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## PRODUCTION OF NOTES FROM UNDERGROUND BY SERBIAN PRISONERS

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the influence of Dostoevsky's *Notes from Underground* on the lives of prisoners in prison. The idea of director Marina Kovačević to stage a play based on *Notes from Underground* with prisoners was to show how the awakening of creativity in a group of criminals returns to them the will to constructively comprehend their own lives. The prisoners had the opportunity to show their talent, to express themselves not from a violent, but from a creative side, thereby they realized the possibilities of their new future, the possibility of overcoming the imposed boundaries and framework of existence, the possibility of freedom as a chance to become better. A real triumph was the performance of the play on the stage of the Youth Cultural Center in Belgrade, which changed the attitude of prisoners towards themselves.

### KEYWORDS

*Notes from Underground*, Dostoevsky, convicts' theatre, Serbian prisoners, amateur performance, "Notes from Cell No. 12.", Evreinov, Foucault

In the prologue of his book *Theater of the Absurd*, Martin Esslin wrote about the play *Waiting for Godot*, which was staged by a group of San Francisco artists in the San Quentin Prison on November 19, 1957. The thought of meeting 1,400 (one thousand four hundred) prisoners excited both the actors and the director Herbert Blan, but the prisoners understood the play, and the author of the editorial of the prison newspaper conveyed the meaning of the play with the words: "The dramaturgist addressed the symbols not in order to interrogate his own personal errors, but in such a way that each spectator could draw his own conclusions with respect to his own personal errors. The play did not call for anything, it forced no dramatized moral on the viewer, it held out no specific hope... We are still waiting for Godot, and shall continue to wait. When life becomes too drab, activity diminishes, we'll call on each other and swear never to part – but all the same there's no place to go!" (Cit.: Esslin 1961: XVI).

Beckett's play testified to the experience of the "comprehension of temporality and its ephemerality", "the tragic cognizance of own's self in the

merciless process of renewal and destruction”, and “the difficulty of communication” (Esslin 1961, p. 34). Prisoners at San Quentin responded to the play because “they were confronted with *their own experiences* of time, waiting, hope and despair,” because “they recognized the truth about *their own human relationships* in the sadomasochistic interdependence of Pozzo and Lucky and in the bickering hate-love between Vladimir and Estragon.” (Esslin 1961: 34).

In 2014, Marina Kovačević, a philologist by training, a graduate student in the Faculty of Dramatic Arts and director of the Center for Rehabilitation by Imagination, decided to stage a play based on *Notes from Underground* with prisoners of the Central Belgrade Prison.<sup>1</sup> Her Center for Rehabilitation by Imagination arose as a consequence of reflections on the “humiliated and insulted.” Following Dostoevsky, Marina Kovačević speaks about a “child’s tear,”<sup>2</sup> pointing out the need to show respect for the individual, to stop bullying children (after all, “bullied children have a very low threshold of self-esteem, which is why they often grow into people prone to violence,” and that even worse, society, without delving into the root of the problems, “continues to punish them, when they are adults”); she claims that it is the duty of society to “promote the rehabilitation of the individual.” (Tešić 2019). This project was supposed to demonstrate the willingness of society to participate in the rehabilitation of the prisoner and his return to civil society. With the support of the Ministry of Justice, she managed to carry out her project.

The idea that Marina Kovačević is guided by is that the awakening of creativity in a group of people serving their time in prison returns to them the will to “constructively understand their own lives.” (Tešić 2019). Prisoners have the opportunity to show their talent, to express themselves not from a violent, but from a creative side, thereby realizing the possibilities of their new future, the possibility of overcoming the imposed boundaries and framework of existence, the possibility of freedom as a chance to become better. This is a unique combination of performance art and social activism. The author of the project imbues with the art and thereby participates in his rehabilitation: “Art awakens the best in a person – faith, love, hope. It makes possible the transformation of consciousness and behavior. They play a role and through it they become something that they may never have had the opportunity of becoming” (Tešić

1 In the paper “Izvedba kao metakomentar izvedbe. Predstava – *Zapisi iz ćelije br. 12* i izvedba oko nje (Dom omladine Beograd, 12. 09. 2015.)” [Performance as a Metacommentary of a Performance. *Zapisi iz ćelije br. 12* and the performance around it (Belgrade Youth Center, 12. 09. 2015.)] Predrag Jakšić dealt with the analysis of certain segments of the theatrical play called “*Zapisi iz ćelije br. 12*” and its performance at Belgrade Youth Center, primarily concerned with the organization of the performance (Jakšić 2015: 94–111).

