnessed conditioned further research and examination of this notion. Finally, interpreting the notion of courage from a value perspective, especially in the context of the ethics of virtue, we will conclude that understanding the notions considered in philosophy was for Ksenija Atanasijević "adequate spiritual and soul experience". For Ksenija Atanasijević, "words have morals", and we will try to show the correctness of this attitude by interpreting and understanding her rich legacy, in which the syntagm of the title of our presentation – courage in works – refers neither theoretically nor practically, but really represents a word that has achieved morality through the experience of courage.

Keywords: courage, ideal, morality, experience

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## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ I NJENO FEMINISTIČKO ČITANJE ANTIČKE GRČKE TRAGEDIJE

Fokus ovog izlaganja su dva članka Ksenije Atanasijević koji se bave konceptom žene u antičkoj grčkoj tragediji: „Žene u Euripidovim tragedijama“ (*Ženski pokret*, januar/februar, 1924) i „Žene u Eshilovim i Sofoklovim tragedijama“ (*Misao*, februar 1924). Ovi članci su napisani u kratkom roku i u periodu relativno mirnom za Kseniju Atanasijević; smatramo ih važnim za čitav docniji feministički angažman Ksenije Atanasijević u smislu njenog mapiranja feminističkih postulata u istoriji ideja – u kojoj važno mjesto zauzima antička grčka kultura. U izlaganju ćemo nastojati da ukratko predstavimo specifičnosti odnosâ Atanasijevićeve prema dvojici starijih tragičara, i prema Euripidu kome je naklonjenija. Procijenićemo značaj ovih članaka u kontekstu autorki savremenog književnog kriticizma u polju klasičnih studija. Ukazaćemo na mjesta u navedenim člancima u kojima se može nazreti sličnost sa autorkinim idejama iz važnog članka „Etička podloga feminizma“ koji je uslijedio nekoliko godina kasnije. Potrudićemo se da pokažemo da Ksenija Atanasijević koristi grčku tragediju, odnosno važan dio književnog kanona, kao izvor i potvrdu da je feministička perspektiva duboko ukorijenjena u antičku i prema tome evropsku kulturu i tradiciju.

Ključne reči: Ksenija Atanasijević, Eshil, Sofokle, Euripid, klasične nauke, književni kanon

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ AND HER FEMINIST READING OF ANCIENT GREEK TRAGEDY

The focus of this presentation is two articles by Ksenija Atanasijević dealing with the concept of women in ancient Greek tragedy: “Women in Euripides’ Tragedies” (*Women’s Movement*, January/February, 1924) and “Women in Aeschylus and Sophocles’ Tragedies” (*Misao*, February 1924). These articles were written in a short period of time and in a relatively peaceful period for Ksenija Atanasijević; we consider them important for the entire later feminist engagement of Ksenija Atanasijević in the

sense of her mapping of feminist postulates in the history of ideas – in which an important place is occupied by ancient Greek culture. In the presentation, we will try to briefly present the specifics of Atanasijević's attitudes towards the two older tragedians, and towards Euripides, to whom she is more sympathetic. We will assess the significance of these articles in the context of the contemporary literary criticism in the field of classical studies. We will point out the places in the mentioned articles where a similarity can be seen with the author's ideas from the important article "Ethical background of feminism" which followed a few years later. We will try to show that Ksenija Atanasijević uses Greek tragedy, that is, an important part of the literary canon, as a source and confirmation that the feminist perspective is deeply rooted in ancient and therefore European culture and tradition.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijević, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Classics, the literary canon

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## **TEORIJA I PRAKSA LJUBAVI U ANTIČKOJ FILOZOFIJI**

**U**povijesti filozofije, tema ljubavi slabo je obrađena. Premda smo s tim pojmom upoznati još u antičkoj filozofiji, počevši s Empedoklom, a zatim s Platonom i Aristotelom, njihova nam učenja zapravo govore malo o kvalitativnom određivanju ljubavi u psihosocijalnom i ontološkom značenju iste. Njoj se pristupalo iz metafizičke, epistemološke i etičke perspektive, ali nijedno djelo koje se do neke mjere bavilo ljubavlju nije ponudilo odgovarajući odgovor o tome što ona zapravo jest, već se samo pisalo o tome kako ona djeluje na ljude ili do čega je ona sredstvo. To nas ostavlja u svojevrsnoj aporiji oko njezinog značenja i pokazuje da samo bogatstvo grčkog nazivlja ljubavi nije dostatno da nam objasni što leži iza eros-a ili filije. U svojem ču radu izložiti što o ljubavi možemo zaključiti na temelju antičkih spisa Platona i Aristotela te kakvu viziju ljubavi bismo mogli izgraditi na temelju dostupnim nam filozofskih djela. Usporedit ču nedostatke antičke koncepcije ljubavi i načina na koji se o njoj piše s kasnijim djelima i suvremenim koncepcijama ljubavi te sagledati odnos „aktivne“ i „pasivne“ koncepcije ljubavi. Sukladno antičkom idealu praktičnog djelovanja u životu te neodvojivosti teorije ljubavi od njezine prakse, analizirat ču što nam antička filozofija naznačuje kao „ljubavno djelovanje“, odnosno koje su njene svakodnevne etičke i političke implikacije u osobnom i javnom životu.

Ključne reči: Ljubav, antička filozofija, ljubavno djelovanje, nacrt ljubavi, eros i filia

## **THEORY AND PRAXIS OF LOVE IN ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY**

**I**n the history of philosophy, the topic of love is insufficiently dealt with. Although we are introduced to that concept in the early ancient philosophy, starting with Empedocles, and then with Plato and Aristotle, their teachings actually tell us very little about the qualitative determining of love in psychosocial and ontological meaning of the same. Love was ap-

proached from metaphysical, epistemological and ethical perspectives, but no work that studied love offered an adequate answer regarding what it really is, it was rather studied how love influences people and what purpose does it serve. That leaves us in a kind of *aporia* regarding its meaning and shows us that myriad of Greek terminology of love isn't sufficient to explain what lies behind eros or philia. In my work I will present what we can deduce about love from ancient works of Plato and Aristotle and what vision of love can we construct based on available philosophical works. I will compare the flaws of ancient conceptions of love and way it is written about it with later works and contemporary conceptions of love, as well as look at the relationship between "active" and "passive" conceptions of love. In accordance with ancient ideal of practical activity in life and inseparability of theory of love and praxis of love, I will analyze what ancient philosophy underlines as "praxis of love", that is, what are its everyday ethical and political implications in private and political life.

Keywords: love, ancient philosophy, praxis of love, draft of love, eros and philia

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## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ AND ALMA SODNIK – TWO CONTEMPORARY WOMEN PHILOSOPHERS FROM YUGOSLAVIA

Ksenija Atanasijević and Alma Sodnik were two contemporary philosophers from Yugoslavia. They were both among the first women philosophers with PhD and got teaching positions at their Universities in Belgrade and Ljubljana. They shared a deep interest in ancient philosophy and rationalism, and they were both engaged in the philosophical debates of that time. As pioneer female scientists in predominately male academia, they had to prove themselves much harder than their male colleagues. Atanasijević was excluded from teaching at University but continued her philosophical work. Sodnik was employed as a “private docent”, a kind of “precariat” of that time. She got a regular teaching job only after WW2 and became a professor and the first female dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (1952/53). In this paper, I will briefly present and compare their work. I will point out that both authors prioritize and emphasize rational explanation and argue that such an approach also leads to similar views on the emancipation of women, although Atanasijević was much more active in writing about feminism and woman questions.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijević, Alma Sodnik, woman philosophers, rationalism, feminism

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## STUDIJA SLIČAJA: DVE ŽENE I PORTRET

**U**radu će biti reči o portretu mlade Ksenije Atanasijević (1912) koji je naslikala Nadežda Petrović. Ovaj portret odlikuju Nadeždina modernistička motivacija i želja za inoviranjem srpskog slikarstva, kulture i sveopštom emancipacijom društva, kao i emancipacijom žena. Portret je nastao u godini kada je Ksenija Atanasijević, inače porodična prijateljica, maturirala, i najverovatnije po Nadeždinom povratku iz Pariza, odakle se vratila januara 1912. Portret nosi stilске odlike Nadeždinog uznapredovanog modernizma, oslobođenog tokom rada u Parizu. Ovaj portret se može porebiti i sa portretom Ksenije Atanasijević koji je uradio Uroš Predić 1917 – kao potpuni stilski, idejni i simbolički kontrapunkt Nadeždinom spontanom viđenju „slobodnog oka“. Predić u ovom portretu uspostavlja Kseniju kao mladu intelektualku, neposredno pred upis na fakultet. Nadeždin portret nam može skrenuti pažnju i na ono najvažnije – nezahvalan položaj žena u patrijarhalnom društvu, borbu za školovanje, dostojanstvo profesije i stalno dokazivanje pred društvom nipođaštavanja ženskih intelektualnih, akademskih i umetničkih dostignuća. Odbacivanje dostignuća kako Nadežde, tako i Ksenije više nego rečito govori o tome.

