

ZBORNIK

SEMINARA ZA STUDIJE MODERNE UMETNOSTI
FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA UNIVERZITETA U BEOGRADU 11 – 2015

THE JOURNAL

OF MODERN ART HISTORY DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE 11 – 2015



ISSN 2217-3951

ZBORNIK

SEMINARA ZA STUDIJE MODERNE UMETNOSTI
FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA UNIVERZITETA U BEOGRADU 11 – 2015

THE JOURNAL

OF MODERN ART HISTORY DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE 11 – 2015



ZBORNİK SEMINARA ZA STUDIJE MODERNE UMETNOSTI
FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA UNIVERZITETA U BEOGRADU
11 – 2015

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN ART HISTORY DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE
11 – 2015

IZDAVAČ: Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

ZA IZDAVAČA: prof. dr Miloš Arsenijević, dekan

UREDNIŠTVO: prof. dr Lidija Merenik (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd) – odgovorni urednik
prof. dr Simona Čupić (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd)
prof. dr Jasmina Čubrilo (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd)
prof. dr Ljudmila Kostova (Univerzitet u Velikom Trnovu)
prof. dr Roksana Pana Oltean (Univerzitet u Bukureštu)

IZDAVAČKI SAVET: prof. dr Ješa Denegri (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd) – predsednik
prof. dr Aleksandra Kračun (Univerzitet u Tuluzu), prof. dr Tošino Iguči (Univerzitet u Saitami)
prof. dr Katrin Kivima (Estonska akademija umetnosti)
doc. dr Iva Paštrnakova (Univerzitet Komenskog u Bratislavi)

SEKRETAR UREDNIŠTVA: Ana Bogdanović

GRAFIČKO OBLIKOVANJE: Studio za dizajn *Aparat*, Beograd

LEKTURA I KOREKTURA: Mirjana Smiljović

PREVOD: Nikola Gradić

ŠTAMPA: JP Službeni glasnik, Beograd

TIRAŽ: 300

ISSN 2217-3951

NASLOVNA STRANA: Miodrag B. Protić, *Imaginarni predeo I*, 1962,
ulje na platnu, 210 x 148 cm, vlasništvo Muzeja savremene umetnosti, Beograd

Zahvaljujemo prof. Milanki Todić i Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu
na podršci u realizaciji ovog izdanja Zbornika.

SADRŽAJ / CONTENT

Ješa Denegri 5
MIODRAG B. PROTIĆ (1922-2014)

PRILOZI / CONTRIBUTIONS

Petar Prelog 11
PITANJE NACIONALNOG IDENTITETA
U *PODRAVSKIM MOTIVIMA* KRSTE HEGEDUŠIĆA

Ana Bogdanović 23
KRALJEVINA JUGOSLAVIJA NA BIJENALU UMETNOSTI U VENECIJI 1938. I 1940. GODINE

Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić 35
DJELOVANJE UMJETNICE PISMA OLGE HÖCKER U
KONTEKSTU HRVATSKE UMJETNOSTI IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA

Mari Laanemets 51
FLIGHT INTO TOMORROW: RETHINKING ARTISTIC
PRACTICE IN ESTONIA DURING THE 1970S (LEONHARD LAPIN)

Laura Giudici 73
THE REPRESENTATION OF INTERSEX BODIES
IN KLONARIS AND THOMADAKI'S MULTIMEDIA PRACTICE

Jasmina Čubrilo 83
MOĆ SLIKE, MOĆ REPREZENTACIJE, MOĆ INTERPRETACIJE

POLEMIKE / POLEMICS

Maria Bremer 95
SELF-REPRESENTATION AS "SELF-DIVESTMENT"? EPIGONISM AND
SINGULARITY IN VETTOR PISANI'S *THE CHAMBER HERO* AT *DOCUMENTA 5* (1972)

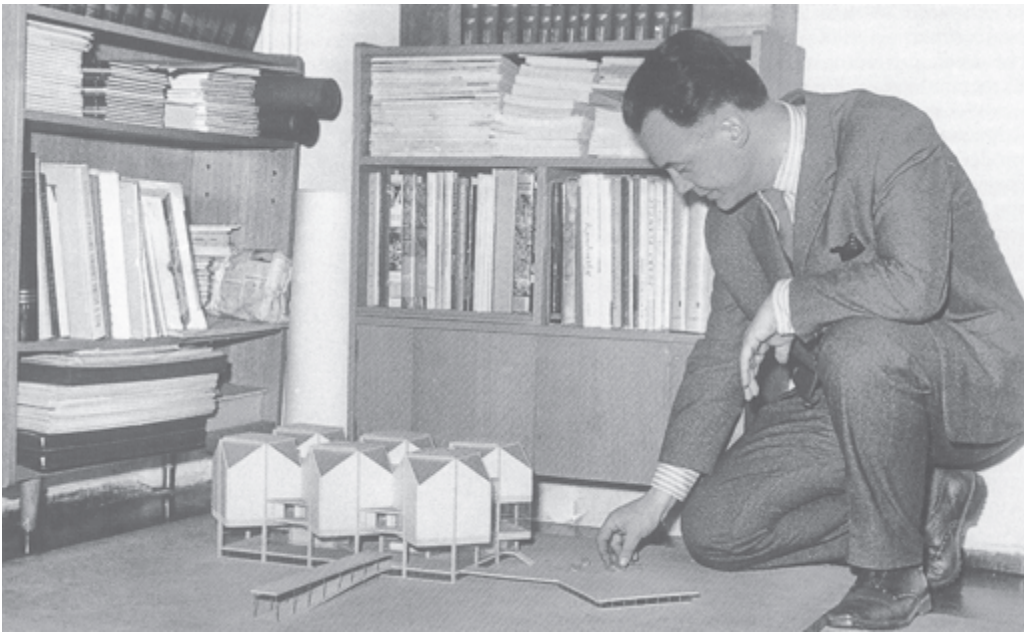
KRITIKE / REVIEWS

Ania K. England 113
IN THE SHADOW OF THE RED STAR:
CAMP STRATEGY IN POLISH ART AFTER 1945

PRIKAZI / REVIEWS

Simona Čupić 129
„DOBA DŽEZA“ U SLIKARSTVU ARČIBALDA MOTLIJA

Uroš Tomić 135
SENTIMENTALNI ISTORIČAR VARIJETA: ČARLI ČAPLIN KAO KNJIŽEVNIK



Miodrag B. Protić sa maketom budućeg Muzeja savremene umetnosti, Beograd 1962.
(J. Denegri, R. Matić-Panić, *Miodrag B. Protić*, Beograd 2002, 54)

MIODRAG B. PROTIĆ (1922-2014)

Pokušati da se nedugo nakon odlaska Miodraga B. Protića sa životne scene - naravno za ovu svrhu sasvim ukratko - razmotri njegovo duhovno nasleđe gotovo da je nepremostivi zadatak, ipak sa jednim izvesnim zaključkom. Taj se zadatak ukazuje nepremostivim naprosto zato jer je posredi duhovno nasleđe slikara, kritičara, teoretičara i istoričara umetnosti, polemičara, organizatora umetničkog života i stratega kulturne politike, osnivača i višegodišnjeg upravnika Muzeja savremene umetnosti, napokon i pisca memoarske literature - sve to često u isto vreme i u jednoj istoj ličnosti. Ali i sa zaključkom izvesnim upravo zato jer je, imajući u vidu sve pomenuto, reč o ličnosti vrlo bitnoj i značajnoj za ukupnu srpsku kulturu, a posebno za oblast likovnih umetnosti u drugoj polovini 20. veka.

Razvojni put Protićevog slikarstva počinje prvim usvajanjem osnovnih Sezanovih principa da bi se posredstvom pouka kubizma priklonio postepenoj redukciji predmetnih motiva. Postupak redukcije u Protićevom slikarstvu nikada neće napustiti predmetne referencije koje će negovati u rasponu od materijalnih činjenica (kao što su lampa, sto, list) do izvanmaterijalnih znakova (krst, sazvežđe). On sam isticaće da je ovde posredi osobeni geometrizam arhetipske umesto tehničke forme, dakle geometrizam meditativan i spiritualan umesto racionalnog i funkcionalističkog. Da bi obeležio tipologiju sopstvenog slikarstva uveo je i koristio pojam „semantički ključ“ pod kojim podrazumeva proces svodenja od izgleda predmeta do statusa predmetnog znaka. Odnosno, po njemu, „semantički ključ je predmet sveden na geometrijski znak (školjka-spirala, asteroid-krug, peščani sat-trougao) koji je kao bitan njihov deo uklopljen u ideju celine“.

Kao slikar Protić je postigao bogatu izlagačku aktivnost u zemlji i inostranstvu, između ostalog predstavljao je Jugoslaviju na Bijenalima u Veneciji 1956. (nagrada UNESCO-a) i Sao Paolu 1965. Uvršten je u preglede međunarodne moderne umetnosti Vila Gromana *Kunst unserer Zeit* (1966) i Đila Dorflesa *Ultime tendenze nell'arte d'oggi* (1969).

Uporedo sa slikarstvom, obavljao je i aktivnost kritičara, u NIN-u u ključnom periodu posleratne obnove umetničkog života između 1951-1960. Posebno je vredna pomena njegova polemika sa Grgom Gamulinom oko apstraktne umetnosti u časopisima *Delo* i *Savremeni* (u pet nastavaka, 1955-1956). Objavio je knjige kritika *Savremenici*, I-II (1955, 1960), teorijske knjige *Slika i smisao* (1960), *Oblik i vreme* (1979), *Otmica Evrope* (1995). Pisac je monografija o Konjoviću, Bijeliću, Milunoviću, Stojanoviću, Šumanoviću; istorijskih pregleda srpske i jugoslovenske umetnosti *Srpsko slikarstvo*, I-II (1970), *Jugoslovensko slikarstvo 1900-1950* (1973) i dr., autor je retrospektivnih izložbi Čelebonovića, Lubarde, Bijelića, Šumanovića, Dobrovića, Gvozdenovića, Tabakovića, Pavlović Barili, Milosavljevića, Vozarevića, Šejke u Muzeju savremene umetnosti. Autor je koncepcija i pisac uvodnih tekstova u katalozima niza „decenijskih izložbi“ Muzeja između 1967-1980. Priredio je zbornik *Ideje srpske umetničke kritike*, I-III (1981). Iako je prevashodno bio zaokupljen kapitalnim temama i vodećim ličnostima srpskog međuratnog i posleratnog modernizma, obavio je prve revalorizacije vizuelnih praksi istorijskih avangardi poput zenitizma, dadaizma i beogradskog nadrealizma. Objavio je memoare (u tri knjige) *Nojeva barka*, 1992-2011.

Za Protićevo pisanje o umetnosti karakteristična je, naročito u monografskim studijama, sinteza čvrstih biografskih činjenica, pomne formalne analize i razmatranja dubinskih značenja umetničkog dela, zajedno sa osvrtima na okolne socijalne i kulturne kontekste. Rukovodio se metodološkim principom „rekonstrukcije umetnikove ličnosti“, po dalekom uzoru na Lionela Venturija, ali naravno i sa bitnim otklonom prema zahtevima konkretnih individualnih primera. Zasluga mu je što se prvi u domaćoj sredini upuštao u raspravljanja složenih teorijskih problema moderne i savremene umetnosti, odajući znatnu erudiciju i poznavanje odgovarajuće literature, uz to negujući bogatstvo i finoću jezika.

Dok vrilne slikarstva i pisanja o umetnosti duguje sopstvenom obrazovanju i sposobnostima, za treću komponentu Protićeve javne delatnosti - a to će biti osnivanje i višegodišnje rukovođenje Muzejom savremene umetnosti - valjalo je naći načine usaglašavanja sa zatečenim društveno-političkim prilikama. Na dalekosežnu dobrobit sredine uspeo je da iskoristi donekle liberalnije okolnosti političke klime i materijalnih pogodnosti u relativno prosperitetnim šezdesetim godinama prošlog veka, zasnivajući - barem u prvom periodu funkcionisanja - osnovne principe delovanja Muzeja po uzoru na model njujorškog Muzeja moderne umetnosti sa

kojim se upoznao tokom šestomesečnog studijskog boravka u Sjedinjenim državama 1963. godine. U vreme Protićevog mandata i na tom tragu, Muzej je započeo sa formiranjem bogate kolekcije međuratne i posleratne umetnosti sa celog tadašnjeg jugoslovenskog umetničkog prostora i bio je domaćin niza neponovljivih izložbi inostrane umetnosti.

Ali iako se čini nužnim, sâmo nabrojanje osnovnih podataka Protićeve ukupne radne biografije neće biti potpuno ukoliko se ne uklape u zajednički intelektualni profil njegove ličnosti. Nije ga, naime, dovoljno posmatrati kao slikara, pisca o umetnosti i organizatora umetničkog života u svakoj od tih oblasti zasebno, nego bi ih valjalo sagledati integralno, kao jedinstvenu strategijsku platformu, dakle u sintezi svih aktivnosti koje je on najčešće obavljao istovremeno i u međusobnom prožimanju. Tek tada Protić se ukazuje u statusu predstavnika humanističke i prosvetiteljske kulture posleratnog modernizma u generalnom značenju tog pojma, u domaćim pak prilikama modernizma sa predznakom „socijalistički“ (bez posebnih, pozitivnih ili negativnih ideoloških konotacija). Pod tim statusom može da se podrazumeva nastojanje da se u sistemu kulture i umetnosti određenog istorijskog perioda u srpskom i jugoslovenskom društvu u decenijama posle Drugog svetskog rata deluje sa pozicija zastupanja svekolikog napretka sopstvene sredine i ujedno u cilju njenog integrisanja u odgovarajuće evropske kontekste. Razumljivo je da se u takvim prilikama Protićevo delovanje nalazilo na vetrometinama društvenih zbivanja, pobirući brojna priznanja (između ostalih, članstvo u JAZU u četrdesetčetvrtoj godini života, ali nikada u SANU), ujedno trpeći i napade poput onih u kampanji tzv. „Crnog talasa“ 1973. godine. Reč je, na kraju, o jednom isuviše složenom kulturnom pregalaštvu, otuda - ponovimo - gotovo nesagledivom u potpunosti sa stanovišta ovog sažetog prigodnog osvrtu. Ali, u zaključku, ipak nesumljivo vrlo značajnog za ukupno kulturno nasleđe sredine u kojoj je decenijama i iz prvih redova svojih brojnih preokupacija neprekidno delovao.

Ješa Denegri

PRILOZI

CONTRIBUTIONS

PITANJE NACIONALNOG IDENTITETA U *PODRAVSKIM MOTIVIMA* KRSTE HEGEDUŠIĆA¹

Apstrakt:

Podravski motivi Krste Hegedušića – zbirka crteža objavljena 1933. u Zagrebu – pokazali su se jednom od prijelomnih točaka u hrvatskoj umjetnosti međuratnog razdoblja. Njihova se važnost prepoznaje na dvije temeljne razine. Prvo, tridesetak Hegedušićevih crteža može se interpretirati u kontekstu osnovnih obilježja djelovanja Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja, kao eksplicitan iskaz autorovih oblikovnih nastojanja, ali i sadržajnih inklinacija. S druge strane, *Podravski motivi* posjeduju osobitu važnost zbog složene ideološke bitke koja ih je pratila. Naime, *Predgovor Podravskim motivima* Miroslava Krleže – po riječima Stanka Lasića, njegova najznačajnijeg tumača – „osnovni je tekst čitava sukoba na književnoj ljevici”. U tom smislu i sami su crteži nedugo nakon objavljivanja zadobili dodatnu težinu, pa su značenjski promatrani prije svega u temeljnom kontekstu uvodnoga teksta: u svjetlu zalaganja za društveno angažiranu, ali neovisnu umjetnost, za umjetničko djelo kao produkt individualnih stvaralačkih poticaja, a protiv njegove sveobuhvatne ideologizacije.