2 Suffering children is one of the main themes in Dostoevsky’s work. In *Crime and Punishment*, it is Sonya Marmeladova, in *Demons* it is Matryoshka, in *The Brothers Karamazov* it is Ilyusha Snegirev. Ivan Karamazov sums up this theme in a conversation with Alyosha, categorically refusing “the higher harmony” if it is built on even one tear of a tortured child, therefore returning the ticket to heaven to Him most ‘respectfully’” (Dostoevsky 1985: 287).

2019). The aim of literature and theater is conceived as leading to the rehabilitation and resocialization of prisoners, freeing up their creative potential, and giving them a sense of inner freedom.

In this approach, it is very easy to recognize the philosophy of theatre of Nikolai Evreinov at the center of which is theater, which interpenetrates all spheres of human life and transforms human existence. For Evreinov, the theatricalization of life represents a specific philosophy, based on the instinct of transformation inherent in the human being, which allows this being to transform his life in his own theater. Evreinov outlined his theory in a number of works, including the play *The Most Important Thing* (1921), as well as in his *Introduction to Monodrama* (1909), *Theater as Such* (1912), and *Theater for Oneself* (1915). He demonstrated that theatre plays a crucial role in positively transforming an individual's inner life, emphasizing that its power resides in addressing and resolving internal psychological conflicts — thereby anticipating the later development of theatre therapy. However, of particular interest regarding our topic are Evreinov's book *The History of Corporal Punishment in Russia* (1917) and the notes of his lectures on "Theater and the Scaffold" (1918) and "The Scaffold as a Theater" (1910s). Selected texts from the book *Theater for Yourself* ("Theater' and Theater", "The Will to Theater", "Theater of Five Fingers", "Directing Life", "My Favorite Theater"), as well as "Theater for Animals", which appeared translated into Serbian in the theater magazine *Scene* (No. 1/2, 1993). In 1991 (No. 6, 1991), the same magazine brought out the text "Theatre Therapy" in Serbian translation. We also note that a fragment of Evreinov's book *The History of Corporal Punishment in Russia*, entitled "The Heyday of Corporal Punishment", was published in Serbian in the magazine *Russian Almanac* (2011).

Marina Kovačević was apparently familiar with all of these articles when she began working with prisoners. However, Marina Kovačević was also largely guided by Michel Foucault's cult book *Discipline and Punish*. In any case, the director had the opportunity to compare the approach to punishment as a theatrical spectacle between theater director Nikolai Evreinov and philosopher Michel Foucault. Admittedly, Evreinov's research was far ahead of Foucault's concept.<sup>3</sup>

Exploring the history of the emergence of the prison, Foucault connects the entire ritual of punishment with spectacle, that is, theatrical performance.<sup>4</sup>

3 In the preface to N. Evreinov's book *The Secret Springs of Art*, I. Chubarov writes that the Russian playwright and theater theorist, like the French philosopher later, paid attention "not to the repressive function of punishment and torture," but to "its positive, productive side – its role in the formation of a special type of sensuality and a peculiar social subjectivation – a punished and punishing subject – a member of society and a bearer of its culture" (Chubarov 2004: 11). G. Pocheptsov also draws a parallel between Evreinov and Foucault (Pocheptsov 1998: 110).

4 Foucault identifies the execution of a convict with the "theater of hell (1977: 46)", since execution anticipates "the punishment of the beyond (1977: 46)"; on the other hand, "the pains here below may also be counted as penitence and so alleviate the punishment of the beyond: God will not fail to take such a martyrdom into account, provided it is borne with resignation" (Foucault, 1977: 46).