Ključne reči: Srbija, Moderna umetnost, Nadežda Petrović, Ksenija Atanasijević, pitanja roda

## CASE STUDY: TWO WOMEN AND THE PORTRAIT

**T**he paper will discuss the portrait of the young Ksenija Atanasijević (1912) painted by Nadežda Petrović. The portrait is characterized by Nadežda's modernist motivation and desire to innovate Serbian painting, culture and the general emancipation of society, as well as the emancipation of women. The portrait was created in the year when Ksenija Atanasijević, a family friend, graduated, and most likely after Nadežda's return from Paris (January 1912). The portrait bears the stylistic features of Nadežda's advanced modernism, liberated during her work in Paris. It can be compared to the portrait of Ksenija Atanasijević made by Uroš

Predić in 1917 – as a complete stylistic, ideological and symbolic counterpoint to Nadežda's spontaneous vision of the “free eye”. Predić constitutes Ksenija as a young intellectual, just before enrolling at the faculty. Nadežda's portrait can emphasize the most important fact – the unappreciated efforts of women in a patriarchal society, the struggle for education and the dignity of the profession, constant proving in front of society of disapproving women's intellectual, academic and artistic achievements. Nadežda Petrović since 1915, Ksenija Atanasijević almost all her life, faced rejecting of their endeavors by dominantly male society, academic or artistic environment and largely unappreciated by critics.

Keywords: Serbia, Modern art, Nadežda Petrović, Ksenija Atanasijević, gender issues

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## **KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ: FILOZOFIJA VASPITANJA I OBRAZOVANJA**

Cilj našeg rada je da izložimo filozofske osnove vaspitanja i obrazovanja u delu Ksenije Atanasijević i da ukažemo na njihov značaj, kako u smislu problema savremene filozofije obrazovanja, tako i u smislu savremene pedagogije. Ksenija Atanasijević se nije ekstenzivno bavila filozofijom obrazovanja ali njeni tekstovi pružaju dovoljno materijala za rekonstrukciju filozofske perspektive obrazovanja u njenoj misli. Prvo, ona polazi od metafizičkih osnova vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa tj. od filozofskih prepostavki o slobodi volje. Prema njenoj poziciji, shvatanje vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa kao transformativnog uticaja na razvoj individue, podrazumeva određene determinističke ili indeterminističke prepostavke i, prema tome, određeno shvatanje ljudske prirode. Drugo, ona smatra da vaspitanje i obrazovanje ne treba da budu usmereni samo na individualni razvoj, već i na razvoj društvenog položaja individue tj. na društvenu emancipaciju, što je posebno vidljivo u njenoj koncepciji vaspitanja i obrazovanja žena. Treće, ona smatra da vaspitanje i obrazovanje po sebi ne moraju nužno progresivno i konstruktivno da utiču na razvoj individue i da istorija vaspitanja i obrazovanja, kao i istorija pedagogije, potvrđuju smene različitih oblika vaspitanja i obrazovanja, od kojih su se mnogi pokazali kao pogrešni, neodrživi, neprimereni životu i „onemogućeni sami sobom“. Četvrti, Ksenija Atanasijević je isticala da vaspitanje i obrazovanje treba da budu utemeljeni na filozofskim, a pre svega, na etičkim osnovama, kako bi zaista vodili i celovitim razvoju ličnosti individue ali i razvoju društva. Prema našem mišljenju, navedeni elementi stanovišta Ksenije Atanasijević zadobijaju aktuelnost i značaj u perspektivi savremenih filozofskih rasprava o pojmovima slobode i prinude u vaspitno-obrazovnom procesu. Pored toga, aktuelnost i značaj njenog stanovišta se odslikava i u perspektivi kritičke pedagogije i pedagoških akcionalih istraživanja, kao vidova društvenog angažmana na promeni datih društvenih uslova vaspitanja i obrazovanja, u velikoj meri oblikovanih delovanjem sa pozicijom moći, kao i različitim društvenim nejednakostima.

Ključne reči: vaspitanje i obrazovanje, sloboda, filozofija, emancipacija

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ: PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

The main objective of this article is to present philosophical bases of education in Ksenija Atanasijević's work and to point out its' relevance, both in terms of contemporary philosophy of education and contemporary pedagogy. Ksenija Atanasijević didn't address philosophy of education extensively but her writings offer enough material for the reconstruction of philosophical perspective of education in her body of work. First, she begins with metaphysical bases of educational process i.e. with philosophical presuppositions on free will. According to her viewpoint, the comprehension of educational process as a transformational influence on individual's development, implies certain, deterministic or indeterministic presuppositions and, therefore, certain conception of human nature. Second, she considers education not just as a process focused on the development of an individual, but also on the development of social conditions in which the individual finds herself, i.e. social emancipation, which is explicitly developed in her conception of education for women. Third, she points out that education is not necessarily progressive or constructive influence on development of an individual. Both history of education and history of pedagogy confirm shifts of different modes of education, many of which turned out to be flawed, unsustainable, unsound and/or "self-disabled". Fourth, Ksenija Atanasijević points out that education should be grounded on philosophical, and primarily, ethical bases, so it can lead to complete individual and social development. In our opinion, the position of Ksenija Atanasijević is relevant in terms of a perspective of contemporary philosophical debates about notions of freedom and coercion in education. Further, the relevance of her work reflects itself in the perspective of critical pedagogy and pedagogical action research, as modes of social engagement in order to change and transform social conditions of education, determined and shaped by acting from the positions of power and to a large degree by different social inequalities.

Keywords: education, freedom, philosophy, emancipation

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## ŽENA U FOKUSU KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ

Ksenija Atanasijević analizira ženske likove antičkih tragedija, kao i pesnikinje i filozofkinje stare Grčke, afirmišući stav da se upravo u njima potvrđuje istinu da je žena, u svojoj prirodnoj komplikovanosti dragocena saučesnica i mita i tragedije i književnosti o njima. Ona ukazuje da antički autori izdvajaju nekoliko žena koje su isto toliko gloriozni izražaji jednog spleta misli i osećanja kao najuspeliji muški dramski likovi. Ona jasno izražava želju da piše o ženama kao komplikovanim ali i interesantnim, jer one upravo takve i jesu. Kao akterke tragedija ni njihova sudbina nije ništa manje tragična. Ifigenija je herojska devojka koja dragovoljno ide u smrt radi spaša i slave Grčke. Antigona je vanvremenska heroina, zastupnica božanskog prava kao više pravde, iako samo žena zna da se suprotstavi tiraninovoj zabrani i sahrani brata uprkos njoj. Jokasta ne veruje proročanstvima, Makarija voljno hoće da bude žrtva, svojevoljno daje život, neprisiljena na to i samo moli da umre među ženama, daleko od pogleda muškaraca, zbog čega je kralj Demofan naziva najhrabrijom od svih žena. I u naše vreme još uvek je teško pronaći ženski uzor, u njeno još teže, tim pre što uzori nisu samo za decu i potrebeni su u svakom stadijumu života. Cilj rada je ukazivanje da Ksenijina analiza ženskih likova ne ide samo u tom jednostavnom, jednosmernom pravcu identifikovanja oduvek poznatog motivacionog fenomena, „ako mogu oni, mogu i ja”. Ona afirmiše ženski subjektivitet i žensko dostojanstvo prisutno i u najtežim, tragičnim okolnostima, hrabreći time i sebe i nas da možemo, jer nam je „radikalno otklonjena mogućnost da budemo bezbrižni” kako njoj onda u njeno vreme, tako i nama danas.