Ipak, kritičko sagledavanje samih crteža, kao i njihova predgovora, ne može biti ograničeno isključivo na spektar značenja povezan s glasovitim sukobom na ljevici. Naime, u *Predgovoru* Krleža raspravlja i o mnogim problemima koje prepoznaje kao ključne za određivanje obilježja hrvatskog kulturnog identiteta početkom četvrtog desetljeća. Tako se pojedini dijelovi teksta mogu tumačiti kroz prizmu odnosa nacionalnog identiteta i umjetničkog stvaralaštva, kao jednog od temeljnih problema koji su nastojali artikulirati vodeći članovi Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja, ali i drugi ključni protagonisti hrvatske umjetnosti. U tom smislu, posebna se pozornost pridaje Hegedušićevoj ulozi u procesu artikulacije ideje o nezavisnom, nacionalnom likovnom izrazu te se ističe značenje *Podravskih motiva* u povezivanju ideoloških pozicija s lijevim političkim predznakom i nacionalnih kategorija, što toj ideji daje specifično obilježje među srodnim pojavama u srednjoeuropskom kulturnom prostoru.

Ključne reči:

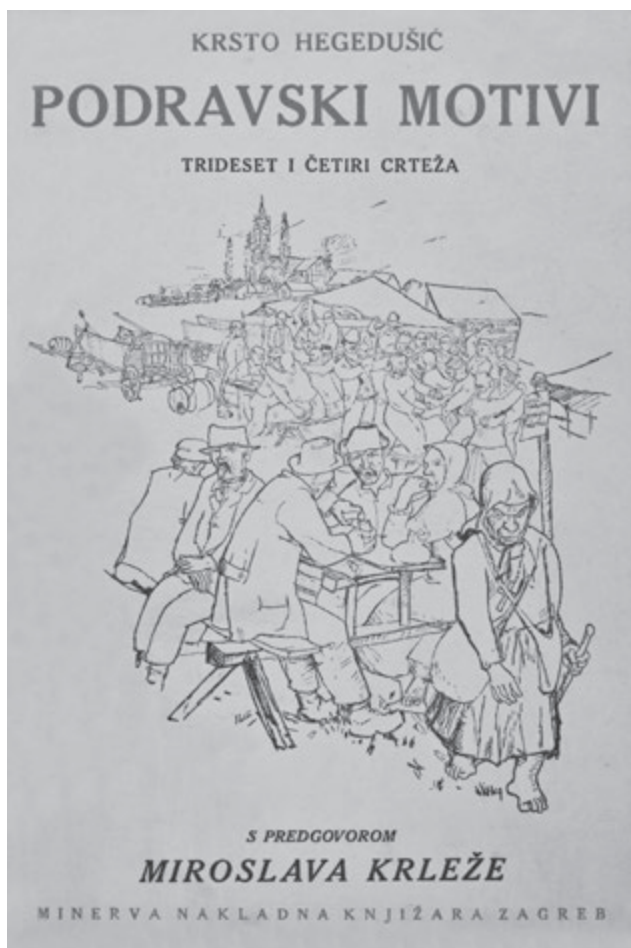
Krsto Hegedušić, *Podravski motivi*, Miroslav Krleža, nacionalni identitet, Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja, sukob na književnoj ljevici

Podravski motivi Krste Hegedušića – zbirka crteža objavljena 1933. u Zagrebu – bili su jedna od prijelomnih točaka u hrvatskoj umjetnosti međuratnog razdoblja. Njihova se važnost prepoznaje na dvije temeljne razine. Prvo, tridesetak Hegedušićevih crteža može se interpretirati u kontekstu osnovnih obilježja djelovanja Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja, kao eksplicitan iskaz autorovih oblikovnih nastojanja, ali i prevladavajućih tematsko-sadržajnih inklinacija. S druge strane, *Podravski motivi* posjeduju osobitu važnost zbog složene, burne i dugotrajne ideološke bitke koja ih je pratila. Naime, *Predgovor Podravskim motivima* Miroslava Krleže² – po riječima Stanka Lasića, njegova najznačajnijeg tumača – „osnovni je tekst čitava sukoba na književnoj ljevici”.³ U tom smislu i sami su crteži nedugo nakon objavljivanja zadobili dodatnu težinu, pa su značenjski promatrani prije svega u temeljnom kontekstu uvodnoga teksta: u svjetlu zalaganja za društveno angažiranu, ali neovisnu umjetnost, za umjetničko djelo kao produkt individualnih stvaralačkih poticaja, a protiv njegove izravne i sveobuhvatne ideologizacije. Iako se, dakle, kritički pristup crtežima, kao i tekstu koji ih je pratio, najčešće temeljio na pogledu kroz prizmu značenja povezanih s glasovitim sukobom na ljevici, treba uzeti u obzir da se njihovu tumačenju može pristupiti i s drugačijih polazišta. Tako se analizom odnosa umjetničkog stvaralaštva i nacionalnog identiteta u Krležinu *Predgovoru* nameću odgovori na jedno od ključnih pitanja koje je zaokupljalo hrvatske umjetnike u međuratnom razdoblju: ono o tome s kojih bi temelja trebalo krenuti u oblikovanje željenog nezavisnog, nacionalnog likovnog izraza.

* * *

Sukob na književnoj ljevici, kako se nazivaju oštra ideološka razračunavanja na kulturnoj sceni čitavog jugoslavenskog prostora između 1928. i 1952. godine, u svome je središtu imao različita razumijevanja pojma i mogućnosti sinteze umjetnosti i revolucije.⁴ U revolucionarnim procesima s lijevim političkim predznakom, koji su bili na djelu u spomenutom razdoblju, kulturi je, a posebice književnosti i likovnim umjetnostima, dodijeljena izuzetno važna djelatna uloga: upravo kultura, naime, postaje nezaobilazan „faktor preobražaja”.⁵ Stoga ne čudi da se Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja pojavilo 1929. godine dobrim dijelom kao rezultat takvog prevladavajućeg kulturnog ozračja. Kao jedna od najvažnijih organiziranih skupnih pojava u povijesti hrvatske umjetnosti, s čvrsto postavljenim programskim ciljevima i jasno formuliranim manifestnim istupom, Zemlja je, unatoč mnogim proturječjima koje su obilježile njezino djelovanje, zauzela istaknuto mjesto na hrvatskoj umjetničkoj pozornici.

Krsto Hegedušić je pak na više mjesta, komentirajući djelovanje i izlagačku politiku Zemlje, ali i opću situaciju u hrvatskoj umjetnosti toga doba, često pisao o „likovnoj samostalnosti našeg naroda” kao temeljnom stavu Zemlje.⁶ Njegova razmišljanja tako u središte pozornosti dovode – ali i povezuju – dvije osnovne idejne pokretačke snage Udruženja: potrebu za oblikovanjem nezavisnog likovnog izraza i društvenu angažiranost s pozicije političke ljevice. U ključnom tekstu, objavljenom 1932. pod naslovom *Problem umjetnosti kolektiva*,⁷ Hegedušić tako ustrajava upravo na dubokoj povezanosti tih idejnih sklopova: težnja za pronalaženjem nacionalnog likovnog izraza – kao temelja novog nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta u čijem bi oblikovanju trebali ravnopravno sudjelovati i zapostavljeni društveni slojevi (u čemu pak možemo prepoznati svojevrsni amalgam



Krsto Hegedušić,
Podravski motivi: trideset
i četiri crteža, naslovnica
s crtežom *Molvarsko*
proštenje, 1933.

utjecaja Radićeve ideologije i osnova lijevih političkih stavova) – isprepleće se sa željom za uspostavljanjem „ideološki ispravne” umjetnosti, pod utjecajem odjeka suvremene sovjetske kulturne politike.⁸

Kako se, dakle, prema ulozi umjetnosti u oblikovanju nacionalnog identiteta i eventualnom stvaranju nacionalnog likovnog izraza kao njegova temelja postavio Miroslav Krleža? U mnogim se njegovim književnim djelima, kritikama i esejima, pa tako i u *Predgovoru*, pojavljuje uspoređivanje i suprotstavljanje lokalnih i univerzalnih kategorija, što je jedan od načina na koji se može postaviti dilema nacionalno – internacionalno. Ne smije se, također, zaboraviti Krležin sud – istaknut u nekoliko prigoda – o štetnosti ugledanja na likovne pojave iz inozemstva, što gotovo uvijek ocjenjuje eklekticizmom.⁹ Iako nikada nije eksplicitno spominjao potrebu oblikovanja nacionalnog likovnog izraza, njegov se negativan odnos prema dominantnim suvremenim europskim umjetničkim kretanjima, u vremenu u kojemu se ponovno otvaraju pitanja nacionalnog u umjetnosti, može protumačiti i kao zalaganje za oblikovanje likovnog izraza koji bi u osnovnim intencijama trebao biti specifičan, tj. nezavisan od prevladavajućih utjecaja europske maticе.

Radi boljeg razumijevanja Krležina stava o povezanosti umjetnosti i nacionalnog identiteta te odnosa prema ključnim protagonistima hrvatske umjetničke pozornice prve polovice tridesetih godina (pa tako i prema Krsti Hegedušiću) potrebno je, digresivno, ukratko analizirati pojedine aspekte romana *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza*.¹⁰ Naime, taj je roman, pisan 1930. i 1931., a objavljen u cijelosti 1932. godine – kao „zaglavni kamen i kruna njegova bavljenja slikarskom problematikom”¹¹ – najbolje svjedočanstvo o svim Krležinim, često proturječnim stavovima o najvažnijim pojavnostima u nacionalnoj, ali i europskoj modernoj umjetnosti. Poput Filipa Latinovicza, koji u romanu traga za vlastitim identitetom i definicijama identiteta sredine iz koje potječe – pa i poticajima koji bi mu pomogli odrediti se kako prema vlastitu djelu tako i prema umjetnosti uopće – i sam Krleža na stranicama romana iznosi sve dileme i pitanja kojima su obilježena njegova razmišljanja o različitim umjetničkim pojavama. Osim što se u romanu mogu pronaći nadahnute mikroanalize obilježja djela onih umjetnika koji su Krleži, ali i Hegedušiću, značili mnogo (od Boscha i Brueghela do Grosza), osobito su važne aluzije na ključne suvremene hrvatske umjetnike. Analizirajući Krležin odnos prema protagonistima suvremene hrvatske umjetničke scene, a koji se može odgonetnuti prepoznavanjem likovnih afiniteta fikcionalnog Filipa Latinovicza, Tonko Maroević

spominje „tendenciju ukorijenjivanja slikarstva u našu sredinu, i to ponajprije kod nekih naših ‘parižlija’, kao što su osnivači Zemlje Junek i Hegedušić”.¹² U tom smislu, znajući da je i sam Latinovicz kolorist (štoviše, fovist), Junek se nameće kao posve primjerena usporedba. Ipak, s obzirom na stalnu potrebu za „ukorijenjivanjem” i približavanjem domaćoj sredini, „Hegedušić je svakako najbliži programu kojim se Filip zanosi”, pa je Krleža „progovorio o njemu kao o najbližem Filipovu srodniku”.¹³ Međutim, nastavlja Maroević, i Ljubo Babić može se prepoznati u pojedinim Latinoviczevim karakteristikama: „Tipološki (ne životopisno) Babić je Filipov bratblizanac; zakašnjeli romantik, izraziti intelektualac i pisac o slikarstvu...”.¹⁴ Ukratko, temeljem Maroevićeva uvida, može se zaključiti da je lik Filipa Latinovicza – uznemiren, rastrgan, nesiguran u vlastite vrijednosti, u stalnoj mucu „traženja samoga sebe” – svojevrsna slika hrvatske međuratne likovne scene, razapete u oblikovanju vlastita identiteta između pokušaja razumijevanja i prihvatanja osnovnih postulata brzo mijenjajuće europske suvremene likovne scene te stalne, gotovo bolne želje za izražavanjem specifičnih ili autohtonih umjetničkih elemenata – želje za povlačenjem



Krsto Hegedušić, *Majkobožari*, 1933, objavljeno u: Krsto Hegedušić, *Podravski motivi: trideset i četiri crteža*, str. 32.

u siguran, dobro poznati okvir unutar kojeg će se osnovna „pravila igre” određivati na jednostavan i svima razumljiv način. Drugim riječima, dileme glavnoga lika ujedno su i temeljne dileme hrvatske međuratne umjetnosti i njezinih ključnih protagonista: tako je Filip Latinovicz istodobno i „bjegunac” Leo Junek (koji odlazi u Pariz, prepušta se „zagrljaju” Cézannea i francuskog slikarstva te se više ne vraća), i Ljubo Babić (koji želi pomiriti domaće modernističke temelje, odjeke francuskog kolorizma, specifične elemente nacionalnog pejzaža i regionalnu folklornu baštinu, a sve radi ostvarivanja ideje o „našem izrazu”), i Krsto Hegedušić (sa svojom opsesijom nezavisnošću i ideološkom „ispravnošću” likovnog izričaja).

* * *

Predgovor Hegedušićevim *Podravskim motivima* nedvojbeno je najvažnije poglavlje Krležina ambivalentnog odnosa prema protagonistima Zemlje.¹⁵ Ono je presudno odredilo sudbinu te umjetničke grupacije u smislu unutarnjeg rascjepa: pojedini umjetnici, revoltirani Krležinim stavom, istupili su iz Udruženja. *Predgovor* je, naime, označio kulminaciju prve faze sukoba na književnoj ljevici, ideološkog razilaženja unutar korpusa tzv. socijalne literature koji je u međuratnoj multinacionalnoj državnoj zajednici imao izrazito jugoslavensku orijentaciju. Krleža prema takvoj orijentaciji u *Predgovoru* ne zauzima jasan stav, a pitanju nacionalnog identiteta ne pristupa izravno. Ipak, analiza će pokazati da je upravo taj tekst zorna potvrda osnovne Hegedušićeve intencije: povezivanja ideoloških s nacionalnim kategorijama.

Krleža se u *Predgovoru* – nasuprot negaciji svih individualnih vrijednosti i težnji za potpunom ideologizacijom umjetnosti, potaknutoj harkovskim zaključcima i Ždanovljevim nastojanjima – zalaže za kritički usmjerenu i socijalno angažiranu, ali neovisnu umjetnost. U tom smislu, kao najveće vrijednosti pokušaja svakog umjetničkog stvaranja ističe upravo one koje proizlaze iz individualnog.¹⁶ Nadalje, u *Predgovoru* se raspravlja o mnogim problemima koji se prepoznaju kao ključni za određivanje obilježja hrvatskog kulturnog identiteta u tom trenutku: od pojma ljepote i različitih načina njegova shvaćanja, do situacije u hrvatskom slikarstvu posljednjih desetljeća. Upravo u dijelu u kojemu se autor osvrće na Hegedušića i njegovo mjesto na hrvatskoj umjetničkoj pozornici mogu se pronaći i tumačenja pitanja nacionalnog identiteta i njegova odnosa sa suvremenom umjetničkom produkcijom. Krleža, prvo, citirajući dio vlastita teksta iz 1925. godine,¹⁷ uvodi Brueghela kao slikara bitno određenog povezanošću s obilježjima sredine koju je slikao, a usto identificira

i sličnost između njegova Brabanta i sjevernohrvatske regije: „...meni je izgledalo da je Brueghel jedan od onih stvaralaca, koji je stvorio svijet svoga Brabanta tako sličan našem gornjohrvatskom kraju na historijskoj protuturskoj strateškoj bazi između Karlovca i Koprivnice”.¹⁸ Zatim spominje i Geogea Grosza kao jednu od mogućih poveznica s Hegedušićevim crtežima: „Metoda crtanja Hegedušićevih likova i fizionomija jeste mjestimično eklektična i u tim pokretima i stavovima pojedinih figura ima momenata, koji nas sjećaju mnogobrojnih figuralnih attituda od talijanskih i nordijskih primitivaca sve do dadaističkih apsurda George Grosza.”¹⁹ Ipak, ističe da se, unatoč „Brueghelove Flandrije i George Groszovog degeneriranog Berlina”, u Hegedušićevu stvaralaštvu prepoznaje upravo istinska povezanost s regionalnim: krajolikom, ali i ljudima i njihovim životnim sudbinama određenim društvenim uvjetima, kao osnovnom sastavnicom svakog regionalnog identiteta. Krleža bilježi: „Hegedušićeva idila reštantskih natpisa nosi bitnu karakteristiku nečeg našeg, lokalnog, domaćeg, prije Hegedušića likovno neustanovljenog, no ipak tako tipičnog, kao što je tipično sve što nosi ukrasni pridjev ‘našeg’ i ‘domaćeg’”.²⁰ Taj Krležin stav može se protumačiti i kao potvrda Hegedušićeva uspjeha u ostvarivanju najvažnijeg cilja: stvaranja likovnog jezika koji je u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri nezavisan od suvremenih umjetničkih strujanja ponajprije francuske provenijencije, zatim povezan s ključnim obilježjima sredine u kojoj nastaje, a kao takav i nacionalan. Nameće se, dakle, zaključak da u skladu s poznatim i široko rasprostranjenim principom „regionalno kao nacionalno” Hegedušić uspijeva ostvariti nacionalni likovni izraz kao sastavni dio nacionalnog identiteta.