Therefore, Foucault explains the abolition in 1848 of the demonstrative parading of convicts through the streets by the fact that punishment “ceases to be a theater” and that everything “that remains in it which belongs to spectacle” begins to be “perceived negatively”:

It was as if the punishment was thought to equal, if not to exceed, in savagery the crime itself, to accustom the spectators to a ferocity from which one wished to divert them, to show them the frequency of crime, to make the executioner resemble a criminal, judges murderers, to reverse roles at the last moment, to make the tortured criminal an object of pity or admiration. (Foucault 1977: 9)

Thus, what the 18<sup>th</sup> century conceived as a crime-replicating city of punishment (where thousands of small theaters would “perform endless performances of justice and where punishments, reproduced in every detail on decorative scaffolds, would create a popular festival of the code of laws”), so as “to dampen the dubious reputation of criminals” (Foucault 1977: 113) and to “influence mainly the minds of potential transgressors”, was replaced by “a uniform prison apparatus, spreading a network of massive prison buildings throughout France and Europe” (Foucault 1977: 118).

The concept of the “theatre” was still present in the 19<sup>th</sup> century prison; however, it was now directed at the formation of an “abstract consciousness” (Foucault 1977: 9) and at providing a “legible lesson”, which becomes a “lesson in civics” (Foucault 1977: 111) for children and adults:

At the crossroads, in the gardens, at the side of roads being repaired or bridges built, in workshops open to all, in the depths of mines that may be visited, will be hundreds of tiny theatres of punishment. Each crime will have its law; each criminal his punishment. It will be a visible punishment, a punishment that tells all, that explains, justifies itself, convicts: placards, different-colored caps bearing inscriptions, posters, symbols, texts read or printed, tirelessly repeat the code. Scenery, perspectives, optical effects, *trompe-l'oeil* sometimes magnify the scene, making it more fearful than it is, but also clearer. From where the public is sitting, it is possible to believe in the existence of certain cruelties which, in fact, do not take place. But the essential point, in all these real or magnified severities, is that they should all, according to a strict economy, teach a lesson: that each punishment should be a fable. And that, in counterpoint to all the direct examples of virtues, one may at each moment encounter, as a living spectacle, the misfortunes of vice. Around each one of these moral ‘representations’, schoolchildren will gather with their masters and adults will learn what lessons to teach their offspring. The great terrifying ritual of the public execution gives way, day after day, street after street, to this serious theatre, with its multifarious and persuasive scenes. And popular memory will reproduce in rumor the austere discourse of the law. (Foucault 1977: 113)

According to Foucault, the spectacle and the stage have been replaced with a panoptic machine, in which each cell acts as a theater of ‘one actor’, and in which “each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible” (Foucault

1977: 200).<sup>5</sup> In order to lead to genuine re-education, “the penitentiary operation, if it is to be a genuine re-education, must become the sum total existence of the delinquent, making of the prison a sort of artificial and coercive theatre in which his life will be examined from top to bottom” (Foucault 1977: 251-2).

Marina Kovačević’s conception of the penal system and its function follows Foucault in some aspects but it also is a radical advance on the idea of the panopticon: her staging of prisoners by prisoners gives the prisoners agency and the tools for the construction of their own freedom as an embodied idea. This leads to the transformation of the prisoner’s attitude to himself and to those around him. From Kovačević’s point of view, *Notes from the Underground* is the most suitable educational starting point for transforming a prisoner. Initially, the production of *Notes from Underground* was conceived as a monodrama, but the project gradually grew into a performance, as more and more people were interested in participating in it. As a result, six prisoners acted in the play, among whom Djordje Vasiljević, according to official data, the most intelligent among Serbian prisoners, and Uroš Milovanović, an actor who played in Kusturica’s films, stood out.<sup>6</sup>

The performance consisted of three parts. The first part was a dramatization of Dostoevsky’s text, the second and third spoke about life in the cell and were written by Marina Kovačević in collaboration with one of the prisoners, the main actor Djordje Vasiljević.<sup>7</sup> The second part of the performance was essentially a theatrical adaptation of Vasiljević’s life; it prepared the viewer for initiation – entry into the world of the prison. The premiere took place in Belgrade Central Prison on December 2014 under the title “Notes from Cell No. 12.” During 2015, prisoners performed the play 17 times in various Serbian prisons, as well as at the Youth House cultural center in Belgrade on September 7 of the same year. Based on these performances, a documentary film of the same name was created, which premiered at the scientific conference “Performing the World”, organized by the Institute of Performing Arts in New York in September 2016 (out of 300 proposed films, only 16 were chosen), after which it became necessary to show it in American federal prisons in Michigan, Kentucky and San Quentin; it became part of a program for the rehabilitation and socialization of American prisoners.<sup>8</sup>

5 From this setting, Foucault concludes that “our society is a society of surveillance, not of spectacle” and that, being in the panoptic machine, “we are captured by manifestations of power that we bring to ourselves, since we serve as the wheels of this machine” (Foucault 1977: 218, 219).