Ključne reči: ženski likovi antičke Grčke, pesnikinje, filozofkinje, akterke tragedija, ženski uzori

## A WOMAN IN THE FOCUS OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ

Ksenija Atanasijević analyzes female characters of ancient tragedies, as well as women poets and philosophers of ancient Greece, affirming

the view that they confirm the truth that a woman, in her natural complexity, is a valuable accomplice in both myth and tragedy and literature about them. She points out that ancient authors single out several women who are just as glorious expressions of a web of thoughts and feelings as the most successful male dramatic characters. She clearly expresses her desire to write about women as complicated but also interesting, because that is exactly what they are. As actors of tragedy, their fate is no less tragic. Iphigenia is a heroic girl who voluntarily dies for the salvation and glory of Greece. Antigone is a timeless heroine, an advocate of divine law as higher justice, although only a woman knows how to oppose the tyrant's ban and bury her brother in spite of her. Jocasta does not believe in the prophecies, Makaria willingly wants to be a victim, willingly gives her life, although not forced to do so and only begs to die among women, away from the eyes of men, which is why King Demofan calls her the bravest of all women. Even in our time, it is still difficult to find a female role model, even more difficult in hers, especially since role models are not only for children and are needed at every stage of life. The aim of the paper is to point out that Ksenija's analysis of female characters does not go only in that simple, one-way direction of identifying the always known motivational phenomenon, "if they can, so can I." She affirms female subjectivity and female dignity present even in the most difficult, tragic circumstances, thus encouraging herself and us to be able to, because we all have been "radically removed from the possibility of being carefree" both in her time and in ours today.

Keywords: female characters of ancient Greece, poets, philosophers, actors of tragedies, female role models

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## A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN CARTESIAN DOUBT WITH HUSSERL'S PHENOMENOLOGICAL REDUCTION (EPOCHÉ)

The purpose of this article is to make a comparative study between Descartes and Husserl's views with the focus on the concept of "Methodical doubt" and "epoché" respectively. Epoché is a key concept in Husserl's philosophy of phenomenology that can somehow be adapted to the idea of "methodical doubt" in Descartes' thought. We know that Husserl was very much influenced by Descartes, but at the same time he was a critic of his ideas and tried to take Descartes' philosophy one step further. According to the author, the commonalities and differences between the philosophies of Descartes and Husserl can be found in this concept of Epoché. Epoché is the methodological basis of both philosophers, but it is in the process of applying this method that the boundary between the two philosophers is determined. From Husserl's point of view, Descartes' legacy in philosophy is undeniable. Descartes put philosophy in its true direction by focusing on the subject but from Husserl's point of view, he deviated from the true path of transcendental philosophy. Influenced by Descartes, Husserl sought to refine his method. Hence, he called for the concept of epoché.

The difference between the concept of Epoché and Cartesian skepticism ultimately manifests itself in the form of the two key concepts of "intentionality" (consciousness is always consciousness of something) and Cogito (I think therefore I am). Descartes, in the process of his methodical doubt, does not go beyond the psychological ego, and ultimately grasps the concept of the creator to justify the world, but Husserl also subjects the ego itself to a phenomenological reduction and achieves a transcendental ego. Therefore, a comparison between Cartesian skepticism and the Epoché of phenomenology can be effective in our understanding of the process of transferring philosophy from the paradigm of epistemology to the realm of phenomenology.

Keywords: Epoché, methodic doubt, Husserl, Descartes, Phenomenology, Cogito, Intentionality

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## DA LI EPIKUROV HEDONIZAM IMA INTRINSIČNU ILI INSTRUMENTALNU VRIJEDNOST?

Cilj (*telos*) epikurejske filozofije je praktične prirode: sticanje znanja ili filozofiranje ima smisla samo ako vodi srećnom životu. Za epikurejce srećan život predstavlja život ispunjen uživanjima. Uprkos uvreženom, ali pogrešnom shvatanju da je epikurejsko uživanje niskog ili „životinjskog“ karaktera, ono je ipak bilo suptilnije i uzvišenije shvatano. Sastojalo se od dostizanja *aponije* i *ataraksije* – tj. stanja bez fizičkog bola i stanja duševne neuznemirenosti. Uz to, nije bilo dovoljno samo dostizanje te faze u intelektualnom razvoju, već je poželjno bilo i *ostati* u njoj. Važnija i više cijenjena su bila statička zadovoljstva, na uštrb dinamičkih. Stoga, uživanje ili hedonizam bi trebalo da bude jedna vrsta života koji bi se provodio u opštem blagostanju i neuznemirenosti. Epikur i njegovi sledbenici su predlagali dosta načina za dostizanje takvog stanja, poput kontrolisanja sopstvenih želja ili oslobađanja urođenih strahova od smrti ili od bogova. Insistirali su, između ostalog, i na poznavanju načina na koji priroda funkcioniše, što izrazito praktično orijentisanu filozofiju vraća na jedan teorijski ili čak metafizički nivo. U tom kontekstu se otvara i jedno zanimljivo i potencijalno provokativno pitanje, a koje se tiče samog statusa uživanja kod epikurejaca. Kakva je u osnovi priroda uživanja? Da li se ono može shvatiti kao intrinsična vrijednost ili bar u nekoj mjeri zavisi od konteksta i/ili činjenice da se ono dešava nekoj konkretnoj osobi koja bi trebalo da ima neki stav ili odnos prema tome što joj se dešava? U izlaganju ću pokušati da ponudim odgovor na ovo pitanje kao i određene implikacije po neka savremenija tumačenja hedonizma.

Ključne riječi: Epikur, hedonizam, intrinsična vrijednost

## DOES EPICURUS' HEDONISM HAVE INTRINSIC OR INSTRUMENTAL VALUE?

The goal (*telos*) of Epicurean philosophy is of a practical nature: gaining knowledge or philosophical thinking makes sense only if it leads

to a happy life. For Epicureans, happiness in life equals a life filled with pleasures. Despite engrained but wrongly understood perspective that the Epicurean pleasure is of a low and “animal-like” character, it actually was more subtle and sublime. It consisted of reaching *aponia* and *ataraxia* – the absence of (physical) pain and imperturbability of the soul. Along with that, it was not enough only to reach that phase during intellectual development as it was desirable *to stay* in it. The more important and appreciated pleasures were the static pleasures compared to dynamic ones. Hence, enjoyment or hedonism should represent a particular type of living spent in well-being and imperturbability. Epicurus and his followers have proposed multiple ways of reaching that state, like controlling one’s wishes or abandoning inborn fears of death or gods. Amongst other things, they insisted on being familiar with nature’s way of functioning, which puts the distinctly practically oriented philosophy back to its theoretical or even metaphysical grounds. An exciting and potentially provoking question opens up in that context, referring to Epicureans’ sole status of enjoyment. What is, in the main, the nature of enjoyment? Could it be understood as an intrinsic value, or it at least partially depends on the context and/or the fact that it is happening to a specific person that should have an attitude or relation toward whatever is happening? In the presentation, I will try to offer the answer to this question and the specific implications of some modern interpretations of hedonism.