Krleža također prepoznaje važnu ulogu Hegedušićeva talenta, temperamenta, osobnih sklonosti i subjektivnog pogleda, pa tako i tog umjetnika – kao, primjerice, i Račića, Kraljevića te Babića – smatra izrazitim individualcem i staje u obranu općih individualnih vrijednosti. Citirajmo, stoga, jednu indikativnu Krležinu rečenicu iz *Predgovora*, koja se odnosi na sliku *Poplava*: „Skromno se nadam, da će mi naši ‘materijalistički’ zvjezdoznanci dopustiti, da je osim te statističke istine o našim poplavama kod te Hegedušićeve slike igrala isto tako važnu ulogu i komponenta njegove subjektivne slikarske invencije, te je pronašao slikarski način, kako da izrazi te naše pogubne vodostaje i poplave i blatne vode i utopljenike na oranicama i u močvarnom sivom mulju.”²¹ Hegedušić je za Krležu, upravo zbog takva pristupa, najbolji primjer socijalne tendencije u umjetnosti, pa nudi svojevrsnu formulu za „čitanje” njegova rada: „Trebalo bi te Hegedušićeve nezgrapne, tvrde,

pijane, grube, okorele, elementarne seljake usporediti s našim slikarskim i kazališnim seljačkim secesionističkim idilama, pa da se verizam Hegedušićeve grafike ne shvati kao karikatura, nego kao praktična primjena teze o socijalnoj tendenci u našem slikarstvu.”²²

Na trideset i tri Hegedušićeva crteža, objedinjena pod nazivom *Podravski motivi*, može se, kako je ustanovljeno, gledati kao na eksplicitan iskaz autorovih oblikovnih nastojanja, ali i prevladavajućih sadržajnih inklinacija. Crteži su, naime, činili najveći dio autorovih izložaka na predstavljajima Zemlje, a crtajući je – svjedoče tome i *Podravski motivi* – mogao postići kudikamo veću izražajnu slobodu nego slikajući. Rezultat je to svakodnevnih zapažanja ponajprije seoskog života, pa se upravo kao brze i neposredne zabilješke traumatičnih trenutaka suvremene stvarnosti Hegedušićevi crteži mogu uspoređivati s onima Georgea Grosza. Sličan način čvrstog vođenja linije koja odlučno određuje formu, težnja deformaciji te srodna potreba za komentarom društvenih anomalija također govore o susretu s Groszom kao ideološkim i formalnim uzorom.²³ Hegedušić ni u crtežu ne odustaje od prepoznatljivih elemenata lokalnog krajolika, a mnogo izrazitije nego na slikama pristupa karakterizaciji ljudskog lika radi stvaranja određenog specifičnog tipa. Nedvojbeno je prisutna i veća raznolikost: od velikih grupnih scena poput *Molvarskog proštenja* s naslovnice *Podravskega motiva* (gdje će se ponegdje „izgubiti“ u gotovo filigranskom iscrtavanju detalja) i *Majkobožara* (gdje prevladava sumarni potez), do jednostavnih prikaza, poput crteža *Pepek spi*, na kojemu prevladavajuća praznina naglašava detalje iscrtane i ispisane na zidu zatvorske ćelije. U *Podravskega motiva* mogu se, stoga, pronaći svi elementi ključni za pokušaj stvaranja nacionalnog likovnog izraza, a koje Hegedušić navodi u svojim glasovitim *Tehnološkim tekama*, tekstu *Problem umjetnosti kolektiva* te drugim tekstovima u kojima se bavi formalno-stilskom stranom težnji Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja.

U dijelu Krležina *Predgovora* koji se tiče izravno Hegedušića i njegova stvaralaštva mogu se, dakle, prepoznati tri temeljna elementa koja autor smatra presudnima za pokušaj ujedinjavanja zalaganja za slobodu umjetnosti s težnjom služenja te iste umjetnosti najvažnijim ciljevima „društvene revolucije”, ili, drugim riječima, za mogućnost pomirivanja principa individualnog u umjetnosti i „tendencije” u umjetnosti. Prvo, riječ je o imperativu povezanosti sa sredinom u kojoj dotična umjetnost nastaje, zatim o afirmaciji individualnih vrijednosti i, posljednje, o potrebi tzv. socijalnog usmjerenja koje svjedoči o najčešće teškim



Krsto Hegedušić,
Pepak spi, 1932, objavljeno
u: Krsto Hegedušić,
Podravski motivi: trideset i
četiri crteža, str. 57.

životnim situacijama zapostavljenih slojeva društva. Govorimo li o utjecajima koji su nekoliko godina prije *Podravskih motiva* prepoznati kao važni za oblikovnu stranu izgradnje nacionalnog likovnog izraza – dakle o načelima primitivizma, Brueghelu i Groszu – treba napomenuti da ih sve možemo pronaći u Krležinu eseju. Stoga, iako to nigdje izrijeком ne spominje, Krleža definira ključne elemente nacionalnog likovnog izraza kao važnog dijela nacionalnog identiteta, i to ne bitno različito od načina na koji taj izraz shvaća sam Hegedušić. U tom smislu nećemo pogriješiti ako među najvažnijim porukama *Predgovora Podravskim motivima* i samih crteža prepoznamo i stav prema pitanju nacionalnog identiteta, tj. ideju o potrebi oblikovanja nacionalnog likovnog izraza.

Našomene:

¹ Ovaj je članak nastao na temelju izlaganja održanog u sklopu 3. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti (Zagreb, 25.–27. 11. 2010), a njegovu temu potaknuli su rezultati istraživanja provedenog u sklopu izrade doktorske disertacije kojoj je u središtu zanimanja bilo pitanje nacionalnog likovnog izraza u djelovanju Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja. – P. Prelog, *Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja i nacionalni likovni izraz, doktorska disertacija*, rukopis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2006. Članak je prvi put objavljen u časopisu *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 36, (2012), 203-210. Zahvaljujem Uredništvu *Radova* na dopuštenju za njegovo ponovno objavljivanje.

² M. Krleža, Predgovor, u: *KRSTO HEGEDUŠIĆ, Podravski motivi: trideset i četiri crteža*, Minerva, Zagreb 1933, 5–26.

³ S. Lasić, *Sukob na književnoj ljevici 1928.–1952.*, Liber, Zagreb 1970, 96 i 100. Lasić također identificira četiri osnovna dijela *Predgovora*: „... prvi odgovara na pitanje što je ljepota; drugi dio raspravlja o socijalnoj literaturi; treći dio daje osnovne ocjene novijeg hrvatskog slikarstva i književnosti; četvrti dio pokazuje kako je Hegedušić praktična primjena teze o socijalnoj tendenciji.“, u: Lasić, 100.

⁴ „(...) fundamentalna struktura u kojoj se odvija sukob na književnoj ljevici upravo je ogorčeni pokušaj sinteze tih dvaju entiteta: umjetnosti i revolucije“, u: Lasić (kao u fusnoti 3), 15. „Scena na kojoj se sukob na književnoj ljevici odvija jeste zatvorena scena sinteze dvaju entiteta koji su se pokazali kao neodrživi jedan bez drugoga.“, u: Lasić (kao u fusnoti 3), 17.

⁵ „(...) revolucija upravo želi vratiti čovjeka kulturi i već se u samom procesu revolucionarnog preobražavanja kultura mora osjetiti kao faktor preobražaja (...)“, u: Lasić (kao u fusnoti 3), 15. O ulozi likovne kritike u slojevitom sukobu na ljevici vidi poglavlje „Likovna kritika u kontekstu skukoba na ljevici od 1930. do 1940.“, u: J. Galjer, *Likovna kritika u Hrvatskoj 1868.–1951.*, Meandar, Zagreb 2000, 224–295.

⁶ K. Hegedušić, „Pred petom izložbom Zemlje“, *Danas*, 1, 1934, 113–115, 113.

⁷ K. Hegedušić, „Problem umjetnosti kolektiva“, *Almanah savremenih problema*, 1932, 78–82.

⁸ U tom smislu, ispravnim se nameće mišljenje Igora Zidića koji tvrdi da se u Hegedušićevim stavovima „klasni interes izravno izjednačavao s nacionalnim“. – I. Zidić, „Slikarstvo, grafika, crtež“, *Kritička retrospektiva „Zemlja“*, katalog izložbe, Umjetnički paviljon, Zagreb 1971, 11–18, 14.

⁹ Dobra je ilustracija takva stava kritika šeste izložbe Proletnog salona: M. Krleža, „VI. izložba Hrvatskog proletnog salona“, *Plamen*, 12, 1919, 244–247.

¹⁰ M. Krleža, *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza*, Nakladna knjižara Minerva, Zagreb 1932.

¹¹ T. Maroević, „Slikarstvo Filipa Latinovicza“, *Zbornik 3. programa Radio Zagreba*, 2, 1978, 260–269, 260. Isti je tekst objavljen u knjizi: T. Maroević, *Napisane slike. Likovna umjetnost u hrvatskoj književnosti od Moderne do Postmoderne*, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Zagreb 2007, 172–202.

¹² T. Maroević (kao u fusnoti 11, 1978), 267.

¹³ T. Maroević (kao u fusnoti 11, 1978), 267.

¹⁴ T. Maroević (kao u fusnoti 11, 1978), 267.

¹⁵ Krležin odnos prema djelovanju Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja nije bio ni jednostavan, niti jednostran: izjasnio se samo u korist Krste Hegedušića, afirmirajući njegovo djelo u kontekstu socijalne umjetnosti. O ostalim članovima i njihovu djelu (s iznimkom Đure Tiljka) u vrijeme postojanja Zemlje nije pisao, pa ne možemo govoriti o potpunom podudaranju njegovih stavova i općih, raznolikih „zemljaških“ umjetničkih pozicija. Ipak, može se zaključiti da su neki od njegovih sudova o umjetnosti izrazito bliski onima na osnovi kojih Hegedušić tumači pojedine ciljeve Zemljine aktivnosti. Pivenstveno, riječ je o već spomenutoj potrebi „ukornjenjivanja“, tj. povezanosti sa sredinom u kojoj umjetnost nastaje, težnji za prepoznavanjem specifičnih obilježja krajolika i ljudi, a što se može pronaći ponajprije u ruralnom ambijentu. Drugi važan element u Krležinim stavovima jest povezanost s društvenom situacijom, što su obilježja umjetnosti s „tendencijom“, dakle socijalne umjetnosti. Treći je stav onaj o štetnosti ugledanja na umjetničke pojave iz inozemstva. I dok se navedena mišljenja – artikulirana ponajprije u tekstu o Georgeu Groszu (M. K., „O njemačkom slikaru Georgeu Groszu“, *Jutarnji list*, 29. kolovoza 1926, 19–20; M. Krleža, „O njemačkom slikaru Georgeu Groszu“, *Književna republika*, 2, 1927, 83–94.), romanu *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza*, pa naposljetku i u *Predgovoru Podravskim motivima* – u glavnini podudaraju s osnovnim Zemljinim, tj. Hegedušićevim intencijama, u Krležinoj afirmaciji Račićeva opusa kao temelja nacionalne moderne umjetnosti, sklonosti neorealizmu Petra Dobrovića i nedvosmislenoj podršci Babićevu stvaralačkom usmjerenju bilo je malo toga što su „zemljaši“ mogli protumačiti poticajnim.

¹⁶ *Podravski motivi*, po tumačenju Stanka Lasića, „nisu ništa drugo nego obrana individualnog“. – S. Lasić (kao u fusnoti 3), 98.

¹⁷ M. Krleža, „Pismo iz Koprivnice“, *Hrvat*, 31. siječnja 1925, 4–5.

¹⁸ M. Krleža (kao u fusnoti 2), 21.

¹⁹ M. Krleža (kao u fusnoti 2), 25.

²⁰ M. Krleža (kao u fusnoti 2), 25.

²¹ M. Krleža (kao u fusnoti 2), 23.

²² M. Krleža (kao u fusnoti 2), 25.

²³ Hrvatska povijest umjetnosti često je donosila usporedbe Hegedušićeva i Groszova načina. Tako Mladenka Šolman s pravom upozorava na „sklonost groteski i prisutnost karikaturalnih elemenata koji su često podvodili dio njegovog crtačkog opusa pod utjecaj Groszova načina“. – M. Šolman, *Krsto Hegedušić – retrospektiva 1917.–1967.*, katalog izložbe, Moderna galerija, Zagreb 1973, 7. Vladimir Maleković pak nabroja razlike u njihovu umjetničkom pristupu: „Dok Hegedušićevo neposredno sagledavanje biti nekog predmeta ili (socijalnog) zbivanja ide poglavito kroz doživljajni akt, Groszovo je podložnije racionalnoj analizi. Hegedušiću je nadasve važno činjenično stanje, Groszu dedukcija. Hegedušić prenosi neposrednu spoznaju, dok je Grosz sklon artistskoj konstrukciji. Ono što ih zbližava je isti ili sličan etički odnos prema vrijednostima, odnosno nevrijednostima vlastite okoline.“ – V. Maleković, *Krsto Hegedušić. Uznički crteži 1931.–1941.*, Apertus naklada, Zagreb 2001, 12. Riječ je, dakle, o srodnom načinu korištenja linije u određivanju forme, iscrtavanja detalja i strukturiranja cjeline kompozicije, što rezultira jasno uočljivim specifičnostima. Hegedušić je, prije svega, mnogo discipliniraniji u stvaranju jasne i tradicionalno uravnotežene kompozicije, dok se kod Grosza mogu primijetiti pojedini ekspresionistički „zaostaci“, kao i sklonost vizualnim principima montaže. S druge strane, treba istaknuti da je Grosz utjecao na hrvatsku umjetnost između dvaju ratova ne samo formalnom stranom svoga umjetničkog rada, već i ideološkom dimenzijom cjelokupnog javnog djelovanja. O različitim aspektima njegova utjecaja na domaću umjetničku sredinu vidi: L. Magaš, P. Prelog, „Nekoliko aspekata utjecaja Georgea Grosza na hrvatsku umjetnost između dva svjetska rata“, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33, 2009, 227–240. Isti je tekst, neznatno izmijenjen, objavljen i na engleskom jeziku: L. Magaš, P. Prelog, „George Grosz and Croatian Art between the Two World Wars“, *RIHA Journal* 0031, 7 November 2011, URL: <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2011/2011-oct-dec/magas-prelog-george-grosz-and-croatian-art> (pristupljeno: 25. 7. 2012).

Petar Prelog
Institute for Art History, Zagreb

NATIONAL IDENTITY IN *THE PODRAVINA MOTIFS* BY KRSTO HEGEDUŠIĆ

Summary:

Podravina Motifs by Krst Hegedušić – a collection of drawings published in Zagreb in 1933 – seem to have been a turning point in Croatian art between the two World Wars. Their importance has been recognized on two fundamental levels. Firstly, these thirty drawings by Hegedušić can be interpreted in the context of the basic features of Art Group Zemlja and as an explicit expression of the artist's personal inclinations in terms of both style and content. Secondly, the particular importance of the *Podravina Motifs* resides in the complex ideological struggle that accompanied them, for according to Stanko Lasić, the most prominent researcher of Miroslav Krleža and his work, his Preface to the *Podravina Motifs* was “the basic text of the entire conflict within the literary left.” In this sense, the drawings acquired an additional significance soon after they were published, and their meaning has been interpreted primarily against the background of that preface: as an expression of struggle for the socially engaged, yet autonomous art, for the artwork as a product of individual artistic impetus, and against its overall ideologization.