6 For Uroš Milovanović, all this was “a great experience and a great honor”, since he was able to “express his acting abilities” in such specific places and under specific conditions (Milovanović 2015).

7 Djordje Vasiljević, who spent 13 years in prison, subsequently revealed other talents in himself: he became the author of the novel *The Case of Attila*, as well as two collections of poetry, for which he was awarded in the Serbian city of Valjevo.

8 Marina Kovačević emphasizes: “The Americans were surprised by the living conditions of prisoners and the attitude towards them in Serbia. It was interesting to watch

Reading Dostoevsky for Marina Kovačević became a challenge even during her studies: she dreamed of putting Dostoevsky in prison in order to prove the validity of the Russian writer's thought that "being only begins to be when it is threatened with non-existence" (Dostoevsky 1982: 240) and that "compassion is the most important and, perhaps, the only law of existence of all humanity" as it was written in the novel *The Idiot* (Dostoevsky 1973: 192). Her desire to offer prisoners who had lost the meaning of life a subject-matter like *Notes from Underground* was based on the idea of restoring them to a sense of dignity and inner freedom. The emphasis was on the creative process, on collective action, where everyone was allowed to make mistakes, but also given the opportunity to correct the mistake and do something good. Having learned her lessons from Dostoevsky,<sup>9</sup> Marina Kovačević criticizes reason and the rationalist worldview, giving preference to the imagination: "In order to create something, we must first imagine it. The first sign of intelligence is imagination, an idea, never knowledge. There are studies and experiments that confirm that art gives exceptional results in renewing and rethinking one's own identity" (Kovačević 2017).

For the author of the play, the key was to show the power of art in a person's life, the real power that can rehabilitate a person and recreate him. Based on the fact that many great writers faced prison, house arrest, or exile, Marina Kovačević wanted to combine *Notes from Underground* with *Notes from the House of the Dead* in order to give those serving time in prison the opportunity to contribute a share of their own experience to the dramatization of Dostoevsky. Moreover, in *Notes from the House of the Dead* (in the chapter "Performance"), an episode involving the preparation and staging of amateur plays by Omsk convicts was described in detail. This chapter was particularly valuable for Dostoevsky, demonstrating that the soul remains alive even in the inhumane conditions of penal servitude: the performance transformed both the convict spectators and the convict actors, bringing out their best qualities, and instilling hope in the possibility of transformation. In a similar manner, Serbian prisoners found themselves in the role of Dostoevsky's prisoners, performing in amateur plays, in search of the value of art and humanism.

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the reactions and listen to their comments. For them it was unthinkable that a prison like the central prison, which is considered "heavy," actually looks like a hostel in which prisoners are treated with respect without violating human rights. It was incredible to them that those convicted of criminal activities, imprisoned in special cells, could go out into the city and show a performance for the public" (Janković, Kovačević 2017).

9 Compare: "You see: reason, gentlemen, is a fine thing, that is unquestionable, but reason is only reason and satisfies only man's reasoning capacity, while wanting is a manifestation of the whole life, that is, the whole human life, including reason and various little itches" (Dostoevsky 2021: 28). "Reason only knows what it has managed to learn (some things, perhaps, it will never learn; this is no consolation, but why not say it anyway?), while human nature acts as an entire whole, with everything that is in it, consciously or unconsciously, and, though it lies, still it lives" (Dostoevsky 2021: 28).