Keywords: Epicurus, hedonism, intrinsic value

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## KONCEPT SLOBODNE LIČNOSTI KAO OSNOVA FEMINISTIČKE TEORIJE KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ U PARALELI SA SAVREMENIM TENDENCIJAMA U BIOETICI

Ksenija Atanasijević je, zalažući se za prava žena, na mnogim mestima kistica slobodu kao ključ za razumevanje samih osnova nejednakosti između polova. Nejednakost nastaje, pre svega, zbog nekritičkog odnosa žena spram društvenih obrazaca koji su im nametnuti i koje same nesvesno ponavljaju u tradicionalno patrijarhalnim društvima. Kao feministkinja preporučuje samosvesno delovanje žena, moralno postupanje i osvećivanje sopstvenog položaja, jer ukoliko nisu reflektovale svoj socio-ekonomski položaj, ukoliko nisu osvestile svoja prava i mogućnosti, poнашају se neslobodno. Verujući u neprikosnovenost ličnosti ujedno ističe zahtev za istim tretmanom žena kao i muškaraca, zahtev za istim obrazovanjem i mogućnostima intelektualnog razvoja. Feminizam je definisala kao prevashodno idealistički pravac, jer žena ima apsolutno pravo na slobodu i obezbeđenje svih neophodnih uslova kako bi ostvarila svoje potencijale. Polazeći od pretpostavke da su žene ličnosti isto kao i muškarci filozofkinja pobija argumente prema kojima jedan pol ima, po svojoj prirodi, preim秉stvo nad drugim. Naime, do nedavno je bilo uvreženo shvatanje prema kojem je priroda žene, kao emotivnog i osetljivog bića, u nižem položaju od prirode muškarca, kojeg odlikuje strogi racionalizam i fizička snaga. Često smo se susretali sa opštim frazama kao npr. „muškarci ne plaću“ (plaću samo žene, kao emotivno ranjive, iracionalne i slabe), koje su samo produbljivale rodne razlike i uporno opominjale da su te razlike – suštinske. Upravo Ksenija Atanasijević tvrdi suprotno, dakle, bez obzira na svu složenost prirode žene, suštinski joj se ne može odreći racionalnost, niti moralnost. Na razlici koja je vekovima potencirana ona je videla jedan sofisticiran kalup za diskriminaciju žene, protiv kojeg se borio feminizam. Sličnu borbu protiv antropocentrizma sprovode na teorijskom i praktičkom planu bioetičke teorije, prema kojima strogo racionalan, pragmatički i utilitaran odnos čoveka spram prirode proizvodi štetne posledice za sav živi svet, a postoji i takva tendencija u teoriji – ekofeminizam, koja ističe povezanost dominacije nad ženom i nad prirodom.

Ključne reči: Etika, bioetika, sloboda, feminizam, antropocentrizam

## THE CONCEPT OF FREE PERSONALITY AS THE BASIS OF KSENIJA ATANASIEVIĆ'S FEMINIST THEORY IN PARALLEL WITH CONTEMPORARY TENDENCIES IN BIOETHICS

Advocating for women's rights, Ksenija Atanasijevic emphasized freedom in many spots as the key to understanding the very foundations of gender inequality. Inequality arises, above all, due to the uncritical attitude of women towards the social patterns that have been imposed on them, and which they themselves unconsciously repeat in traditionally patriarchal societies. As a feminist, she recommends self-conscious action of women, moral conduct and awareness of their own position, because if they have not reflected their socio-economic position, if they have not realized their rights and opportunities, they behave unfreely. Believing in the inviolability of the person, she also emphasizes the demand for the same treatment of women as men, the demand for the same education and opportunities for intellectual development. She defined feminism as a predominantly idealistic direction, because a woman has an absolute right to freedom and the provision of all necessary conditions in order to realize her potential. Starting from the assumption that women are personalities just like men, the philosopher refutes the arguments according to which one sex has, by its nature, superiority over the other. Namely, until recently, there was an established understanding that the nature of a woman, as an emotional and sensitive being, is in a lower position than the nature of a man, who is characterized by strict rationalism and physical strength. We have often come across general phrases such as "Men do not cry" (only women cry, as emotionally vulnerable, irrational and weak), which only deepened gender differences and persistently warned that these differences are essential. It is Ksenija Atanasijević who claims the opposite, so, regardless of all the complexity of a woman's nature, it cannot essentially be denied her rationality or morality. On the difference that has been emphasized for centuries, she saw a sophisticated mold for discrimination against women, which feminism fought against. A similar struggle against anthropocentrism is carried out on the theoretical and practical level of bioethical theory, according to which a strictly rational, pragmatic and utilitarian attitude of man towards nature produces harmful consequences for all living beings, and there is a tendency in theory – ecofeminism which emphasizes the connection between domination over woman and over nature.

Keywords: Ethics, bioethics, freedom, feminism, anthropocentrism

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## IZMEĐU ŽIVOTA I TEORIJE: ĐORDANO BRUNO I KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ

**A**kademski gest povezivanja italijanskog filozofa i srpske filozofkinje prevashodno se oslanja na jedno uobičajeno, ali krajnje važno i po mnogo čemu specifično mesto – na doktorsku disertaciju, u originalu izdatu na francuskom, pod nazivom *La doctrine métaphysique et géométrique de Bruno* koja je Kseniju Atanasijević učinila prvom ženom sa titulom doktora nauka u Srbiji. Teorijski aspekti kroz koje može da se analizira Ksenijino tumačenje Bruna su zaista brojni, i protežu se od Ruđera Boškovića i Branislava Petronijevića, pa sve do svetski poznatih studija o Brunu, kao što su one Aleksandra Kojrea ili Hilari Gati, a implikacije ovih tumačenja postaće još značajnije kada se pokaže da su Brunove, gotovo čudesne anticipacije, imale svoj odraz i na savremene naučne teorije koje su usledile. Sve navedeno učiniće da studija Ksenije Atanasijević postane gotovo nezaobilazna literatura kada je reč o proučavanju Bruna. I zaista, reći će i Aleksandra Mančić, još jedan vrsni tumač Nolanove filozofije: „Tekstovi Hilari Gati svojevrstan su uvod u brunističke studije u 21. veku, kao što je studija Ksenije Atanasijević bila uvod u 20. veku“. Ipak, bez da ispusti rečeno iz vida, namera ovog rada jeste da ponudi još jedno čitanje i time nešto drugaćije tumačenje veze između Bruna i Ksenije. Acentričnost univerzuma i njegova beskonačnost, izražena u Brunovoj kvalitativnoj matematici povlači sa sobom i etičke posledice, koje će formirati Brunova uverenja a time i u velikoj meri odrediti način na koji je živeo. Zanimljivo je da postoje gotovo „čudne“ analogije između života Bruna i onog Ksenije Atanasijević. Etika beskonačnosti i acentričnosti univerzuma, jeste etika oslobođenja, etika koja menja i koja stvara vrednosti – etika koju su, kroz život, delili i Bruno i Ksenija. Sagledavanje ove etike, proizišle iz teorije, odnosno radije iz jedne ideje, promeniće povratno i način na koji se ta teorija razume.

Ključne reči: Đordano Bruno, Ksenija Atanasijević, etika, beskonačnost, geometrija

## BETWEEN LIFE AND THEORY: GIORDANO BRUNO AND KSENIJA ATANSIJEVIC

The academic gesture that connects the Italian philosopher and first Serbian female philosopher primarily relies on one common, but extremely important and, in many ways, specific place – on doctoral dissertation which was originally published in French: *La doctrine métaphysique et géométrique de Bruno* – doctoral dissertation that made Ksenija Atanasićević the first woman with the title of PhD in Serbia. The theoretical aspects through which Ksenija's interpretation of Bruno can be analyzed are really numerous, ranging from Ruđer Bošković and Branislav Petronijević to world-famous studies on Bruno, such as those by Alexander Koyre or Hilary Gatti, and the implications of these interpretations will become even more important when it turns out that Bruno's, almost miraculous anticipations, had their reflection on the modern scientific theories that followed. Everything mentioned, will make Ksenija Atanasićević's study an almost unavoidable place when it comes to studying Bruno. Indeed, as Aleksandra Mančić, another excellent interpreter of Nolan's philosophy, said: "Hillary Gati's texts are a kind of introduction to Brunist studies in the 21st century, just as Ksenija Atanasićević's studies were in the 20th century". However, without losing sight of what has been said, the intention of this paper is to offer another reading and a slightly different interpretation of the connection between Bruno and Ksenija. The non-centrality of the Universe and its infinity, expressed in Bruno's qualitative mathematics, entails ethical consequences, which will affect Bruno's beliefs and thus largely determine the way he lived. It is interesting that there are almost "strange" analogies between the life of Bruno and that of Ksenija Atanasićević. The ethics of the infinity and eccentricity of the Universe is the ethics of liberation, the ethics that changes and creates values – an ethics that Bruno and Ksenija shared throughout their lives. Consideration of this ethics, derived from the theory, that is, rather from the Idea, will reciprocally, affect the way in which this theory is understood.