Nevertheless, a critical interpretation of these drawings, as well as the preface, cannot be reduced exclusively to the range of meanings associated with the famous conflict among the leftists. In his Preface, Krleža also discussed many other problems that he recognized as crucial in determining the character of Croatian cultural identity in the early 1930s. Thus certain segments of this text may be read through the prism of the relations between national identity and artistic creation, as one of the basic problems that the members of Art Group Zemlja, as well as other key protagonists of Croatian art, sought to articulate. With regard to that, the author of this article has focused on Hegedušić's role in the process of articulating the idea of an independent, national artistic expression, and emphasized the importance of the *Podravina Motifs* in linking the leftist ideological positions and national categories, which is a specific feature of this idea as compared to the similar phenomena in the cultural space of Central Europe.

Keywords:

Krsto Hegedušić, *Podravina Motifs*, Miroslav Krleža,
national identity, Art Group Zemlja, conflict within the literary left

UDK BROJEVI: 73/76:069.9(450)"1938"
73/76:069.9(450)"1940"
ID BROJ: 212663564

Ana Bogdanović
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

KRALJEVINA JUGOSLAVIJA NA BIJENALU UMETNOSTI U VENECIJI 1938. I 1940. GODINE

Apstrakt:

Tekst razmatra diplomatske i kulturno-političke uslove u kojima se otvara Paviljon Jugoslavije na Bijenalu umetnosti u Veneciji 1938. godine. Prvi i drugi zvanični nastupi Kraljevine Jugoslavije na ovoj međunarodnoj umetničkoj manifestaciji (1938. i 1940. godine) analiziraju se u kontekstu obnovljenih italijansko-jugoslovenskih političkih odnosa, kao i kroz koncepciju koju iznosi Milan Kašanin, komesar obe izložbe. Posebna pažnja posvećena je razmatranju izložbe kao polja političkog dijaloga i kao poligona za artikulaciju ideologije jugoslovenstva u međunarodnom kontekstu.

Ključne reči:

Paviljon Jugoslavije, Milan Kašanin, Bijenale u Veneciji, moderna jugoslovenska umetnost, kulturna politika, jugoslovensko-italijanski odnosi

Bijenale umetnosti u Veneciji (*La Biennale di Venezia*) osnovano je 1895. godine kao izložba reprezentativnog karaktera po uzoru na aktuelne svetske izložbe, pre svega na Internacionalnu umetničku izložbu (*Internationale Kunstausstellung*) koja se od 1869. godine održavala u Staklenoj palati (*Glaspalast*) u Minhenu. Organizovana tako da privuče pažnju umetničkog tržišta, ali i da iskoristi veliki turistički potencijal ovog italijanskog grada, cilj osnivača Bijenala bilo je ponovno pozicioniranje Venecije na mapi evropskih centara kulture i umetnosti kroz međunarodnu izložbu u trenutku kada Italija obnavlja svoj političko-ekonomski položaj u Evropi.¹ Uvidevši uspeh velikih izložbenih manifestacija organizovanih po principu nacionalnih paviljona, pre svega pariskih Svetskih izložbi, i Bijenale u Veneciji od 1907. počinje da u svoj program uvodi nacionalne izložbe. Od ovog vremena evropske zemlje započinju da u prostoru venecijanskog gradskog parka (*Giardini pubblici*) grade nacionalne paviljone (Belgija 1907; Mađarska, Velika Britanija i Nemačka 1909; Francuska i Švedska (koja sledeće godine svoj paviljon ustupa Holandiji) 1912; Rusija 1914, itd.), tako da venecijanska manifestacija, osim centralne izložbe internacionalnog tipa, dobija i nacionalne izložbene sekcije smeštene u pojedinačnim paviljonima različitih država. U ovom periodu, tokom prve decenije dvadesetog veka, Bijenale ispunjava namere osnivača i etablira se kao značajna izložba u umetničkim krugovima Evrope.

Pretežno naklonjeno akademskom slikarstvu u godinama po osnivanju, Bijenale se nakon Prvog svetskog rata, od 1920. godine, okreće promociji moderne evropske umetnosti.² Bijenale se tada od pretežno internacionalne manifestacije (zapadno-evropskog tipa) transformiše platformu za prezentaciju i reprezentaciju nacionalnih umetničkih doprinosa.³ Već 1927. godine na mesto generalnog sekretara Bijenala dolazi vajar Antonio Maraini (*Antonio Maraini*), prominentni član Fašističke nacionalne unije lepih umetnosti (*Sindacato Nazionale Fascista di Belle Arti*)⁴, koji na ovoj poziciji deluje sa namerom da Bijenale profiliše kao najznačajniju nacionalnu umetničku manifestaciju, posvećujući pažnju i uključivanju većeg broja nacionalnih paviljona u aktivnosti ove manifestacije.⁵ Primera radi, 1938. godine na Bijenalu čak osamnaest država predstavlja nacionalne izložbene selekcije. Kao zvaničnom telu Musolinijeve kulturne politike, Bijenalu u Veneciji je od 1930. poverena organizacija izložbi italijanske umetnosti u inostranstvu na nivou cele italijanske države.⁶ Na mesto predsednika Bijenala ove godine dolazi grof Đuzepe Volpi di Mizurata (*Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata*), prethodno ministar finansija Italije i uticajni Venecijanac sa dobrim diplomatskim vezama, koji će igrati značajnu ulogu i prilikom dogovora

oko podizanja i otvaranja jugoslovenskog Paviljona u Veneciji.

Prvi zvanični jugoslovenski nastup na Bijenalu u Veneciji dogodio se 1938. godine, u okviru XXI Međunarodne umetničke izložbe u novoizgrađenom nacionalnom paviljonu. Pre analize ove izložbe, neophodno je razmotriti šire političke i kulturne okvire koji su omogućili otvaranje Paviljona Jugoslavija na Bijenalu u Veneciji.

Nacionalno učešće Kraljevine Jugoslavije na venecijanskoj međunarodnoj umetničkoj smotri direktno je u vezi sa spoljnom politikom države, odnosno novouspostavljenim odnosima između Jugoslavije i Italije tokom 1936. i 1937. godine. Pre ovog vremena odnosi zvanične Jugoslavije i Italije bili su zategnuti zbog pretenzija Italije na delove jugoslovenske teritorije, ali i kao posledica snažnog francuskog uticaja na Kraljevinu SHS, odnosno Jugoslaviju. U kompleksnoj geo-političkoj situaciji u Evropi sredinom četvrte decenije 20. veka, kada su između ostalog zbog agresije na Etiopiju 1935. godine uvedene i međunarodne sankcije Italiji u kojima učestvuje i Kraljevina Jugoslavija, dolazi do pregrupisanja savezničkih odnosa zbog sve veće opasnosti od nemačkih pretenzija. Aktuelni predsednik jugoslovenskog ministarskog saveta, odnosno predsednik Vlade Milan Stojadinović, značajno menja kurs spoljne politike i 25. marta 1937. godine potpisuje Sporazum o nenapadanju i prijateljstvu (poznat i kao Uskršnji pakt) sa italijanskim ministrom inostranih poslova Galeacom Čanom di Kortelacom (*Galeazzo Ciano di Cortellazzo*) i time uspostavlja prijateljske odnose sa ovom državom. Potpisani sporazum zadovoljio je interese obe strane: italijansku pretenziju na Balkan (na koji u istom periodu pretenduje i Nemačka) i razbijanje saveza Male Antante, te ekonomsku dobit od izvoza za Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju koja zbližavanjem sa Italijom pokušava da zadrži teritorijalnu nezavisnost i time održava tzv. *politiku neutralnosti* spram uticaja evropskih sila.⁷ Zbližavanje na političkom i ekonomskom planu između dve države prouzrokovalo je i osnaživanje njihovih odnosa na polju umetnosti i kulture. Tako je već 10. juna 1937. godine u *Galeria di Roma* (u Rimu) otvorena izložba jugoslovenske umetnosti *Esposizione di un gruppo di artisti jugoslavi* u organizaciji jugoslovenskog Ministarstva prosvete koju su svečano otvorili italijanski ministar inostranih poslova, ranije pomenuti Čano, i Antonio Maraini, generalni sekretar Bijenala u Veneciji.⁸ Šef umetničkog odseka jugoslovenskog Ministarstva prosvete Veljko Petrović je nastupao isped jugoslovenske strane. Izložba je, prema Petrovićevim navodima, organizovana u veoma kratkom roku, što izvesno upućuje na njenu diplomatsku funkciju u specifičnoj političkoj situaciji.

Tekst u katalogu izložbe kroz kratak pregled razvoja umetnosti na jugoslovenskom tlu ističe autentične, nacionalne komponente jugoslovenske rase, time nudeći model shvatanja umetnosti kao značajnog instrumenta u građenju identiteta nacije, što dodatno naglašava političko-reprezentativni kontekst ovog događaja.⁹

Izložbeni protokol, osim što ukazuje da je reč o izložbi visokog državnog značaja koja označava početak prijateljskih odnosa između Italije i Jugoslavije, upućuje i na ostvarivanje kontakta između predstavnika Bijenala u Veneciji i jugoslovenskih zvaničnika, što će imati uticaja i na poziv za uključivanje Kraljevine Jugoslavije među nacije predstavljene u okviru Bijenala. Izložbeno-politički dijalog započet u Rimu nastavljen je u Muzeju kneza Pavla u Beogradu 27. marta 1938. godine izložbom Italijanski portret kroz vekove (*Il ritratto italiano nei secoli*) u organizaciji Bijenala u Veneciji, a pod pokroviteljstvom italijanskog Ministarstva za narodnu kulturu (*Ministerio della Cultura Popolare*) u saradnji sa Ministarstvom inostranih poslova i Ministarstvom prosvete Kraljevine Jugoslavije na inicijativu kneza namesnika Pavla Karađorđevića.¹⁰ Svečanom otvaranju izložbe prisustvovali su najviši državni zvaničnici i diplomate, uključujući i kneza Pavla, Milana Stojadinovića, italijanskog ministra za narodnu kulturu Dina Alfierija (*Dino Alfieri*), kao i predsednika izložbenog odbora i aktuelnog predsednika Bijenala u Veneciji grofa Voplja di Mizurate i generalnog sekretara izložbe Nina Barbantinja (*Nino Barbantini*).¹¹ Reprerentativna izložba italijanske umetnosti potvrdila je zblizavanje dve države u polju kulture i politike,¹² a poslužila je i kao prilika za upoznavanje Volpija, direktora Bijenala u Veneciji, sa Milanom Kašaninom, komesarom Paviljona Jugoslavija i direktorom Muzeja kneza Pavla.

Planovi o realizaciji jugoslovenskog paviljona u venecijanskim Đardinima započeti su pre otvaranja izložbe italijanske umetnosti u Beogradu.¹³ Sačuvana arhivska građa upućuje da se pregovori o izgradnji Paviljona između predstavnika Bijenala i predstavnika zvanične Jugoslavije, Veljka Petrovića, odvijaju od juna 1937. i stoje u vezi sa izložbom jugoslovenskih umetnika u Rimu, koja je otvorena istog meseca.¹⁴ Konačnu potvrdu Jugoslavije da odobri izgradnju Paviljona Volpi dobija 5. januara 1938. od kneza Pavla prilikom posete Beogradu.¹⁵ Volpi se tada susreo i sa Kašaninom, kao komesarom jugoslovenskog Paviljona, i dogovorio da se u Paviljonu predstave radovi četiri ili pet umetnika uz izložbu radova Tome Rosandića.¹⁶ Radovi na izgradnji Paviljona započeti su ubrzo nakon toga, tokom meseca februara, kada je u javnosti najavljen nastup Kraljevine Jugoslavije na Bijenalu u Veneciji.¹⁷ I italijanska



Paviljon Jugoslavije na XXI Bijenalu u Veneciji, 1938 (*Музеј кнеза Павла*, ур. Т. Цвјетићанин, Београд 2009, 232).

štampa najavljivala je otvaranje jugoslovenskog Paviljona kao gest dobrodošlice obnovljenom političkom prijateljstvu između dve „jadranske nacije“.¹⁸ Paviljon je podignut na ostrvu Sveta Jelena (*Sant'Elena*), u okviru većeg kompleksa istovetnih paviljona Švajcarske, Poljske i Rumunije.

U Paviljonu Jugoslavije na XXI Međunarodnoj umetničkoj izložbi radove su predstavili slikari Ljubo Babić, Vladimi Becić, Petar Dobrović, Matija Jama i Milo Milunović, te vajar Toma Rosandić. Na izložbi su iz počasti postavljene i biste kralja Petra Karađorđevića (rad Sretena Stojanovića) i kneza Pavla (rad Ivana Meštrovića).¹⁹ Kašaninov izbor umetničkih pozicija na prvom zvaničnom jugoslovenskom predstavljanju u Veneciji u administrativnom smislu je vođen regulativama Bijenala (ograničenje broja umetnika i predstavljenih dela), a na njega je svakako i uticao navedeni razgovor sa Volpijem s početka godine, pre svega želja italijanskih zvaničnika da Toma Rosandić nastupi u jugoslovenskoj selekciji.²⁰ Osim toga, izbor umetnika vođen je novouspostavljenim principom koji je reflektovao unutrašnje državne odnose: dva umetnika iz Srbije, dva iz Hrvatske i jedan iz Slovenije. U dopisu Alberta

Bazale, predsednika Jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu, od 2. aprila 1938. godine upućenom Milanu Kašaninu, naime, kao model odabira umetnika koji Jugoslaviju predstavljaju u Veneciji prihvata se „razmjera 2:2:1, što se tiče broja izlagača iz beogradskoga, zagrebačkoga i ljubljanskoga kruga“.²¹ U istom pismu saopšteno je da umjetnički razred JAZU-a kao izlagače na venecijanskoj izložbi za 1938. predlaže Vladimira Becića i Ljubu Babića.

U okvirima ovako regulisanih odnosa Kašaninova selekcija za cilj je imala da kroz individualne umetničke pozicije ponudi uvid u *snažni umetnički razvoj* jugoslovenske nacije u prethodnih dvadeset godina.²² Naglašavajući da se kroz ograničeni broj umetnika predstavljenih u Paviljonu reflektuje, ipak, samo partikularna slika aktuelne jugoslovenske umetnosti, Kašanin ističe da je *prikaz kontinuiteta* savremene umetnosti u Jugoslaviji bio princip kojim je vođen prilikom selekcije. Ideju o razvoju umetnosti on reprezentuje suprotstavljanjem tri slikarske generacije: Matije Jame kao predstavnika impresionizma; Vladimira Becića i Ljube Babića kao predstavnika posleratne umetničke generacije koja svoj likovni jezik traži izvan okvira impresionizma kroz suočavanje sa različitim pitanjima slikarskog medija; te Petra Dobrovića i Mila Milunovića kao umetnike *snažnih slikarsih gestova* (Dobrović) i *prefinjene kolorističke senzitivnosti* (Milunović).²³ I postavka u jugoslovenskom Paviljonu bila je organizovana hronološki – od Jame do Milunovića, prateći komesarovu ideju o reprezentaciji razvoja umetnosti od impresionizma do kolorizma.²⁴ Kašaninovo viđenje geneze savremene jugoslovenske umetnosti prikazano kroz venecijanku reprezentaciju proističe se iz progresivnog modernističkog narativa oslonjenog, pre svega, na francusko iskustvo modernosti, koje je Kašaninu bio blisko i kojim se vodio prilikom istorizacije jugoslovenske moderne umetnosti u više navrata.²⁵ Na ovaj način je u okruženju nacionalno definisanih reprezentacija umetničkih doprinosa (umetnost svake nacije u svom paviljonu) istaknut (zapadno-)evropski karakter jugoslovenskog kulturnog i umetničkog identiteta.