It is therefore not surprising that the Serbian prisoners recognized Dostoevsky as their own writer, acknowledging the enduring relevance of his work. He became their interlocutor, and ultimately, through his writings, Dostoevsky offered them the possibility of becoming different: by playing prisoners, they changed the image of prisoners to actors, and proved to themselves that they could achieve success in something.<sup>10</sup> In Dostoevsky's "anti-hero," the prisoners saw "one of their own" and perceived his philosophy of life, directed against mathematical formulas<sup>11</sup> in determining the laws of human existence; they saw this as close to their own thoughts about the structure of life. They identified themselves with the "paradoxalist," who suffered from his social marginality and rebelled against the conditions of social life that limited, depersonalized and morally crippled him. They understood the thought of Dostoevsky's "anti-hero" that a person does not need rationalist theories and systems, but "one's own free and voluntary wanting, one's own caprice, however wild, one's own fancy, though chafed sometimes to the point of madness" (Dostoevsky 2021: 25); they saw that Dostoevsky privileged desire, which "does not fit into any classification, and because of which all systems and theories are blown to the devil" (Dostoevsky 2021: 25); all these were a challenge for the prisoners. They undertook to demonstrate their own free will in the performance, in contrast to life in a cell organized according to hierarchical laws. Reading *Notes from Underground* made them think about the same questions as Dostoevsky: is it necessary to remake a person, does human desire need correction, why has a man "a passionate love" for creation and also for "chaos and destruction"? (Dostoevsky 2021: 31) They could repeat after the "paradoxalist" that the purpose of life on earth is not in the goal itself, but in the process of achieving this goal.<sup>12</sup> The main task of the prisoners in the process of working on the

10 Djordje Vasiljević said in the documentary "Notes from Cell No. 12", filmed by Marina Kovačević in 2016: "We really felt that we had done everything well when these people (prisoners-spectators – *K. I.*) looked at us and applauded; it was clear from their faces that this was good, since for a moment they forgot who we were and saw others in us."; "This performance was our whole life for a year. Maybe the only thing, really, the only thing that made it worth being in prison all these years" (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfK2DJuC8T0>).

11 Compare: "For pity's sake", they'll shout at you, "you can't rebel: it's twice times two is four! Nature doesn't ask your permission; it doesn't care about your wishes, or whether you like its laws or not. You're obliged to accept it as it is, and consequently all its results as well. And so a wall is indeed a wall ... etc., etc." My God, but what do I care about the laws of nature and arithmetic if for some reason these laws and two times two is four are not to my liking?" (Dostoevsky 2021: 13) "Eh, gentlemen, what sort of will of one's own can there be if it comes to tables and arithmetic, and the only thing going is of two times two is four? Two times two will be four even without my will. As if that were any will of one's own!" (Dostoevsky 2021: 31)

12 Compare with Dostoevsky: "And who knows, perhaps the whole goal mankind strives for on earth consists just of this ceaselessness of the process of achievement alone, that is to say, in life itself, and not essentially in the goal, which, of course, is bound to be nothing other than two times two is four – that is, a formula; and two times two is four is no longer life, gentlemen, but the beginning of death" (Dostoevsky 2021: 33).

play was to turn the destructive principle in themselves into a creative one, to demonstrate their free will.

They rehearsed for six months. According to Djordje Vasiljević, they all “got up thinking about the play, went to a meeting with the play, devoured the play, rehearsed the play, went to bed with new ideas for the play and waited to act in the play”:<sup>13</sup> the play was everything to them. Thanks to working on the play, they changed their relationships, looked for positive qualities in each other, forgave each other, the play became their life. While working on *Notes from Underground*, the prisoners for the first time did not feel hatred for prison; the performance became the main theme of their prison life; it distinguished the lives of the six “actors” from all the others who ended up in prison with them. Entering the stage of the “Youth House” was their final triumph; they were mistaken for others not only by their cellmates and prisoners of other Serbian prisons, but also by ordinary spectators. They managed to do the impossible: they were taken in handcuffs to the city center so that they could give a performance. They appeared in a different role. The performance destroyed the prejudices of the Serbian public, who for the first time could see a play in which not professional actors played, but prisoners. This was the first time in the history of Serbian theater that prisoners performed on the city stage. A theatrical project with prisoners based on the works of Dostoevsky showed other possibilities for people who, for one reason or another, find themselves on the other side of the law. The project demonstrated, just in the spirit of Dostoevsky, the power of rebirth that lies hidden in man. The audience perceived the prisoners as actors, applauded, and the prisoners ceased to be prisoners for two hours. Let us remember that prisoners were transported in handcuffs from prison to city, as well as from city to prison.