Keywords: Giordano Bruno, Ksenija Atanasićević, ethics, infinity, geometry

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## **ŽIVOT I RAD KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ KAO PARADIGMA FEMINISTIČKOG DELOVANJA**

**C**ilj rada je da kontekstualizuje feminizam Ksenije Atanasijević – kako na akademskom, tako i na aktivističkom planu. Njeno delo i angažman služe kao paradigmatičan primer kako akademski feminismus, često označen kao onaj koji nema dodira sa stvarnošću, zapravo igra važnu ulogu u rešavanju društvenih problema. Kroz rad će pokazati značaj akademskog za feminističko delovanje, nerazdvojivost teorije i prakse, vođena idejom koju zastupa Atanasijevićeva, a odnosi se na to da je zadatak filozofije da deluje na svakodnevnicu.

Analiza ima dva nivoa. Prvi, uvodni, tiče se mehanizama opresije kojima je Atanasijevićeva bila izložena tokom svog akademskog rada. Pokažaću kako su oni i danas slični, iako deluju kao da su prevaziđeni (ne samo u nauci, već i drugim oblastima). Ovaj nivo podrazumeva osvrt na mizoginiju, sabotiranja i institucionalizovani, sistemski patrijarhat kroz koje prolazi. Cilj nije da se dešavanja iznova prepričaju, već da se objasni šta ona znače i na koje se načine odvijaju danas, te da se u odnosu na njen angažman pruži odgovor kako se problem može rešavati.

Jedan od odgovora leži u drugom nivou analize – kontekstualizaciji stvaralaštva i aktivizma Ksenije Atanasijević. Iako plodonosna i važna u različitim oblastima filozofije, predmet analize je njen feminismus – njen filozofska rad je feministički, ali je i društveno angažovana feministkinja. Mehanizam kojim se bavim se odnosi na ponovna iščitavanja filozofije, ali i književnosti. Nova čitanja i proučavanja predstavljaju borbu i alternativnu politiku. Rekontekstualizacija filozofskih čitanja je ključna i danas, kao i u trenutku kada Atanasijevićeva daje čitanje Platona kao feministe. Osim toga, vraća glas ženama koje su brisane iz istorije čitanja – pokazuje njihov značaj i relevantnost, a taj postupak je važan kao paradigma načina na koji se marginalizovanim autorkama pristupa. Glas, takođe, daje drugim marginalizovanim ličnostima, što može poslužiti kao veza sa interseksionalizmom u feminismu. U tom ključu u radu se iznova čita i sama Ksenija Atanasijević.

Ključne reči: Ksenija Atanasijević, feminismus, feministička kritika, marginalizovani subjekt

## LIFE AND WORK OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ AS A PARADIGM OF FEMINIST ACTIVISM

The goal of this paper is to contextualize the feminism of Ksenija Atanasijević. Her work and activism serve as a paradigmatic example of how academic feminism, often labeled as one that has no contact with reality, actually plays an important role in solving social problems. In the paper, I will show the importance of academic work for feminist activities, the inseparability of theory and practice, guided by the idea advocated by Atanasijević – the idea that the task of philosophy is to impact everyday life.

Analysis has two levels. The first, introductory level, examines the mechanisms of oppression to which Atanasijević was exposed during her academic career. I will explain how these mechanisms today are very similar, although it seems that they have vanished. At this point, I will describe misogyny, sabotage, and the institutionalised, systemic patriarchy Atanasijević went through. The goal is not to retell these events again, but to explain what they mean today, and to provide a possible solution to this issue inspired by her work and activities.

One of the possible solutions lies at the second level of analysis – the contextualization of Atanasijević's work and activism. The main subject of analysis in this paper is her feminism; her philosophical work is feminist, but she is also a socially engaged feminist. The mechanism I deal with refers to re-readings of philosophy and literature. New readings already represent alternative politics. Recontextualization of philosophical readings is crucial today, as well as at the moment when Atanasijević analyzes Plato as a feminist. Also, she gives voice to women (and other marginalised subjects) who have been erased from history; she emphasises their importance and relevance. This procedure is important as a paradigm for the way in which marginalised authors should be approached. In that manner, Atanasijević herself is re-read in the paper.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijević, feminism, feminist criticism, marginalised subject

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## DRUŠTVENA ULOGA FILOZOFIJE PREMA SHVATANJU KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ

**R**ad ispituje shvatanje filozofije Ksenije Atanasijević kroz analizu društvene uloge koju joj ova autorka dodeljuje, posebno u *Fragmentima* i tekstovima namenjenim široj javnosti pisanim dvadesetih i tridesetih godina dvadesetog veka. Za Kseniju Atanasijević, filozofija je predstavljala mudrost o svetu koja treba da promišlja ne samo metafizičke prve istine već i ljudsku i društvenu stvarnost, stav koji umnogome preuzima od antičkih misililaca. Smatrala je da filozofija ne treba da bude hermetična i usmerena samo na akademsku javnost već da uvek mora da korelira sa svakodnevnicom. Stoga je osnovni cilj filozofije da se suoči sa sveprisutnim zlom i pokuša da učini život čoveka boljim, vrednjim i humanijim. Kao osnovna negacija egzistencije, zlo je uvek prisutno kako u društvu tako i u svakom pojedincu. Manifestacije ovog zla su ljudska egoistična priroda, sukobi, rat i svaki vid nejednakosti i diskriminacije među ljudima. Ova autorka je smatrala da je svako ljudsko biće neprikosnoveno, te da su upravo filozofi i filozofkinje ti koji imaju odgovarajuće etičko znanje koje im omogućava da gaje istinsko poštovanje prema svakoj ličnosti. Verovala je da nije moguće u potpunosti ugušiti zlo u čoveku, ali da je filozofija neophodna kako bi se negativni efekti zla ublažili.

Ključne reči: Ksenija Atanasijević, zlo, uloga filozofije, praktična filozofija

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY

**T**his presentation examines Ksenija Atanasijević's notion of philosophy by analyzing the social role she assigns to it. I will focus on the most fruitful period of her work, most importantly her *Fragnets* and texts intended for the general public written in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Atanasijević, philosophy should not be limited to the search for metaphysical truths but should also include a re-examination of human and social reality, a perspective greatly influenced by ancient philosophers. She believed that philosophy should always be connected with everyday life

and not just be confined to the academic public. The basic goal of philosophy is to face the omnipresent evil and try to make everyday life better, more valuable and humane. Evil, as the basic negation of all existence, is always present in both society and every individual. Manifestations of this evil are human egoistic nature, conflicts, war, and every form of inequality and discrimination among people. Atanasijević believed that every human being is inviolable and that it is philosophers who possess the necessary ethical knowledge that enables them to foster genuine respect for every person. She considered that it was not possible to completely eradicate evil in the world, but that philosophy was necessary to at least mitigate its negative effects.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijević, evil, the role of philosophy, practical philosophy

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## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ O GREŠKAMA U ARISTOTELOVOM RAZUMEVANJU PRIJATELJSTVA

Aristotel o prijateljstvu govori u nekoliko spisa. Posebno se izdvajaju osma i deveta knjiga *Nikomahove etike* o kojima diskutuje i filozofkinja Ksenija Atanasijević u svom tekstu „Aristotelovo shvatanje prijateljstva“. Tekst je objavljen 1928. godine u časopisu *Srpski književni glasnik*, gotovo trideset godina pre nego što je *Nikomahovu etiku* na srpski jezik prevela Radmila Šalabalić. Tokom izlaganja, oslanjaćemo se prvenstveno na taj, ali i na druge tekstove Ksenije Atanasijević, kao što su „O emancipaciji žena kod Platona“ (iz 1923. g.) i „Pesnkinje i filosofkinje stare Grčke“ (iz 1924. g.).

Aristotel navodi da su, kada je reč o „problemu prijateljstva“, mnoge stvari *sporne*. Analizirajući i Aristotelovu poziciju, Ksenija Atanasijević ističe da o prijateljstvu „nijednu novu reč vremena koja dolaze“ neće znati da saopšte. Štaviše, stiče se utisak da je *ono najvažnije* o prijateljstvu, već saopštio, ako ne i razrešio, upravo Aristotel. Aristotelu pripisuje istančan osećaj za psihologiju, iako je i on povremeno *naivan* i sklon *greškama*. Naime, kada je reč o „jednakim prijateljstvima“, Aristotel greši jer ne smatra prijateljstvo „jednom od velikih retkosti“, već i odnose zasnovane na korisnosti i zadovoljstvu naziva prijateljskim. Kada je reč o „nejednakim prijateljstvima“, gde se ubraja i prijateljstvo između muškarca i žene, konstatuje se da Aristotel neupadljivo ističe razliku koja postoji u pravnim i prijateljskim odnosima. Međutim, time se ne problematizuje Aristotelov odnos prema ženama, što može da deluje neobično, posebno ako imamo u vidu feminističku misao koju je Ksenija Atanasijević izrazila u pomenutim tekstovima iz 1923. i 1924. godine.