Izbor Tome Rosandića načinjen je, osim na osnovu neupitnog uspeha i istaknutog statusa ovog vajara u jugoslovenskoj sredini, verovatno i pod uticajem Volpija koji Rosandića opisuje tipom umetnika koji se da uporediti sa Meštrovićem.²⁶ U interpretaciji Milana Kašanina Rosandić je predstavljena je kao *mediteranski tip prema prirodi i formiranju*,²⁷ što uspostavlja izvesnu ravnotežu spram slikarske selekcije. Jugoslovenska umetnost je time reprezentovana kroz sintezu *nacionalnog tipa i evropskog karaktera*. U Kašaninovoj zamisli, koja se emituje kroz izložbenu koncepciju u Paviljonu

u Veneciji, svoj identitet jugoslovenska moderna, odnosno savremena umetnost razvija iz dve linije kontinuiteta: prva je vezana za kontinuitet razvoja jugoslovenske umetnosti kao autentične i autonomne pojave koja se ostvaruje ujedinjenjem južnoslovenskih naroda, a druga se baštini u kontinuitetu usmerenja jugoslovenske umetnosti ka širim okvirima evropske umetnosti, odnosno pripadanju evropskom kulturno-umetničkom prostoru.²⁸ Imajući u vidu Kašaninovu delatnost na mestu direktora Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu (1929-1935), i kao direktora Muzeja kneza Pavla (1935-1944), te koncepciju izložbene politike ovih muzejskih institucija koja proističe iz jugoslovenske ideologije shvaćene kao „konstruisanje evropskog identiteta i kohezija južnoslovenskih naroda u jednu kulturnu celinu“²⁹, izložbu u Paviljonu Jugoslavije neophodno je posmatrati i u kontekstu Kašaninovog delovanja u polju izložbene prezentacije i reprezentacije jugoslovenske umetnosti koju neguje na pomenutim pozicijama.

Na koncept jugoslovenstva kao glavni okvir muzealizacije umetnosti u Muzeju kneza Pavla u nauci je već ukazano.³⁰ Evropsko usmerenje, kao jedna od glavnih odrednica karaktera jugoslovenske kulture koja je stvarana kroz muzejske delatnosti, istaknuto je i reflektovano kroz njegove aktivnosti (pre svega brojne izložbe jugoslovenske umetnosti u inostranstvu, kao gostovanja velikog broja inostranih izložba u Beogradu). Na taj način postavljena „univerzalistička paradigma jugoslovenskog identiteta“ promovisala je shvatanje o jugoslovenskoj umetnosti koja „može da stane rame uz rame sa razvijenim kulturama zapada“³¹, što je u situaciji kada se to i direktno dešava na venecijanskom Bijenalu iskorišćeno de se iznova potvrdi prisustvo jugoslovenske države kulturnim, a preko njih i političkim sferama aktuelne evropske stvarnosti.

Kulturno-političko „priznanje“ jugoslovenska sekcija na XXI Bijenalu ostvarila je i u tržišnom pogledu. Italijanske institucije su, naime, otkupile radove umetnika predstavljenih u Paviljonu: *Autopotret* Tome Rosandića (otkup italijanskog Ministarstva spoljnih poslova za Galeriju Ufici u Firenci), *Ribarske kuće* Vladimira Becića (otkup Fašističkog saveza industrijalaca); *Proleće* Ljube Babića (otkup Ministarstva za narodnu kulturu), *Žima* Ljube Babića i *Portret* Petra Dobrovića (otkup Ministarstva nacionalnog obrazovanja za Međunarodnu galeriju moderne umetnosti u Veneciji).³² Navedenim otkupnim rezultatom Jugoslavija se našla na petom mestu od osamnaest država koje su na Bijenalu učestvovala.³³ Reciprocitet u jugoslovensko-italijanskim odnosima uspostavljen je i u ovom slučaju: Milan Stojadinović je za Muzej

kneza Pavla kupio radove italijanskih umetnika koji su bili izloženi na Bijenalu.³⁴

XXII Bijenale u Veneciji 1940. godine odvija se u senci rata koji je zahvatio Evropu. Nakon nekoliko upita Direkcije Bijenala, Kašanin 21. marta 1940. u funkciji komesara izložbe upućuje zvaničnu potvrdu o učešću Jugoslavije na Bijenalu u Veneciji.³⁵ Nadovezujući se na koncepciju izložbe i način selekcije umetnika iz 1938, on nastavlja isti model izlaganja: pet slikara i jedan vajar. Oslanjajući se na narativ započet na prethodnom Bijenalu, Kašanin jugoslovensku prezentaciju otvara Brankom Popovićem, ističući njegov veliki značaj za razvoj *nove orijentacije u umetnosti* Jugoslavije tokom prve decenije dvadesetog veka. Marina Tartalju i Milivoja Uzelca izdvaja kao veoma značajne predstavnike posleratne jugoslovenske umetnosti, dok rad Predraga Milosavljevića i Maksima Sedeja – pripadnike najmlađe generacije – predstavlja kao *svetlu budućnost* jugoslovenske savremene umetnosti. Skulptor Frano Kršinić odabran je da reprezentuje uspeh jugoslovenske skulptorske generacije koja sledi Meštovića i Rosandića.³⁶ Kašaninova koncepcija analogna je onoj sa prethodnog Bijenala – hronološki sled istaknutih predstavnika tri umetničke generacije u Jugoslaviji sa pretenzijom da oslika pravolinijski razvoj moderne umetnosti, ističući istovremeno individualne karakteristike pojedinačnih aktera u datom procesu. U okruženju smanjenog broja nacionalnih paviljona (zbog ratnog stanja 1940. godine nisu učestvovala Francuska, Velika Britanija, Danska i Poljska) kojim dominiraju totalitarne tendencije u umetnosti, jugoslovenska je izložba manje zapažena nego pre dve godine. Njen preovlađavajuće umereni građansko-modernistički umetnički karakter u mnogome je bio nekompatibilan sa atmosferom u kojoj nemački vajar Arno Beker dobija glavnu nagradu Bijenala.

Nastupi Paviljona Jugoslavije na Bijenalu umetnosti u Veneciji 1938. i 1940. godine, kao i otvaranje jugoslovenskog Paviljona na ovoj umetničkoj manifestaciji, deo su šireg političkog dijaloga koji se krajem četvrtdeceprolog veka obnavlja između Jugoslavije i Italije. Diplomatska aktivnost u polju kulture između dve zemlje – ostvarena pre svega kroz reprezentativne gostujuće izložbe u Rimu i Beogradu – rezultirala je (između ostalog) uključivanjem umetnosti iz Jugoslavije u institucionalizovano „nadmetanje“ nacionalno shvaćenih tipova umetničke reprezentacije koje Bijenale u Veneciji promovise. U datim okolnostima predstavljačke strategije zvanične jugoslovenske kulturne politike oslanjaju se na koncept integralne jugoslovenske modernosti koju karakteriše aspiracija ka kontinuitetu napredka ostvarenom kroz sintezu različitih i međusobno neisključujućih individualnih pozicija.

Iako je upitno u kojoj je meri ovakvo viđenje modernosti ostvareno na širem društveno-političkom planu, u polju umetnosti i kroz delatnost Milana Kašanina, kao jednog od prominentnih aktera u procesu istorizacije i artikulacije geneze jugoslovenske umetnosti i komesara jugoslovenskog Paviljona u Veneciji, reprezentacijski narativ o nacionalnoj umetnosti razvijan je na datim uverenjima. Imajući navedeno u vidu, izložbe u jugoslovenskom Paviljonu 1938. i 1940. funkcionisale su ne samo kao eksponent složenih spoljno-političkih odnosa, već i kao prostor za „ispisivanje“ željene predstave o jugoslovenskoj (umetničkoj) savremenosti, izgrađenoj tako da zadovolji kako spoljašnje (inostrane/evropske), tako i unutrašnje (srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačke) anticipirane poglede.

Napomene:

¹ J. A. May, „La Biennale di Venezia. Eine Ausstellungsinstitution im Wandel der Zeit“, *Die deutschen Beiträge zur Biennale Venedig 1895-2007*, ur. U. Zeller, Köln 2003, 17; R. Fleck, *Die Biennale von Venedig. Eine Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 2012, 35-41.

² Promena kursa u umetničkom usmerenju Bijenala je posledica dolaska novog umetničkog direktora Vitorija Pike (*Vittorio Pica*), koji se u italijanskoj umetničkoj sredini zalagao za promociju modernih, pre svega aktuelnih francuskih umetničkih stremjenja. Više u: G. Donzello, *Arte e collezionismo. Fradeletto e Pica primisegretari alle Biennali veneziane 1895-1926*, Firenze 1987.

³ Uporedi sa: S. B. Vogel, *Biennalen – Kunst im Weltformat*, Vienna 2010, 29-30.

⁴ Nacionalni fašistički sindikat lepih umetnosti je udruženje umetnika nastalo za vreme Musolinijeve vlasti u Italiji koje je organizovalo umetnički život u Italiji, kao i izložbe italijanske umetnosti u inostranstvu.

⁵ Godine 1930. Bijenale u Veneciji dobija status autonomnog tela (postaje i zvanično kulturna institucija italijanske države) i pozicionira se kao najznačajnija izložba za umetnike u Italiji.

⁶ O Marainijevom mandatu na Bijenalu u Veneciji i delovanju na poziciji generalnog sekretara Bijenala vidi: M. De Sabbata, *Tra diplomazia e arte: le Biennali di Antonio Maraini (1928-1942)*, Udine 2006.

⁷ Potpisan Sporazum obavezivao je Italiju i da spreči aktivnosti ustaške emigracije, u čemu je Stojadinović video priliku za blokiranje hrvatskog pitanja u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji. O jugoslovenskoj politici u međunarodnim odnosima, kao i spram Italije u ovom periodu vidi: Ž. Avramovski, *Balkanske zemlje i velike sile 1935-1937*, Beograd 1968; B. Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988. Prva knjiga: Kraljevina Jugoslavije 1914-1941*, Beograd 1988, 255-309; M. Ж. Чалић, *Историја Југославије у 20. веку*, Београд 2013, 150-163.

⁸ С. Стојановић, „Изложба савремене југословенске уметности у Риму“, *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 1, октобар 1937, 26. На изложби су учествовали главни актери југословенске међуратне уметничке scene: Јован Бијелић, Марко Џељбеновић, Неделјко Гвозденовић, Коста Хакман, Игњат Јоб, Милан Конјовић, Гојмир Антон Кос, Франце Кралј, Тоне Кралј, Стене Крегар, Лазар Лићеноски, Петар Лубарда, Миха Малеš, Никола Мартиноски, Предраг Милосављевић, Мило Милуновић, Франц Мיהелић, Франц Павловец, Зора Петровић, Бранко Поповић, Иван Радовић, Максим Седеч, Вељко Станојевић, Светислав Страла, Иван Табаковић, Франц Тратник, Миловој Узелач, Милос Вушковић, Карла Буловец-Мрак, Неделјко Гвозденовић, Боžидар Јакач, Миха Малеš, Франц Кос, Тине Кос, Петар Паллавичини, Тома Росандић, Сретен Стојановић.

⁹ V. Petrović, „L'arte figurativa moderna in Jugoslavia“, *Esposizione di un gruppo di artisti Jugoslavi*, katalog izložbe, Belgrado 1937, 1-4.

¹⁰ N. Barbantini, *La mostra del ritratto italiano nei secoli*, izložbeni katalog, Venezia 1938; kao i: П. В.,

„Изложба италијанског портрета“, *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 6-7, март-април 1938, 221.

¹¹ Опширније у: П.В. 1938, 221.

¹² О овој изложби опширније у: И. Суботић, „Од Музеја савремене уметности до Музеја кнеза Павла“, *Музеј кнеза Павла*, ур. Т. Цвјетићанин, Београд 2009, 49-52.

¹³ О оснивању Павилјона види и: Ж. Кошчевић, *Venecijanski Biennale i jugoslavenska moderna umjetnost 1895-1988.*, Zagreb 1988, 31; Г. Станишић, „Милан Кашанин као директор Музеја кнеза Павла“, *Музеј кнеза Павла*, ур. Т. Цвјетићанин, Београд 2009, 235-236.

¹⁴ Грађа која се чува у Историјском архиву Бијенала у Венецији (у тексту даље ASAC) указује на поменути кореспонденцију у вези са изградњом Павилјона Југославије, пре свега су то: писмо генералног секретара Бијенала у Венецији упућено Вељку Петровићу 15. 6. 1937; писмо Дирекције Бијенала упућено италијанском амбасадору у Београду Марију Инделију (*Mario Indelli*) од 20. 6. 1937. и 21. 6. 1937. Грађа је заведена у оdeljku: *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, kutija 17.

¹⁵ Prema: *Pro memoria* (potpis *Fto Volpi*), Beograd 5. 1. 1938 (ASAC, *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, kutija 17). Volpi и Barbantini су посетили Београд почетком јануара 1938. због преговора око изложбе Италијански портрет кроз векове, види и: У., „Изложба италијанских портрета“, *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 4, јануар 1938, 127.

¹⁶ Volpi navodi: „[...] colla presentazione di 4 o 5 artisti comprendente una mostra personale dello scultore Rosandic, tipico artista paragonabile a Mestrovic“ (као у fusnoti 15).

¹⁷ Najavu је преоне *Umetnički pregled* у оdeljku Vesti: *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 5, фебруар 1938, 160.

¹⁸ „un pegno graditissimo della rinnovata amicizia tra le due Nazioni adriatiche“, наведено према: М. De Sabbata, *Tra diplomazia e arte: le Biennali di Antonio Maraini (1928-1942)*, Udine 2006, 277.

¹⁹ *Catalogo - XXI Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1938 - XVI*, Venezia 1938, 249.

²⁰ Interesovanje италијанске стране за Rosandićev наступ на Бијеналу изражено је и раније, у писму италијанског амбасадора у Турској (prethodno у Београду), Carla Galija (*Carlo Galli*) упућеном А. Marainiju 20. 7. 1937 да Rosandića узме у обзир за излагање на предстојећем Бијеналу (ASAC, *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, Jugoslavia, kutija 20).

²¹ Pismo A. Bazale Milanu Kašaninu, 2. 4. 1938 (Arhiv Narodnog muzeja, nezaveden akt).

²² М. Kašanin, „Padiglione della Jugoslavia“, *Catalogo - XXI Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1938 - XVI*, Venezia 1938, 290.

²³ Kašanin 1938, 291.

²⁴ И. З., „XXI Међународна уметничка изложба у Венецији“, *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 9, јун 1938, 286.

²⁵ Уредио: М. Кашанин, *Музеј кнеза Павла. Модерна уметност*, Београд 1938; М. Kašanin, *L'art yougoslave des origines a nos jours*, Beograd 1939.

²⁶ Prema: *Pro memoria* (potpis *Fto Volpi*), Beograd 5. 1. 1938 (ASAC, *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, kutija 17).

²⁷ Kašanin 1938, 290.

²⁸ Уредио са: А. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi: 1904-1941*, Beograd 2007, 429.

²⁹ Ignjatović 2007, 443.

³⁰ И. Суботић, „Милан Кашанин, европска уметност и часопис Уметнички преглед“, *Зборник Народног музеја*, XVI/2, 99-118; Ignjatović 2007, 427-452; Суботић 2009, 6-57.

³¹ Ignjatović 2007, 429.

³² Prema dokumentu: *Opere vendute nei Padiglioni stranieri* (ASAC, *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, *Jugoslavia*, kutija 20).³³ Objavljeno у rubrici Vesti: *Уметнички преглед*, год. 1, број 12, новембар 1938, 383.

³⁴ Marainijevo писмо М. Kašaninu од 18. 6. 1938 и dopis генералног конзула југословенског представништва у Trstu R. Petrovića Дирекцији Бијенала у Венецији од 2. 8. 1938 (ASAC, *Padiglioni*, atti 1897-1938, *Jugoslavia*, kutija 20).

³⁵ Pismo M. Kašanina Дирекцији Бијенала, 21. 3. 1940 (ASAC, *Paesi, Jugoslavia*, 1940, kutija 20).