The confession of a “paradoxalist” was performed by a prisoner: “I am not only evil, but I have not even managed to become anything: neither evil, nor good, neither a scoundrel, nor an honest one, nor a hero, nor an insect”. This declaration challenged a society ossified by prejudices and limited by everyday laws. The hero spoke about his failed existence. It was a voice from the underground.<sup>14</sup>

13 Vasilevich's words are quoted from the documentary film “Notes from Cell No. 12” (2016, director Marina Kovačević) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IfK2DJuC8T0>).

14 In the play, the voice from the underground emphasized the impossibility of self-realization, while Dostoevsky's “man from the underground” warned about the destructiveness of human activity, although when reasoning he put forward arguments for and against, strengthening his logical conclusions with the familiar formula “twice two,” which breaks down into life itself: “The final end, gentleman: better to do nothing! Better conscious inertia! And so, long live the underground! Though I did say that I envy the normal man to the point of uttermost bile, still I do not want to be him on those conditions in which I see him (though, all the same, I shall not stop envying him. No, no, the underground is in any case more profitable!). There one can at least ... Eh, but here, too, I'm lying! Lying, because I myself know, like two times two, that it is not at all the underground that is better, but something different, completely different, which I thirst for but cannot ever find! Devil take the underground!” (Dostoevsky 2021: 37)

The performance in a condensed form asked the key questions that have tormented Dostoevsky, including those in *Notes from the Underground*: “Tell me, gentlemen, where can I find love?”, “Please tell me, where can I escape from evil?”, “Tell me where should I hide from hatred?” (These questions are addressed to the audience by one of the actors). If Dostoevsky’s “anti-hero”, rejecting a social system built on arithmetic, prefers seclusion in his own ‘corner’ and a cup of tea as an expression of his free will, then the prisoners in the play emphasize the impossibility of choice, the absurdity of existence in a world in which hatred and evil reign. The questions addressed to the audience, which remained unanswered, actually equated the audience, which consisted of prisoners, and the public, which consisted of free citizens, and spoke of the hopelessness of both.

In parallel with the production of *Notes from Underground*, the photographer and anthropologist Igor Čoko created a series of photographs in prison, which he published in the 2017 book *Behind Barbed Wire*.<sup>15</sup> For the first time in Serbia, this book showed the life of a prison from the inside. Igor Čoko apparently received inspiration for the book while working on his thesis on the singer Johnny Cash (“Religious Influence in the Music of Johnny Cash”). Johnny Cash, singer and recluse, did the unthinkable: on January 13, 1968, he gave a concert at Folsom Prison, which caused a real sensation. It was then that he recorded an album called “In Folsom Prison.” A year later, he performed for prisoners at San Quentin Prison and, accordingly, a gramophone recording entitled “Johnny Cash in San Quentin” appeared in 1969. Johnny Cash’s performance, 11 years after the prison artists performed *Waiting for Godot*, opened prisons to art. In Serbia, the first attempt of this kind was made only in 2014 by Marina Kovačević and her collaborators Dubravka Radusinović, Igor and Maja Čoko, who turned to the classic of world literature Fyodor Dostoevsky for their project.

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15 An exhibition of prison photographs by Igor Čoko took place in 2017 in Paris, Pula, Naples and Belgrade.

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## Kornelija Ičin

### *Zapisi iz podzemlja* u izvođenju srpskih zatvorenika

**Apstrakt:** Ovaj članak ispituje uticaj *Zapisa iz podzemlja* Dostojevskog na živote osuđenika na zatvorsku kaznu. Ideja rediteljke Marine Kovačević da režira predstavu zasnovanu na *Zapisima iz podzemlja* sa zatvorenicima bila je da pokaže kako buđenje kreativnosti kod grupe ljudi izvan zakona vraća volju da konstruktivno sagledaju sopstveni život. Zatvorenici su imali priliku da pokažu svoj talenat, da se izraze sa kreativne a ne nasilne strane, čime su otkrili mogućnost svoje nove budućnosti, mogućnost prevazilaženja nametnutih granica i okvira postojanja, mogućnost slobode kao šanse da postanu bolji. Pravi trijumf je bilo izvođenje predstave na sceni Doma omladine u Beogradu, koje je promenilo odnos zatvorenika prema sebi.

**Ključne reči:** *Zapisi iz podzemlja*, Dostojevski, osuđeničko pozorište, srpski zatvorenici, amaterska predstava, „Zapisi iz ćelije br. 12“, Jevrejinov, Fuko