Ključne reči: moralna vrlina, simpatija, ljubav, odnos, žena

## ATANASIJEVIĆ ON FALLACIES IN ARISTOTLE'S UNDERSTANDING OF FRIENDSHIP

Aristotle speaks on the subject of friendship in several of his writings. The eighth and ninth books of his *Nicomachean ethics* are notable among them, which Ksenija Atanasijević discusses in her paper "Aristotle on Friendship". The paper was published in 1928 in the journal *The Serbian Literary Herald*, thirty years before *Nicomachean ethics* was translated to Serbian by Radmila Šalabalić. In this presentation, we will concentrate on that and other essays of Ksenija Atanasijević, such as "On Emancipation of Women in Plato" (1923) and "Women Poets and Philosophers of Ancient Greece" (1924).

Aristotle notes that many things are disputable when it comes to "the problem of friendship". However, in her analysis of Aristotle, Atanasijević accentuates that nothing new about friendship will be conveyed in the forthcoming times. Furthermore, one can get the impression that the most confusing issues have already been solved by Aristotle as far as the question of friendship is concerned. Ksenija Atanasijević ascribes a refined sense of psychology to Aristotle despite of his sporadic naivety and tendency to make fallacies. Namely, Aristotle is wrong when it comes to "equal friendships", because he did not consider friendship one of the greatest rarities, but classified relationships based on utility and pleasure as friendships as well. When it comes to "unequal friendships", one of them being friendship between husband and wife, Atanasijević says that Aristotle emphasized the difference between legal relationships and friendships. However, Ksenija Atanasijević does not problematize Aristotle's attitude towards women, which seems potentially controversial, especially considering her feminism expressed in earlier essays.

Keywords: moral virtue, sympathy, love, relationship, woman

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## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ I RABINDRANAT TAGOR

**M**ada je poznato da je R. Tagor uživao popularnost u srpskoj međuratnoj književnosti, čemu je naročit impuls dala poseta 1926, pun opseg recepcije njegovog dela nije dovoljno istražen. Teza pojedinih književnih istoričara da je Tagor kod nas pre primljen kao pesnik, nego kao prorok, zaslužuje reviziju. Tom tagorizmu pripadaju i radovi K. Atanasijskević koja mu je posvetila više članaka, mahom iz dvadesetih godina, ali i jedan nastao decenijama kasnije. Analiza njenih tekstova o Tagoru – kog je prilikom posete i srela i pitala šta misli o feminismu – uvodi nas u širu temu prijema indijske misli u srpskoj kulturi i stvaranja slike Indije. U slučaju K. Atanasijskević, slika bengalskog pesnika koja se kreće između dubokog poštovanja i analize, najbolje se može razumeti kroz značaj tema indofilije, budizma, vedante i reincarnacionizma. Ove teme povezane su i sa njenim interesom za „alternativu“ (članstvo u Teozofskom društvu Jugoslavije). Čitanjem priloga o Tagoru kroz njih, bolje možemo razumeti mesto i značaj indijske kulture za njeno delo, ali i osobenu indofiliju srpske kulture između dva rata.

Ključne reči: Tagor, recepcija, indofilija, budizam

## TAGORE, RECEPTION, INDOPHILIA, BUDDHISM

**A**lthough Serbian literary history is aware of popularity of Rabindranath Tagore in interwar culture, some aspects of his cult (invigorated by poet's visit to Belgrade in 1926) remain under-researched. Ksenija Atanasijskević contributed to the reception of Tagore (whom she personally met). She published couple of articles about Tagore, mostly in 1920s, although the most analytical one comes from much later period. While she partially shares cult of Tagore as a prophet with her contemporaries, she also keeps distance regarding some of his views, like his image of Buddhism. Atanasijskević's texts on Tagore help us better understand the importance of Indian culture for her work. Buddhism, Vedanta and rein-

carnation are key themes for reading these papers. Her work on Tagore should be understood within broader framework of Serbian interwar's culture, where specific kind of Indophilia enjoyed popularity among intellectuals, but on the other hand, through her membership in Theosophical Society, too.

Keywords: Tagore, reception, Indophilia, Buddhism

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## KREMEREOVA INTERPRETACIJA PLATONOVE TEORIJE NAČELA U SVETLU TRANSCENDENTALIZMA

**V**išedecenijskim istraživanjem Platonovog nezapisanog učenja Kremer je formirao novu sliku ne-šlajermaherovskog Platona. Rezultat te rekonstrukcije Platonovih predavanja u Akademiji je približavanje teorije načela i elemenata transcendentalne analitike. Ključno pitanje na koje ćemo pokušati da odgovorimo je da li Platonov apriorno-deduktivni stil mišljenja predstavlja osnovu za utvrđivanje sličnosti i razlika između Platonovog apriorizma i Kantovog transcendentalizma. Transcendentalna problematika pokušava da utvrdi uslove mogućnosti apriornog saznanja, a Platonova teorija najopštijih pojmove može se interpretirati upravo sa transcendentalnog stanovišta.

Ključne reči: transcendentalno, ideja, apercepcija, konstitucija

## KRAMERS INTERPRETATION OF PLATOS THEORY OF PRINCIPLES IN THE LIGHT OF TRANSCENDENTALISM

**T**he aim of this paper is to determine the compatibility and similarities of Platonic and Critical philosophy, using the example of Kramer's reconstruction of Plato's unwritten teaching. Namely, Plato's doctrine of Ideas, in so far as it concerns the knowledge of the sensible (visible) world as well, can be interpreted in a transcendental fashion. Kramer is convinced that Plato's Theory of Principles, when viewed from a transcendental perspective shows a correlative character, one-multiplicity, subjects-objects. A new perspective on the problem of knowledge has led Kant to the foundation of the theory of subject as a transcendental.

Keywords: transcendental, idea, aperception, constitution

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## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ O SENEKINOJ DOSLEDNOSTI

**C**ilj ovog izlaganja je ispitati u kojoj meri je Lucije Anej Seneka (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) bio dosledan stoičkom učenju. Koristićemo Tacitove *Anale*, kao najpouzdaniji istorijski izvor o periodu u kom je Seneka živeo, ali i Senekina originalna dela, kao što je *Rasprava o blaženom životu*, u kojoj je Seneka pitanju doslednosti posvetio nekoliko poglavlja. Ksenija Atanasijević daje svoj uvid u problem Senekine doslednosti, koji postavlja Tacit.

Tacit je u *Analima* zabeležio: „Kakvom je to mudrošću, kakvim filozofskim propisima zaradio Seneka trista miliona sestercija za četiri godine prijateljevanja sa carem?“ Pre nego što ispitamo da li je Seneka prekršio stoičke propise gomilanjem bogatstva, ispitaćemo da li je uopšte protivno stoičkom učenju imati veliko materijalno bogatstvo.

Razmotrićemo ne samo Senekinu teorijsku poziciju, već i da li je (i ukoliko jeste, na koji način) stoička načela za koja se teorijski zalagao, primenjiva u svojoj svakodnevici. Što se tiče praktične primene, Tacit Seneki ne zamera samo na količini bogatstva, već i na načinu na koji je stekao to bogatstvo. Seneka, kao najbliži saradnik imperatora, ponekad je morao da se povinuje, ali i izvršava naredbe sa kojima se nije slagao. Sve ovo nije bio odraz vrlina koje je Seneka zagovarao, smatra Tacit.

Ksenija Atanasijević daje drugačije viđenje ovog problema. Ona u Seneki vidi mislioca oslobođenog krutih granica filozofske škole kojoj je pripadao. To slobodoumlje je način poštovanja ljudske pojedinačne prirode, te Ksenija Atanasijević Seneku naziva i „najboljim poznavaocem psihologije čoveka među stoicima“. Ovo otvara mogućnost da je Seneka zastupao neku vrstu umerenog stoicizma koji je ljudima prijemčiviji i bliži.