³⁶ М. Kašanin, „Padiglione della Jugoslavia“, *Catalogo - XXII Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte 1940 - XVIII*, Venezia 1940, 266-268.

Ana Bogdanović
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA AT THE VENICE BIENNALE IN 1938 AND 1940

Summary:

The paper discusses diplomatic and cultural political conditions for inauguration of the Pavilion of Yugoslavia at the Venice Biennale in 1938. The first and second official participation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in this international art event (in 1938 and 1940) is analyzed within the context of re-established political relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, as well as according to the exhibition concept laid out by Milan Kašanin, the commissioner of both exhibitions. Particular consideration is given to the exhibition as a field of political dialogue and as the space for articulation of the Yugoslav ideology in the international context.

Keywords:

Pavilion of Yugoslavia, Milan Kašanin, Venice Biennale, modern Yugoslav art, cultural politics, Italy-Yugoslavia relations

UDK BROJEVI: 744.9(497.13)"1918/1941"
655.53:766(497.13)"1918/1941"
ID BROJ: 212663820

Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić
Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu

DJELOVANJE UMJETNICE PISMA OLGE HÖCKER U KONTEKSTU HRVATSKE UMJETNOSTI IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA

Apstrakt:

U članku se rekonstruira i valorizira umjetnička i pedagoška djelatnost Olge Höcker (Varaždin, 1882. – Zagreb, 1967.), istaknute primijenjene umjetnice, prve nastavnice na zagrebačkoj Akademiji i vrsne poznavateljice ukrasnog pisma. Donosi se niz saznanja o grafičkoj kulturi u Hrvatskoj u razdoblju između dva svjetska rata, a djelo Olge Höcker razmatra u kontekstu šire društvene i kulturne situacije koju su obilježili težnja za unapređenjem umjetničkog obrta i definiranjem nacionalnog izraza u umjetnosti, te pobuđivanje interesa za opremu knjiga i ukrasno pismo.

Ključne reči:

Olga Höcker, ukrasno pismo, kaligrafija, oprema knjiga,
umjetnički obrt, međuratno razdoblje, nacionalni izraz u umjetnosti

Djelovanje Olge Höcker u mnogim segmentima odražava položaj i ulogu koju su umjetnice imale na hrvatskoj likovnoj sceni između dva svjetska rata – bavila se područjima koja su percipirana kao „ženska“ i marginalna te nerijetko bila u sjeni muških kolega s kojima je sudjelovala na nizu izložbenih i umjetničkih projekata. Kao i mnoge suvremenice našla se izvan fokusa povjesničara umjetnosti te je, unatoč istaknutoj ulozi koju je imala u povijesti hrvatske umjetnosti i dizajna, gotovo u potpunosti pala u zaborav. Iako je već za života slovila za jednu od najznačajnijih primijenjenih umjetnica i vodeću stručnjakinju za umjetnost pisma, te bila prva i dugo godina jedina nastavnica na zagrebačkoj Akademiji, o njoj su poznati samo najosnovniji biografski podaci, a o djelu i doprinosu se nije pisalo.¹

Tijekom dugog radnog vijeka Olga Höcker (*slika 1*) paralelno je gradila dvije karijere – umjetnice i nastavnice. Njezina umjetnička djelatnost u prvom je redu



Slika 1: Olga Höcker pri radu, Arhiv Akademije likovnih umjetnosti, Zagreb, Fotografaska zbirka ALU, sig. HR-ALU 6-3-1-2

bila usmjerena na grafičko oblikovanje i opremu knjiga. Tijekom desetljeća ukrasnim je pismom ispisala brojne spomenice, povelje, diplome, oblikovala niz izdanja i vizualni identitet pojedinih biblioteka, a radila je i na formiranju posebnog, nacionalnog ukrasnog pisma. Istovremeno se bavila i ostalim oblicima umjetničkog obrta te izrađivala uporabne predmete od drva, kože i tekstila koje je tijekom međuratnog razdoblja predstavila na značajnim izložbama u zemlji i inozemstvu. Podjednako važan segment njezina profesionalnog doprinosa bio je posvećen edukaciji – od 1919. do 1945. je ukrasnom pismu, ornamentici i paleografiji podučavala generacije umjetnika, a svoja znanja je 1951. sakupila i objavila udžbenik *Ukrasno pismo*.

U radu se na temelju arhivske građe, onodobnog tiska i pronađenih radova nadopunjava biografija Olge Höcker, razmatra i rekonstruira umjetnička i pedagoška djelatnost i valorizira njezin doprinos, a djelo joj se promatra u širem društveno-političkom i kulturnom kontekstu te analizira kao reprezentativan uzorak vremena.

Školovanje i usmjeravanje prema umjetnosti pisma

Olga Höcker (Hoecker, Heker) rodila se u ožujku 1882. u Varaždinu u obitelji Ota (Otona) Höckera i Marije rođ. Blažek.² Otac joj je bio državni odvjetnik u Varaždinu i Petrinji, a kasnije tajnik u hrvatskom ministarstvu u Budimpešti.³ Tijekom boravka u Petrinji 1889. rodila se njezina mlađa sestra Elza, buduća učiteljica koja se također bavila primijenjenom umjetnošću. Zbog prirode očeva posla obitelj se često selila te je Olga Höcker osnovnu školu pohađala u Varaždinu i Petrinji, a srednju u Budimpešti i Zagrebu gdje je u prosincu 1901. maturirala na Ženskom liceju. Uskoro je stupila u državnu službu i od 1902. podučavala kao pomoćna učiteljica, a 1904. je stekla svjedodžbu za učiteljsku službu na nižim pučkim školama. Uz rad na školama 1906./1907. pohađala je i prvi razred Ženskog odjela Kraljevske zemaljske obrtne škole te učila „plastično risanje po naravi, modeliranje i rezbarenje“. Ispit za učiteljsku službu na višim djevojačkim školama iz matematičko-tehničke skupine položila je 1908. i stekla pravo podučavanja iz matematike, geometrijskog risanja, prostoručnog risanja i krasopisa kojemu će se u budućnosti i posvetiti. U studenom 1909. imenovana je „pravom učiteljicom“ Zemaljske više djevojačke škole smjera trg.-industrijalnoga. Prije Prvog svjetskog rata usavršavala se u Münchenu gdje je 23. listopada 1912. upisala prvi semestar na Kgl. Kunstgewerbeschule te boravila do 1914.⁴

Njezin dolazak podudara se sa smjenom vodstva škole na čelo koje je početkom 1913. stupio Richard Riemerschmid, a uskoro su kao predavači došli Fritz Helmut Ehmcke i Anna Simons. Ehmcke je 1913. imenovan profesorom za „pismo, tiskarstvo, opremu knjiga i grafiku“, a Anna Simons je od 1913./14. predavala godišnji višetjedni tečaj umjetničkog pisma koji je obuhvaćao kaligrafske vježbe te upoznavanje povijesnih temelja.⁵ Oboje su u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća nastojali pobuditi interes za kaligrafiju te bili među najznačajnijim europskim grafičkim umjetnicima. Svojim teorijskim tekstovima, praktičnim i edukativnim radom pri školama za umjetnost i obrt nastojali su revitalizirati i modernizirati pismo u okvirima rastuće tiskarske industrije te pri tome inzistirali na poznavanju povijesti pisma i vrhunskom umijeću kao preduvjetima za oživljavanje discipline i njezino reinterpretiranje u suvremenom kontekstu.

Olga Höcker je tijekom četiri semestra upoznala različite vrste umjetničkog obrta – kod Ehmckea je slušala *Tisak i opremu knjiga* i *Tečaj pisma*, a na predmetima kao što su *Dizajn tekstila* ili *Oslikavanje keramike* stekla temeljna znanja kojima će se aktivno baviti

po povratku u domovinu.⁶ Kod Anne Simons je pohađala poseban tečaj za umjetničko pismo i upoznala „sve vrste ukrasnoga ili umjetničkog pisma od najstarijeg doba pa do danas“,⁷ a njezin utjecaj bit će uočljiv na nekoliko razina – preuzet će sličan pedagoški model i učenike detaljno teorijski i praktično podučavati različitim povijesnim pismima te u opremi knjiga primjenjivati srodna rješenja.

Nakon povratka u domovinu Olga Höcker je nastavila raditi na Zemaljskoj višoj djevojačkoj školi, a na prijedlog ravnateljstva Kraljevske više škole za umjetnost i umjetni obrt (kasnije Kraljevske, odnosno Umjetničke akademije) 1919. je dodijeljena toj školi na službovanje uz obavezu „obučavanja vježbanja u pismu“ šest sati tjedno.⁸ Godinama će paralelno raditi na obje škole postepeno se usmjeravajući prvenstveno prema predmetima vezanima uz crtanje i pismo. Interes za različite oblike pisma dodatno je produbila početkom 1920-ih kada je kao izvanredna slušateljica šest semestara pohađala Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu (1920.–1923.) na kojemu je i kolokvirala iz paleografije.⁹

Grafička kultura u Hrvatskoj između dva svjetska rata

Važnu ulogu u podizanju grafičke kulture u Hrvatskoj i širenju znanja o različitim aspektima struke (opremi knjiga, tisku, grafici, tipografiji, ukrasnom pismu itd.) prije Prvog svjetskog rata i u međuratnom razdoblju imali su specijalizirani stručni časopisi poput *Gutenberg*a (1909.–1914.) i *Grafičke revije* (1923.–1943.) koji su objavljivali teorijske članke, stručne priloge i praktične upute za tipografe te informirali o novostima iz zemlje i inozemstva – od recentnih izložaba do novih stručnih izdanja. Oba časopisa su donosila raznovrsne slikovne priloge (primjere jelovnika, programa, oglasa itd.) koji ukazuju na bogatu i vrsnu produkciju te zamjetno štamparsko umijeće brojnih domaćih tiskara. Značajno mjesto u *Grafičkoj reviji* bilo je posvećeno različitim aspektima pisma – od studija o inicijalima do prikaza razvoja pisma ili tekstova o „modernim crtačima pismena“ poput Rudolfa Kocha.

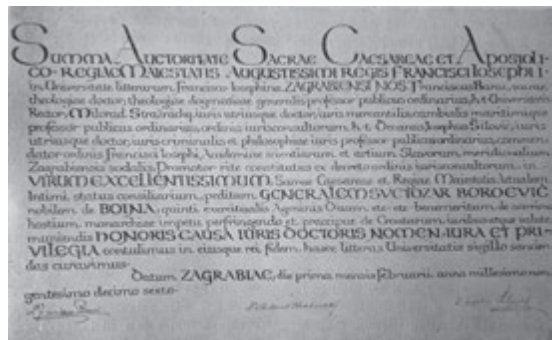
Domaći umjetnici su učenja grafičara i reformatora pisma i primjere njihovih radova mogli upoznati na izložbama te preko inozemne stručne literature i časopisa (*Gebrauchsgrafik*, *Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgrafik*, itd.). Važnu ulogu imalo je i njihovo školovanje na uvažanim inozemnim ustanovama za umjetnički obrt – Olga Höcker prenijela je učenja Ehmckeja i Simons, a njezine učenice i mlađe kolegice Tereza Paulić i Anka Martinić su se usavršavale kod Rudolfa von

Larischea na Kunstgewerbeschule u Beču 1921./22.¹⁰ Tri umjetnice su se tijekom 1920-ih afirmirale kao vrsne grafičarke, majstorice u opremi knjiga, uvezu (Martinić) i krasopisu (Höcker, Paulić). Sudjelovale su na značajnim međunarodnim izložbama posvećenima lijepoj knjizi i grafičkim umijećima na kojima se predstavljala i Kraljevina SHS (*Internationale Buchkunst-Ausstellung*, Leipzig 1927., *Pressa*, Köln 1928.), a njihove je radove primijetila i inozemna stručna kritika.¹¹

O suvremenim kretanjima u oblasti knjižne umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj među prvima su pisali Kosta Strajnić (1913.) i Artur Schneider (1928.).¹² Schneider je povodom leipziške izložbe u *Grafičkoj reviji* dao pregled aktualnog stanja u inozemstvu i u Kraljevini SHS. Izložba je jasno pokazala da „problem valjanog modernog pisma“ još uvijek nije riješen te da u oblikovanju knjiga prevladava stilska jednoličnost, korištenje starih oblika i savršena tehnička vještina. U prikazu razvoja „hrvatske knjižne umjetnosti“ značajan prostor posvetio je Olgi Höcker, analizirao njezina dotadašnja ostvarenja i istaknuo angažman „oko zamašnog a zahvalnog problema umjetničkog pisma“, odnosno razvoja nacionalnog tipa.¹³

Umjetnička djelatnost Olge Höcker

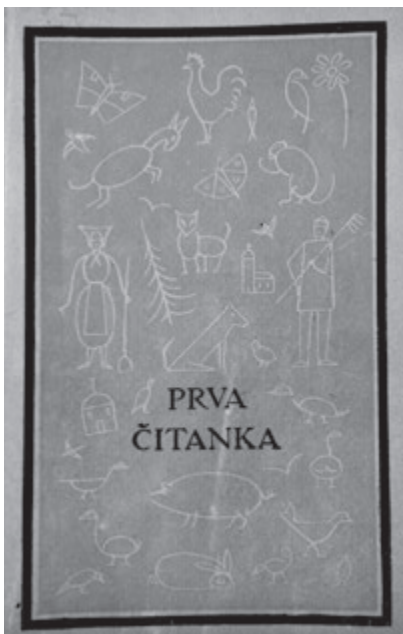
U vrijeme kada se „vještina umjetničkog i stilistički korektnog pisanja u nas slabo ili gotovo nikako ne goji“ Olga Höcker se potvrdila kao vrsna poznavateljica kaligrafskog umijeća i unicijalom na horizontalno položenoj pergameni ispisala doktorske diplome nadvojvode Eugena i Svetozara pl. Borojevića.¹⁴ (slika 2) Diplome je izvela 1916. za Rektorat Kr. sveučilišta Franje Josipa I u Zagrebu, a radilo se o počasnim doktoratima dodijeljenima vrsnim vojskovođama i braniteljima Sočanskog fronta za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata. Upotreba knjižnog pisma bila je dvostruko simbolički prikladna s obzirom da je unicijala proizašla iz rimske tradicije i odražavala revitalizaciju antike i kontinuitet njezinih načela, a stoljećima je čuvala i prenosila ukoričena znanja (koristila se za kodekse i državne dokumente).



Slika 2: Počasna doktorska diploma feldmaršala Svetozara pl. Borojevića, 1916., objavljeno u: *Savremeni*, 3–4, 1916, 135.

U oblikovanju Höcker vizualno dinamizira tekst kombiniranjem majuskulnog (reinterpretirana unificijala) i miniskulnog (modernizirana polunificijala) pisma uz naglašavanje najvažnijih informacija verzalima koji se u prvom retku nalaze izvan bloka teksta.

Značajno mjesto u opusu Olge Höcker zauzimaju izdanja na kojima je surađivala s kolegama s Akademije. S Ljubom Babićem je 1921. opremila udžbenike i pisanke za osnovnu školu u kojima je postignuta „srećna sinteza između umjetničkog shvaćanja knjižne opreme« i »psihologijskog uronjivanja u predodžbeni svijet djece“.¹⁵ (slika 3) Umjetnici naslovnice oblikuju skladnom i pročišćenom organizacijom teksta i slike unutar okvira vodeći pri tome računa o karakteru publikacija. Naslovnice izdanja namijenjenih prvoškolcima razigrane su linearnim crtežima životinja, biljaka i seljaka te djeci vizualnim sredstvima približavaju iskustvo susreta s knjigom. S druge strane, na naslovnim stranama čitanki za više razrede tekst i slika s motivima žita, grbova i preslica su jasno odijeljeni unutar praznoga okvira čime se vizualno naglašavaju motivi narodne provenijencije, odnosno jednostavnost, ozbiljnost i tradicija. Olga Höcker će nastaviti oblikovati nastavne materijale te tijekom 1930-ih i 1940-ih sastaviti pisanke za ukrasno pismo.¹⁶



Slika 3: Ljubo Babić i Olga Höcker, Naslovnica *Prve čitanke*, 1921., vl. Hrvatski školski muzej, Zagreb, sig. UP I-54a.