Ključne reči: Seneka, stoicizam, Tacit, bogatstvo, Ksenija Atanasijević

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ ON SENECA'S CONSISTENCY

**T**he aim of this presentation is to examine how consistent Seneca was in Stoic philosophy. We are going to use Tacitus' *Annals* as the

most accurate historical source of the period in which Seneca lived, but also Seneca's original works, such as *De vita beata* (Seneca designated a few chapters of this book to the question of his consistency). Ksenija Atanasijević offers her view of the problem of Seneca's consistency, which Tacitus poses.

In *Annals*, Tacitus wrote: "By what kind of wisdom or maxims of philosophy had Seneca within four years of royal favour amassed three hundred million sesterces?" Before we examine if Seneca has violated any principles of Stoic philosophy, we are going to examine is it even contrary to Stoicism to be wealthy.

We are going to examine not just Seneca's theoretical position, but also if Seneca was trying to apply Stoic principles he was teaching to his everyday life (and to what extent). In terms of practical application, Tacitus criticizes Seneca not just because of the magnitude of his wealth, but also because of the way Seneca gained that wealth. Seneca, as the emperor's closest associate, sometimes had to obey and execute orders which he would disagree with. All of this was not the reflection of virtue that Seneca was teaching about, according to Tacitus.

Ksenija Atanasijević offers different view of this problem. In Seneca she recognizes a true thinker freed from rigid boundaries of the school which he was a member of. Seneca's free-thinking is a way of respecting the individual nature of people and that is why Ksenija Atanasijević calls Seneca "the best connoisseur of psychology among the Stoics". This opens a possibility that Seneca has represented some kind of non-radical Stoicism which was closer to people.

Keywords: Seneca, Stoicism, Tacitus, wealth, Ksenija Atanasijević

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## ATANASIJEVIĆEVA O EPIKUROVIM MINIMAMA

**O**pšte je poznato da je Epikur držao da se sve sastoji iz nedeljivih čestica materije, atoma, i praznine kroz koju se atomi kreću. Epikurovo shvatanje materije, međutim, nije bilo nimalo prostodušno jer je on takođe smatrao da najosnovniji elementi materije nisu atomi, već minimalne tačkaste veličine od kojih su atomi sastavljeni. Jedan od originalnih i heterodoksnih aspekata načina na koji Atanasijevićeva tumači Epikura u svojoj knjizi *Latomisme d'Epicure* iz 1927. bila je njena tvrdnja da ova teorija minimuma ne potiče od samog Epikura, već od ranijih atomista, Leukipa i Demokrita. Ova tvrdnja ne samo što je išla protiv tumačenja najuticajnijih inostranih istraživača tog vremena, već je izazvala i snažnu reakciju Branislava Petronijevića, jednog od tadašnjih vodećih filozofa u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata, i Slovenaca, i njenog dotadašnjeg prijatelja i mentora. U prilično zajedljivom osvrtu na njenu knjigu, Petronijević je odbacio tumačenje Atanasijevićeve o poreklu Epikurove teorije minimuma, i optužio je za veliko nerazumevanje pojma prostornog kontinuma na kome je Epikurova teorija zasnovana. Moj cilj biće da rasvetlim ovo neslaganje, da ocenim verodostojnost tumačenja Atanasijevićeve, kako u istorijskom kontekstu u kome je ono ubaćeno tako i danas, i da ispitam valjanost Petronijevićeve kritike.

Ključne reči: Epikur, atomizam, minimumi, Atanasijevićeva, Petronijević

## ATANASIJEVIĆ ON EPICURUS' MINIMA

**E**picurus notoriously held that all there is are indivisible particles of matter, atoms, and void through which the atoms are moving. However, Epicurus' view on matter and its motion was very far from simplistic because he also thought that the most basic elements of matter are not atoms, but minimal point-like magnitudes of which atoms are composed. One of the novel and heterodox aspects of Atanasijević's interpretation of Epicurus defended in her book *Latomisme d'Epicure* from 1927 was her claim that this theory of minima did not originate with Epicurus himself, but was adopted from the earlier atomists, Leucippus and Democritus. The claim went not only against the interpretations of the most influential

international scholars of the time, but also provoked a strong reaction of Branislav Petronijević, one of the then leading philosophers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and her hitherto friend and mentor. In a rather scathing review of her book, Petronijević rejected Atanasijević's interpretation of the origin of Epicurus' theory of minima and accused of gross misunderstanding of the concept of spatial continuum on which Epicurus' theory is based. My goal shall be to shed more light on this controversy, to evaluate the plausibility of Atanasijević's interpretation, both in the historical context in which it was first formulated as well as today, and to assess the validity of Petronijević's criticism.

Keywords: Epicurus, atomism, minima, Atanasijević, Petronijević

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## ZAPAŽANJA KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ O EMPEDOKLU U KONTEKSTU NJOJ SAVREMENIH I DANAS AKTUELNIH TUMAČENJA

Ksenija Atanasijević objavila je tri članka o Empedoklu iz Agrigenta (*Misao* iz 1925, sveske 131–132 i 133–134, i *Kalendar „Vreme“* iz 1925), koji se bave kako njegovim životom tako i njegovim učenjem o prirodi i religijskim shvatanjima. U njima se nalaze i autorkini prevodi jednog broja sačuvanih fragmenata, na koje se oslanja njena obuhvatna i promišljena interpretacija.

Mi ćemo se posvetiti naročito dvema interpretativnim tezama koje odlikuju izlaganje Ksenije Atanasijević o Empedoklovom liku i stvaralaštu i mogu se dovesti u vezu sa tendencijama u tumačenju Empedokla karakterističnim za nauku s kraja 19. i početka 20. veka.

Prvo, Ksenija Atanasijević primećuje da je Empedoklovo učenje još u antici važilo za *eklektično*, a to stanovište je zastupljeno i kod njoj savremenih istoričara filozofije. Pokazaćemo kako, u odnosu na ovu tezu, Atanasijevićeva oblikuje svoje shvatanje o Empedoklovoj *originalnosti*.

Druge, Atanasijevićeva se priklanja shvatanju da su Empedoklovo učenje o prirodi i njegovi religijski stavovi međusobno nepovezani, što je u današnjoj nauci napuštena teza (naročito nakon što su 1999. objavljeni ranije nepoznati stihovi sačuvani na Strazburškom papirusu). Ksenija Atanasijević, međutim, ne vidi u toj (navodnoj) nepovezanosti odraz podjelenosti Empedoklove ličnosti ili njegovih stvaralačkih i životnih faza – kao što je to slučaj kod značajnog broja njenih savremenika – već nudi jedinstveno tumačenje po kojem se u Empedoklovom učenju o seobi duša, zasnovanom na pitagorejskim i drugim uticajima, prepoznaje specifičnost Empedoklovog karaktera.

Po Atanasijevićevoj, Empedokle u sebi objedinjuje različita, nekad i suprotstavljena, zvanja i interesovanja. U svom izlaganju osvrnućemo se na ovu karakterizaciju Empedokla te razmotriti sklonost (antičkih i modernih) tumača da iz sadržaja fragmenata ranih grčkih filozofa zaključuju i o njima samima.

Najzad, posebno čemo se posvetiti pitanju odnosa sadržaja i forme Empedoklovog stvaralaštva, odnosno 'problemu' (na koji ukazuje Atanasijevićeva) izražavanja složenog filozofskog učenja mitsko-poetskim jezikom.

Ključne reči: Empedokle, interpretacija, učenje o prirodi, religijska shvatanja

## KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ'S VIEWS ON EMPEDOCLES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERPRETATIONS CURRENT IN HER TIME AND THOSE DOMINANT TODAY

Ksenija Atanasijević published three articles about Empedocles of Acragas (*Misao* 1925, 131–132 and 133–134, and *Kalendar "Vreme"* 1925), which discuss his life as well as his natural philosophy and religious views. In the articles, we find the author's translations of a number of extant fragments, which Atanasijević uses as a basis for her comprehensive and insightful interpretation.

We will discuss in particular two interpretative theses that are characteristic of Ksenija Atanasijević's discussion about Empedocles and his work. They can be connected with the interpretative tendencies that are recognizable in the scholarship around the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

First, Ksenija Atanasijević remarks that Empedocles' doctrine was considered *eclectic* already in antiquity, and this opinion is shared by the historians of philosophy more or less contemporary with Atanasijević. We will indicate the way she expresses her own view about Empedocles' *originality* against the background of this well-established opinion.

Second, Atanasijević agrees with the interpretation according to which Empedocles' natural philosophy and his religious views are not connected. This interpretation has been abandoned in contemporary scholarship, especially after the publication of the Strasbourg papyrus in 1999.

However, unlike her contemporaries, who understood this (alleged) lack of connection between the two general subjects of Empedocles' fragments as an expression of a division between two stages of his life and work, Atanasijević offers a unique interpretation according to which Empedocles' doctrine of reincarnation reflects his personality.

According to Atanasijević, Empedocles unites in himself very different interests and abilities. We will examine the tendency of the ancient

and modern interpreters to draw conclusions about the characters of early Greek philosophers from the content of the fragments of their writings.

Finally, we will pay special attention to the relationship between the content and form of Empedocles' writings and the 'problem' (implied by Atanasijević) of expressing a complex philosophical doctrine in a poetic language.

Keywords: Empedocles, interpretation, natural philosophy, religious views

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## ULOGA SITNIH OPAŽAJA U LEIBNIZOVU MONADOLOGIJI

**R**ad istražuje višestruku ulogu sitnih opažaja u Leibnizovoj filozofiji. Sitni su opažaji ključni kako za Leibnizovu epistemologiju, gdje se koriste kao konceptualno sredstvo protiv empirističke, ali i kartezijanske teorije uma, tako i za njegovu metafiziku, unutar koje se izgrađuju kao garancija zakona kontinuiteta, prestabilirane harmonije i individualiteta monada. Njihova se uloga proteže i na područje Leibnizove etike, gdje u vidu neuočivih prepreka upravljaju čovjekovim djelovanjem i utoliko se pokazuju kao pokretači svim bićima prirodene težnje za ugodom, odnosno izbjegavanjem боли. U cjelini Leibnizove misli sitni se opažaji stoga uspostavljaju kao vezivno tkivo triju osnovnih dijelova filozofije, time ute-meljujući osobit nazor da se život duše korijeni daleko dublje od dometa svjesne spoznaje.

Ključne reči: opažaji, monade, predviđanje, svijest, žudnja

## THE ROLE OF MINUTE PERCEPTIONS IN LEIBNIZ'S MONADOLOGY

**T**he thesis explores the multiple role of minute perceptions in Leibniz's philosophy. Minute perceptions prove to be essential to Leibniz's epistemology as well as his metaphysics; in the former they serve as a conceptual weapon against the empirical, but also the Cartesian theory of mind, whereas in the latter they are used as a guarantee of the law of continuity, pre-established harmony and individuality of monads. Their role also extends to the realm of Leibniz's ethics, wherein they navigate one's activity in the form of imperceptible obstacles, revealing themselves to be the driving force behind the pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of pain inherent to every living being. In the whole of Leibniz's thought they can be said to bind the three fundamental parts of philosophy, which in turn determines the philosopher's distinctive view that the life of the soul extends far beyond the range of conscious knowledge.

Keywords: perceptions, monads, representation, consciousness, desire

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## THE ARISTOTELIAN ΜΕΓΑΛΟΨΥΧΟΣ AND THE ISOCRATEAN ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΡΩΝ: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The term magnanimity (*μεγαλοψυχία*) often recalls René-Antoine Gauthier's monumental study entitled as *Magnanimité* (1951), in which study he has been thoroughly examined the concept of magnanimity by pointing out that it was Aristotle, who has given for the first time a specific form in *μεγαλοψυχία*. Isocrates was also interested in looking into *μεγαλοψυχία*. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine and to compare the way in which both of them comprehended the concept. By presenting extracts from *Nicomachean Ethics*, it will be clarified that Aristotelian *μεγαλοψυχία* belongs to the moral virtues associated with honor. Μεγαλόψυχος being in the midst of the humble person (*micropsychos*) and the vain person (*chaunos*) requires and deserves great things. He also scorns both honor and dishonesty and consequently he often appears to be an arrogant (*ὑπερόπτης*). It will also be demonstrated that Isocratean *μεγαλόψυχος* sets high goals and has competitive pretensions. For the orator, *μεγαλοφροσύνη* is usually used as synonymous with *μεγαλοψυχία*. Isocrates deems *μεγαλοφροσύνη* as a precious value, however, he maintains that excessive self-confidence can lead to arrogance. It is, thus, essential that *μεγαλοφροσύνη* be combined with philanthropy so that man does not become arrogant. The issues that are left to be examined after that in this paper are the undermentioned: Which is, in particular, the subtle difference between Aristotle and Isocrates concerning the comprehension of the concept and how *μεγαλοψυχία* and *μεγαλοφροσύνη* are connected with Athens of the 4th BC?

Keywords: magnanimity, philanthropy, honor, *ὑπερόπτης*

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**LIČNOST I DELO KSENIJE ATANASIJEVIĆ  
KAO POLEMIČKI PROSTOR ESTETIKE  
MODE: KOLEKCIJA BRUNOVO UČENJE  
O NAJMANJEM MODNE DIZAJNERKE  
ALEKSANDRE LALIĆ**

Predloženi rad nastoji da pruži pionirski uvid u tumačenje ličnosti i dela Ksenije Atanasijević u kontekstu savremenih studija istorije i teorije mode, ukazujući na diskurs filozofije mode kao inherentan estetiči. Polazeći od doktorske disertacije Ksenije Atanasijević, *Brunovo učenje o najmanjem*, rad će se fokusirati na transpoziciju i transgresiju njene filozofske misli – ali i vizure njene ličnosti – u medij mode. Predmet analize biće kolekcija modne dizajnerke i istoričarke umetnosti Aleksandre Lalić za jesen/zimu 2018. godine, Brunovo učenje u o najmanjem, predstavljena na 44. Beogradskoj nedelji mode. Kroz analizu kolekcije ukazaće se na moduse kroz koje dizajnerka, polemički i kritički, rekonfiguriše ličnost i filozofiju Ksenije Atanasijević u sopstveni estetski habitus, ali i na važnost kritičkog razumevanja estetike mode u domaćoj humanistici. Na taj način, filozofska i nadasve estetska razmatranja Ksenije Atanasijević mogu da posluže kao afirmacija estetike mode u korpusu nacionalne filozofske misli, dok primena studija mode na njenu filozofiju afirmiše nove mogućnosti čitanja iste.

Ključne reči: filozofija, estetika, moda, modna kolekcija, modna dizajnerka

**LIFE AND WORK OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ  
AS THE POLEMICAL SPACE OF FASHION  
AESTHETICS: COLLECTION BRUNO'S  
THREEFOLD MINIMUM AND MEASURE BY  
FASHION DESIGNER ALEKSANDRA LALIĆ**

The proposed paper aims to provide a pioneering insight into the possibility of interpreting life and work of Ksenija Atanasijević through the framework of contemporary history and theory of fashion. With her

doctoral thesis *Bruno's Conception On the Threecold Minimum and Measure* (*De triplici minimo et mensura*) as the staring point, the paper shall thus focus on the transposition and transgression of her philosophical thought – as well as on the iconography of her personality – into the media of fashion. The subject of the analysis will be the 2018 autumn/winter collection by fashion designer and art historian Aleksandra Lalić, named Bruno's Conception on the Threecold Minimum and Measure after Atanasijević's thesis and presented at the 44th Belgrade Fashion Week. By analyzing the collection, the paper will point out modes through which the designer, critically and polemically, reconfigures life and philosophy of Ksenija Atanasijević into her aesthethic habitus while at the same time emphasizing the importance of critical understanding of fashion aesthetics in domestic humanities. As such, philosophical and aesthetical deliberations of Ksenija Atanasijević could serve in affirming fashion aesthetics in the corpus of national philosophy whereas the application of fashion studies onto her philosophy could affirm its new interpretations respectively.

Keywords: philosophy, aesthetics, fashion, fashion collection, fashion designer

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