Tijekom međuratnog razdoblja surađivala je s Ivom Kerdićem na oblikovanju nekoliko reprezentativnih, bogato opremljenih spomen-knjiga među kojima se ističe monumentalno izdanje posvećeno kralju Tomislavu i 1000.-godišnjici hrvatskog kraljevstva. Izrađeno je 1925. za parišku *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes*, bilo je luksuzno opremljeno, a srebrne korice pozlaćene i ukrašene dragim kamenjem. Uvez spomenice radila je Anka Martinić, a Olga Höcker je ručno ispisala tekst Vjekoslava Klaića o kralju Tomislavu. Odabrala je srednjovjekovno latinično pismo koje na metaforičkoj razini potvrđuje dugu kulturnu tradiciju – primjenjuje raskošne iluminacije i reinterpretira beneventanu korištenu u nizu



Slika 4: *V suncu i senci* Dragutina Domjanića, 1927.

dalmatinskih evanđelistara (npr. Trogirskom).¹⁷

Zbirka kajkavskih pjesama Dragutina Domjanića *V suncu i senci* koju je 1927. „zredila, nakinčila i z rukom na kamen napisala“ ističe se u povijesti opreme knjiga u Hrvatskoj.¹⁸ (slika 4) Umjetnica kombinira pismo i raskošni ilustrativni ukras narodne provenijencije te pjesme ispisuje u dvije boje – plavoj (inicijali, verzali, ornamenti i vinjete) i smeđoj (tekst). U tradiciji starih iluminiranih rukopisa svaku pjesmu započinje inicijalima koji se djelomično ili u potpunosti nalaze u bloku ili izvan njega, odnosno riječima pisanima verzalima u drugoj boji. Kao uzor u kombiniranju pisma i ukrasa vjerojatno su joj poslužila slična ornamentalna rješenja Anne Simons koje je reinterpreterala i prilagodila karakteru Domjanićeve poezije.¹⁹ Svaka stranica pažljivo je konstruirana, a skladan odnos punina i praznina postignut rasporedom slike i teksta te uravnoteženim razmacima i produživanjem završnih crta pojedinih slova kako bi se postigla cjelovitost bloka. Höcker je reinterpetacijom barokne kurzive, »cifrastim« ukrasima i razigranim šarama, te stiliziranim ilustracijama i uvođenjem motiva iz narodne umjetnosti stvorila prikladan vizualni okvir za „umilnu“ Domjanićevu poeziju, a njezino je djelo odmah po nastanku ocijenjeno vrlo uspješnim.²⁰

Tijekom 1930-ih surađivala je s raznim izdavačkim kućama na opremi nakladničkih nizova i pojedinih reprezentativnih izdanja, a njezin angažman je varirao od izrade nacрта uveza i hrbata do ornamentalnih ukrasa u kojima je nerijetko koristila motive inspirirane etnografskom baštinom.²¹ Intenzivnu suradnju uspostavila je s Minerva nakladnom knjižarom za koju je izvodila nacрте za uveze i hrpte – od *Leksikona Minerva* (1936.) do pojedinih knjiga ili svezaka u sklopu nakladničkih cjelina. Na hrptima je primjenjivala bogatu dekoraciju, poigravala se prazninama

i ornamentalno ukrašenim pojasevima, romboidima, mrežama ili ponavljanjem uzoraka.²² U opremi knjiga nerijetko je koristila i jednostavna rješenja svedena na prijelom imena autora i naslova djela te modernu reinterpretaciju pojedinih pisama, kao u oblikovanju izdanja *Kroz Hrvatsko zagorje* Gjure Szabe.²³

Olga Höcker je bila cijenjena umjetnica pisma koju su u međuratnom razdoblju i kasnijim različitim političkim sistemima redovito angažirali pojedinci, crkva i država. Osim diploma, spomenica i opreme knjiga izrađivala je i poslanice, molitve, grbove, adrese, inicijale, vinjete, nacрте za klesana ili lijevana slova, natpise na spomenicima, spomen ploče itd.²⁴ Surađivala je s organizatorima *Kulturno-historijske izložbe grada Zagreba* (1925.) na postavu izložbe, a za Denzlerovu sljemensku crkvu izvela je molitve na pergameni pisane gotskim verzalima (oko 1933.).²⁵ Tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata je krasopisom ispisivala pjesme koje su objavljivane u časopisu *Ustaškinja*,²⁶ a među njezina najistaknutija ostvarenja nakon rata ubraja se ispisivanje počasne povelje na pergameni u više boja s pozlatom kojom je 1945. Josip Broz Tito proglašen počasnim građaninom grada Zagreba.²⁷ Krajem 1940-ih surađivala je s beogradskom Jugoslavenskom knjigom te crvenim inicijalima i ornamentalnim vinjetama ukrasila izdanja nacionalnih junačkih epova *Gorski vijenac* Petra II Petrovića Njegoša (1948.) i *Smrt Smail-Age Čengića* Ivana Mažuranića (1949.).

Izložbene manifestacije kao mjesta artikulacije pitanja o ulozu umjetnosti u međuratnom razdoblju

Olga Höcker je u drugoj polovici 1920-ih surađivala s Udruženjem za promicanje umjetničkog obrta Djelo i Klubom likovnih umjetnica te sudjelovala na značajnim domaćim i međunarodnim izložabama čija kritička recepcija ukazuje na širi društveno-politički i kulturni kontekst i temeljna pitanja koja su obilježila onodobnu umjetničku scenu, a tiču se položaja umjetničkog obrta i formiranja nacionalnog likovnog izraza te percepcije uloge žene u umjetnosti.

Pariška *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* imala je istaknutu ulogu u predstavljanju i promoviranju umjetničkog obrta, a Olga Höcker je bila među izlagačima i nagrađenim umjetnicima iz Kraljevine SHS.²⁸ Nacionalno sudjelovanje aktualiziralo je pitanje položaja domaćeg umjetničkog obrta u uvjetima u kojima su još uvijek prevladavali utjecaji i uvoz iz inozemstva. Uspješna prezentacija prepoznata je kao dobra osnova koja će utjecati na „dalje razvijanje našeg umetnog

obrta i primjenjivanje motiva iz pučke umetnosti u savremenoj primjenjenoj umetnosti i industriji“.²⁹ Ključnu ulogu u organizanju pariškog nastupa imao je Tomislav Krizman koji je sa suradnicima 1926. osnovao udruženje i zadrugu Djelo čiji je cilj bio „utrti stazu jednoj novoj dekorativnoj umjetnosti“ i potaknuti proizvodnju funkcionalnih, kvalitetnih i vrhunski oblikovanih predmeta umjetničkog obrta koji će „odgovarati modernom ukusu i životu“ te biti dostupni različitim društvenim slojevima.³⁰ Djelo je u Umjetničkom paviljonu 1927. organiziralo izložbu na kojoj je predstavilo brojne predmete članova udruženja koji su reinterpetacijom narodne motivike ponudili suvremeni, autentični odgovor na potrebu izgradnje nacionalnog identiteta kroz umjetnički obrt,³¹ a Olga Höcker je izložila širok dijapazon predmeta – od opreme knjiga do primjera oblikovanja tekstila, drva itd.³² Kritička recepcija izložbe bila je afirmativna,³³ ali unatoč naporu članova Djela dugogodišnje nerazumijevanje državnih instanci nagnat će Krizmana da u božićnom broju *Novosti* 1929. objavi polemički tekst o »našem umjetnom obrtu« te u konačnici rezultirati prestankom rada udruženja. Krizman u tekstu ukazuje na nedostatak temeljnih preduvjeta za razvoj umjetničkog obrta u Kraljevini – nepostojanje suvremenog i reformiranog nastavnog procesa, izostanak materijalne i moralne pomoći „mjerodavnih faktora“ te nerazumijevanje i needuciranost publike. Iako svjestan kako „današnje moderno doba traži jednostavnost i što manje ornamente“ ističe kako je zadatak „modernog umjetnika – obrtnika“ stvoriti vlastiti ornament inspiriran ljepotom i raznovrсноšću domaćeg narodnog ornamente.³⁴ Zaključuje da je umjetnički obrt „veoma težak problem, na kojemu valja neprestano i neumorno raditi“, a ne stvarati ga na brzinu i zbog nacionalne prezentacije u inozemstvu kao što je bilo u slučaju izložaba u Parizu 1925. i Barceloni 1929.

Važnu ulogu u populariziranju knjižne umjetnosti, kaligrafije, tipografije i knjigotiskarskog umijeća 1920-ih imale su *Internationale Buchkunst-Ausstellung* i *Pressa* koje su pružile uvid u razvoj moderne opreme knjiga te postale platformom susreta različitih koncepcija – od onih koje su naglašavale tradiciju do avangardnih iskoraka u domeni tipografije i oblikovanja knjiga (posebno *Pressa*).³⁵ O obilježjima domaće opreme knjiga i problemu definiranja nacionalnog tipa slova povodom leipziške su izložbe u *Grafičkoj reviji* pisali Artur Schneider i Ljubo Babić, autor koncepcije jugoslavenske prezentacije. Oba autora ukazala su na pomanjkanje domaće tradicije pri čemu je Babić posebno naglasio ovisnost naše tipografije od stranih utjecaja. Naime, uvezena slova i ukrasi iz Njemačke ili Italije koje najčešće koriste tiskari

„nemaju dakako posebnog našeg ili izrazito domaćeg ili individualno umjetničkog karaktera“, a njihova primjena u opremi knjiga „karaktera slavenskoga“. ³⁶ Olga Höcker je na leipziškoj izložbi predstavila izvadak iz *Judite* Marka Marulića ispisan novim tipom jugoslavenskog ukrasnog pisma sastavljenog prema karakteristikama glagoljice, latinice i ćirilice čime je doprinijela aktualnim stremljenjima. Njezino moderno pismo primjer je vrpčastog pisma pisanog ravno držanim širokim perom, a vertikale slova su deblje od horizontala i kosih linija. Primjenjuje majuskulno pismo dvolinijskog sistema iako relativno velik broj slova završecima probija donju liniju. Slova njezinog pisma su uspravna i kompaktna, dok ispisan tekst obilježava mirnoća, ozbiljnost, stamenost i naglašena vertikalnost. Höcker spaja odrednice triju pisama koja su obilježila povijest i kulturu prostora Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije te koristi latinicu koju interpretira na način uglate (hrvatske) glagoljice i sa serifima preuzetim od ćirilice. Time je ponudila jedan od mogućih odgovora na potrebu formiranja „originalnoga tipa slova“ koju je zagovarao Babić, a njezino se ukrasno pismo u praksi „ snažno afirmiralo i proširilo“ tijekom narednih desetljeća i koristilo u oblikovanju diploma, adresa, posveta, klesanih natpisa itd. ³⁷

O položaju žena na domaćoj umjetničkoj sceni i pozicioniranju njihova djelovanja u sferu primijenjenih umjetnosti ponajbolje svjedoče događanja i



Slika 5: Plakat Prve izložbe Kluba likovnih umjetnica, 1928., Zbirka dr. Josipa Kovačića

kritike koje su pratile rad Kluba likovnih umjetnica, ženskog profesionalnog udruženja osnovanog krajem 1927. u Zagrebu. Iako je u pravilima tiskanima u siječnju 1928. istaknuto kako je svrha društva „unapređivanje svih likovnih umjetnosti i umjetničkog obrta“, djelatnost Kluba bila je usmjerena ponajprije na slikarstvo, kiparstvo i grafiku, što je rezultat onodobnih složenih odnosa s udruženjem Djelo. Naime, iako su članice Djela bile pozvane da sudjeluju u konstituiranju budućeg ženskog društva nema ih među osnivačicama niti članicama jer im je matično udruženje zabranilo stupiti u Klub likovnih umjetnica. ³⁸ Zbog

navedenih okolnosti Olga Höcker nije bila članica niti je sudjelovala na izložbama Kluba likovnih umjetnica, ali je 1928. oblikovala jednostavan i efektan tipografski plakat za njihovu prvu izložbu. (slika 5) Na bijeloj je podlozi unutar crno-crvenog linijskog okvira suvremenom interpretacijom majuskule uz karolinu ispisala osnovne informacije i crvenom bojom naglasila da se radi o Prvoj izložbi Kluba likovnih umjetnica.³⁹ Kritička recepcija te izložbe odražava onodobno shvaćanje ženskog doprinosa likovnim umjetnostima pri čemu je posebno indikativan dvodijelni članak *Žena u likovnoj umjetnosti* Ljube Babića objavljen u *Obzoru*. Babić u njemu, pozivajući se na Weininger i Lobrosa, ženski identitet u umjetnosti objašnjava na temelju uobičajenih binarnih opozicija (inteligencija – instinkt, djelatni – pasivni princip itd.). Pri tome naglašava da ženska pozicija nije inferiorna već je različita od muškarčeve uslijed socijalnih i društvenih okolnosti te rodu svojstvenih predispozicija. Babić poentira kako djelovanje muškarca obilježava inovativnost i originalnost, dok „žena sigurno nema velike snage za ogromne kreativne koncepcije“ te je sklonija „širenju i populariziranju novih ideja nego pronalaženju istih“. Kao temeljne ženske odrednice Babić ističe instinkt, strpljivost, marljivost, čuvanje tradicije i brižljivo bavljenje svakim detaljem, a primijenjenu umjetnost i umjetni obrt kao »prave domene žene« u kojima ujedno ima i vodeću ulogu. Nadalje, naglašava kako na izložbi ne sudjeluju vrijedne i talentirane umjetnice poput Tereze Paulić, Anke Martinić, Olge Höcker i drugih „kojima zahvaljujemo u pravom smislu postojanje početaka našega umjetničkog obrta“ i čiji je rad po Babićevu mišljenju iskren i istinit, ne niječe „ženstvo“ već iz njega crpi snagu i označava „goruću potrebu naše sredine“.⁴⁰

Pedagoška djelatnost i utjecaj Olge Höcker

Tijekom duge nastavničke karijere Olga Höcker je ukrasnom pismu, metodici pisma, paleografiji i ornamentici podučavala generacije studenata. Odredbom iz 1919. postala je prva žena među nastavničkim kadrom Kraljevske više škole za umjetnost i umjetni obrt i godinama će biti jedina nastavnica na toj instituciji. Iako je dugo godina bila vanjska suradnica i do umirovljenja 1938. formalno zaposlena na Ženskoj građanskoj školi,⁴¹ aktivno je sudjelovala u radu i životu Akademije, participirala na sjednicama te bila involvirana u različite segmente svakodnevnog funkcioniranja škole. Godine 1925. je premještena na Akademiju, a osim angažiranja u nastavi dodjeljuju joj i voditeljstvo knjižnice.⁴² Njezin angažman se nastavio i nakon



Slika 6: Naslovnica i table s povijesnim razvojem latinice i alfabetom jugoslavenskog pisma u knjizi *Ukrasno pismo* Olge Höcker, 1951.

umirovljena, a 1942. je ponovo vraćena u aktivnu službu i radila je do 1945.⁴³

U nastavnom kurikulumu Akademije »vježbe u pismu« su zamijenile »ornamentiku« 1916., a u početku su ih predavali Ljubo Babić i Branko Šenoa. Nakon dolaska Olge Höcker program je „znatno proširen i postavljen na suvremene osnove“, a obuhvaćao je teorijska predavanja o povijesti i razvoju pisma (paleografiji) te praktičnu obuku u različitim vrstama umjetničkih i povijesnih pisama.⁴⁴

Tijekom međuratnog razdoblja predavanja Olge Höcker slušali su i brojni budući grafički dizajneri poput Sergija Glumca koji su u reklamnim kampanjama posebnu pažnju posvećivali oblikovanju teksta te primjenjivali i reinterpetirali stara ukrasna pisma vodeći pri tome računa o simboličkom potencijalu i kulturološkom značenju pojedinih pisama. Za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata za najvažnije zadatke na polju oblikovanja i pisma redovito su se tražili upravo „Höckeričini djaci“,⁴⁵ a o njezinom je pedagoškom profilu u nekrologu iz 1967. progovorio Vanja Radauš koji je istaknuo kako je bila „pionirka u svojoj struci“, „izvrсни pedagog“ te omiljena među đacima kojima je ostala u „dobroj uspomeni jer je upravo strastveno volila taj svoj predmet i s ogromnom ljubavlju prenosila svojim slušačima“.⁴⁶

Na poziv Ministarstva prosvjete u Beogradu 1951. sastavila je udžbenik *Ukrasno pismo*⁴⁷ koji je bio objavljen u izdanju Školske knjige i namijenjen umjetničkim školama i akademijama te utemeljen na vlastitim iskustvima i dobrom poznavanju ključnih teorijskih djela istaknutih umjetnika pisma poput Johnstona, Ehmckeja, von Larischa i drugih.⁴⁸ (slika 6)

* * *

Olga Höcker pripadala je struji umjetnika koji su bili udaljeni od avangardnih stremljenja koja su u međuratnom razdoblju izmijenila povijest dizajna i tipografije. Tijekom 1920-ih predstavnici konstruktivizma, umjetnici na Bauhausu i pojedinci poput Jana Tschicholda promovirali su „novu tipografiju“ i upotrebu jednostavnih, geometrijskih slova bez serifa, odnosno tragali za novim oblicima pisma koja će dokinuti nacionalni karakter slova i odražavati duh modernog doba obilježenog estetikom stroja. Nasuprot tome Olga Höcker je, poput svojih učitelja Ehmckeja i Simons, nastavila tradiciju i kaligrafskim ostvarenjima demonstrirala vještinu i umijeće te iznimno poznavanje povijesti pisma. Povijesna i moderna pisma bila su joj trajni inventar vizualnih formi koje je koristila i reinterpretirala u svom umjetničkom stvaralaštvu, a oblikovanjem novog, nacionalnog ukrasnog pisma doprinijela je aktualnim težnjama definiranja „našeg izraza“ u primijenjenim umjetnostima.

Napomene:

¹ M. Tonković, „Höcker Olga“, *Enciklopedija hrvatske umjetnosti*, ur. Ž. Domljan, sv. 1, Zagreb 1995, 336, 338; A. Dobrijević, „Olga Höcker“, *Akademija likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu: 1907.–1997.*, 2002., 220–221; V. Flego, „Höcker, Olga“, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, ur. T. Macan, sv. 5, Zagreb 2002, 594. Članak se temelji na izlaganju „Olga Höcker – varaždinska umjetnica pisma“ održanom na skupu *Akademik Andre Mohorovičić: Varaždin i varaždinske teme* (Varaždin, 25. 5. 2012.) koje je nadopunjeno novim saznanjima.

² Arhiv Akademije likovnih umjetnosti, Zagreb (dalje: Arhiv ALU), Personalni dosje Olge Höcker (dalje: PDOH), Krsni list Matice krštenih župe sv. Nikole, Varaždin, 31. 8. 1893.

³ Arhiv za likovne umjetnosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb (dalje: ALU-HAZU), Dosje Olge Höcker (dalje: DOH), Biografija i autobiografija.

⁴ Podaci o školovanju na temelju dokumentacije u: Arhiv ALU, PDOH.

⁵ C. Schmalhofer, *Die Kgl. Kunstgewerbeschule München (1868–1918): Ihr Einfluss auf die Ausbildung der Zeichenlehrerinnen*, München 2005, 48–50.

⁶ Arhiv ALU, PDOH, K. Kunstgewerbe-Schule München. Frequenz – Zeugnis, München, 20. 8. 1914.

⁷ Vidi fusnotu 3.

⁸ Arhiv ALU, Opći spisi 1919., Spis 534/1919.

⁹ Vidi fusnotu 3.

¹⁰ Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien – Archiv, Katalog 1921/22.

¹¹ Radovi O. Höcker i T. Paulić reproducirani su u katalogu leipziške izložbe, a obje umjetnice su istaknute i u prikazu jugoslavenske sekcije u časopisu *Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik*. Usp.: *Internationale Buchkunst Ausstellung Leipzig 1927: Amtlicher katalog*, Leipzig 1927, 183, tabla; A. Luther, „Die Slawische Länder und Ungarn auf der Internationale Buchkunst-Ausstellung zu Leipzig“, u: *Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik*, 7–9, 1927, 619–632, 631.

¹² K. Strajnić, „Umjetnička oprema knjiga“, *Savremeni*, 1913, 325–327; A. Schneider, „Hrvatska knjižna umjetnost“, *Grafička revija*, 1, 1928, 3–8.

¹³ A. Schneider (fusnota 12), 3.

¹⁴ A. Schneider, „Doktorske diplome Nadvojvode Eugena i Svet. pl. Borojevića“, *Savremeni*, 3–4, 1916, 134–135.

¹⁵ A. Schneider (fusnota 12), 7.

¹⁶ Vidi fusnotu 3. – Navodi da je 1937. i 1947. sastavila pisanke za ukrasno pismo (latinica i ćirilica) za obuku iz risanja za srednje škole.

¹⁷ „Kerdićevo dijelo o tisućgodišnjici“, *Savremenik*, 1, 1926, 27; S Kerdićem je oblikovala i srebrnu spomenicu koja je poklonjena papi Piju XI povodom hodočašća uoči Spasova 1933. – „Srebrna spomenica Hrvata papi“, *Svijet*, 23, 1933, 473.

¹⁸ D. M. Domjanić, *V suncu i senci*, Zagreb 1927. – Knjiga je doživjela brojna reizdanja.

¹⁹ Usp. rješenja A. Simons u: *Gebrauchsgrafik*, 1, 1925, 74–75.

²⁰ Usp. Lj. Maraković, „V suncu i senci“, *Hrvatska prosjeta*, 4, 1927, 90; A. Schneider (fusnota 12), 8.

²¹ Oblikovala je „umjetničke okvire“ prema motivima istarske preslice u knjizi *Nezaboravna naša Istra*, 1932.

²² Od 1932. do 1935. radi nacрте uveza i hrbata za pojedine sveske Minervine edicije Noviji hrvatski pisci – Djela Augusta Šenoec.

²³ *Druga izložba Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb 1947. – Olga Höcker izlaže opremu knjiga *Seljačka buna*, *Moderni hrvatski pripovjedači*, *Za narod*, *Kroz Hrvatsko zagorje*, *Tizian*, što potvrđuje njezino autorstvo spomenutih izdanja u kojima nije bila potpisana.

²⁴ Vidi fusnotu 3. – Spominje da joj se radovi nalaze u Zagrebu, Beogradu, Splitu, Pragu, Rimu, Zürichu i New Yorku, da je radila za Narodnu frontu Hrvatske i AFŽ, a 1948. povodom stogodišnjice Karlovog sveučilišta u Pragu izvela počasnu adresu Rektorata Zagrebačkog sveučilišta.

²⁵ *Katalog Kulturno-historijske izložbe grada Zagreba*, Zagreb 1925; T. Premerl, „Kapelica na Sljemenu – cjelovito djelo moderne umjetnosti: prilog za portret Jurja Denzlera“, *Život umjetnosti*, 35, 1983, 56–65, 63.

²⁶ U nekoliko brojeva 1943.

²⁷ Povelja se čuva u Muzeju istorije Jugoslavije, Beograd pod inv. br. 5858. – Na podacima zahvaljujem kolegi Momi Cvijoviću.

²⁸ Arhiv Jugoslavije, Beograd, Fond 65. Ministarstvo trgovine i industrije Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Fascikl 272, Jedinica 823, Dopis Ministère du commerce et de l'industrie s popisom nagrađenih autora na pariškoj izložbi 1925. – Olga Höcker je nagrađena u klasama 14 (papir) i 15 (knjiga).

²⁹ J. Grgašević, *Umetni obrt*, Zagreb 1926, 7.

³⁰ *Djelo: društvo za promicanje umjetničkog obrta*, brošura, Zagreb, nedat. [1926/1927], 3–4.

³¹ Više o izložbi i Djelu u: F. Vukić, *Stoljeće hrvatskog dizajna*, Zagreb 1997; J. Galjer, „Art déco u primijenjenoj umjetnosti i dizajnu“, *Art déco i umjetnost u Hrvatskoj između dva rata*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb 2011, 23–59.

³² *Izložba Djela*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb 1927. – Izložila je svilenu haljinu, knjige, pisanice, vrpce, narukvice, šal, jastuk, drvenu kutiju, bilježnice, itd.

³³ Više vidi u: O. Maruševski, „Tomislav Krizman za naš umjetnički obrt“, *Bulletin JAŽU*, 2, 1982, 11–37, 35–36.

³⁴ T. Krizman, „Naš umjetni obrt: Imamo li ga, ili ga moramo stvoriti“, *Novosti*, 25. 12. 1929, 40.

³⁵ Više o tim izložbama u: L. Jirsak, „Iz ostavštine Ljube Babića: albumi izložbi 1930.–1939.“, *Doprinosi Ljube Babića hrvatskoj umjetnosti i kulturi: zbornik radova znanstvenog simpozija*, Zagreb 2013, 71–80.

³⁶ Lj. Babić, [Knjiga kao umjetnina], u: *Grafička revija*, 1 (1928.), 1–2, 1.

³⁷ D. Knežević, „O ukrasnom pismu na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu“, *Spomenica Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu: prigodno 50. godišnjice njenog osnutka (1907-8 - 1957-8)*, Zagreb 1958, 84–86, 85.

³⁸ ALU-HAZU, Fond Klub likovnih umjetnica, Zapisnik II, Povijest osnutka Kluba likovnih umjetnica.

³⁹ *Katalog Prve izložbe Kluba likovnih umjetnica*, Zagreb 1928, 1. – Plakat je signiran s „OH“ kako je često potpisivala svoja ostvarenja (u slučajevima kad ih je potpisivala). Primjerak plakata se čuva u zbirci dr. Josipa Kovačića kojemu zahvaljujem na uvidu u građu.

⁴⁰ Lj. Babić, „Žena u likovnoj umjetnosti“, *Obzor*, 16. 10. 1928, 2–3.

⁴¹ Arhiv ALU, PDOH, Razrješenje dužnosti nakon penzionisanja, Zagreb, 4. 4. 1938.

⁴² Arhiv ALU, Zapisnik sjednice profesorskog vijeća državne umjetničke akademije, 22. 11. 1925.

⁴³ Arhiv ALU, PDOH, Uvjerenje Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 16. 10. 1958. – Kao aktivni službenik (22. 11. 1919. – 4. 4. 1938.; 12. 3. 1942. – 6. 11. 1945.) i kao penzioner (5. 4. 1938. – 11. 3. 1942.); U *Spomenici Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu* iz 1958. je navedeno da je radila do 1948.

⁴⁴ D. Knežević (fusnota 37), 85. – Nakon njezina odlaska ukrasno pismo je predavao Mato Benković.

⁴⁵ Arhiv ALU, PDOH, Molba Olge Höcker Izvršnom vijeću Sabora Narodne republike Hrvatske, Zagreb, 26. 8. 1954. – Tijekom Narodnooslobodilačke borbe.

⁴⁶ V. Radauš, „Olga Höcker“, *Vjesnik*, 10. 11. 1967, 3. – Umrkla je 8. 11. 1967.

⁴⁷ Vidi fusnotu 45.

⁴⁸ O. Höcker, *Ukrasno pismo*, Zagreb 1951. – Prvi dio je posvećen paleografiji, a drugi metodici pojedinih vrsta pisma. Povijest pisma se tumaćila u kontekstu složenih društveno-političkih odnosa i promjena stilskih razdoblja, a knjiga je bogato ilustrirana primjerima i tablama s uzorcima povijesnih i modernih pisama.

Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

**WORK OF LETTERING ARTIST
OLGA HÖCKER IN THE CONTEXT OF CROATIAN ART
BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS**

Summary:

The article reconstructs and valorizes the artistic and educational activities of Olga Höcker (Varaždin, 1882 – Zagreb, 1967), a prominent applied artist, the first female teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb and an outstanding connoisseur of decorative lettering. It brings a series of findings on graphic culture in Croatia during the interwar period, while the work of Olga Höcker is considered within the context of wider social and cultural situation characterized by aspiration toward the development of arts and crafts, definition of national expression in art, as well as the arousal of interest in book design and lettering.

Keywords:

Olga Höcker, lettering, calligraphy, book design, applied arts,
interwar period, national expression in art

UDK BROJEVI: 7.071.1 Лапин Л.
7.038.51(474.2)“1976”
ID BROJ: 212664332

Mari Laanemets
Institute of Art History, Estonian Academy of Arts

FLIGHT INTO TOMORROW: RETHINKING ARTISTIC PRACTICE IN ESTONIA DURING THE 1970S (LEONHARD LAPIN)

Abstract:

This article observes how the new understanding of art which was introduced at the end of the 1960s by pop art influenced groups was pursued and radicalized in the second half of the 1970s, in a period generally referred to as the weakening of the avant-garde. It focuses on the texts by Leonhard Lapin, promoting art as a means of creating a new living environment. Taking Lapin's text as a framework, the author analyses the intervention in the official exhibition of monumental art in 1976.

Keywords:

pop art, environment, Leonhard Lapin, interdisciplinarity,
art in Soviet Estonia

The first steps in the rediscovery of unofficial art from Eastern Europe (and the Soviet Union) in the West, often in the form of summary articles about “art under communism” and written by a handful of more or less informed visitors from the Western side of the iron curtain, were taken around 1960 and went hand in hand with heated debates about that art’s nature and value.¹ Unofficial art from Eastern Europe was dismissed by critics as being a mere imitation of Western art and defended by its advocates as being more political due to its alleged “nonconformism.” These debates resurfaced in the 1990s, when newly independent post-Soviet nation-states such as Estonia presented their art to the world. Most art histories written after 1989 have tended to argue that it was the political situation in the second half of the 20th century that did not allow Estonian art to develop logically. “What we see,” Sirje Helme has noted, is “an endless amount of mimicry, malformation or mutation.”² Indeed, what has often been disregarded in these histories of art from the former Eastern Europe is precisely its political aspect. During the Soviet period, the forced politicization of art prescribed by official cultural politics tended to render any unofficial art with political ambitions suspicious; meanwhile, for official art history of the 1990s, the idea of political art was equally ambivalent. In fact historians of art of the Soviet period routinely assert that politics was simply “repulsive” to artists at the time.³ The political in art was exclusively associated with anti-Soviet dissidence, reducing the complexity of artistic practices to the confrontation between “official” and “unofficial” art. The only legitimate strategy (and possibly “political” gesture) was to retreat in defense of the autonomy of art.⁴ The idea of the autonomy of art, which was tentatively given up by the Western neo-avant-garde in favor of political and social concerns, was perceived in Eastern Europe on the contrary as fertile ground for resistance.

It was above all abstract art, such as the geometric abstraction that emerged in Estonia belatedly in the mid-1970s, that was viewed as an “art of elegant refusal” in that it purportedly confronted the official demands on art, including propaganda and education, with a “silent meaningful neutrality.”⁵ For art discourse as it developed after the collapse of the Soviet Union during the 1990s, this gesture of autonomy was of particular importance since it enabled local critics to connect Estonian art to international (Western) art history. This yearning for integration, however, led to a certain blindness toward the specificity of concepts and positions developed by local artists during the Soviet period.

In what follows, I recontextualize and rethink artistic practices of the 1970s through the example of a loosely affiliated group of artists, architects, and designers who worked in Tallinn during the 1970s.⁶ In accounts of Estonian art history, the decade of the 1970s has typically been described as reactionary: it was the time when direct Western influences, which were considered a crucial part of 1960s unofficial art in its opposition to the doctrine of Socialist Realism, were replaced by artistic trends from the beginning of the 20th century, especially Constructivism. Generally, this nonpolitical or apolitical recuperation of the Soviet avant-garde has been interpreted as an abandonment of avant-garde ideas and as a withdrawal from reality in search of “universal truths” and even cosmic values.⁷ This was perceived to be in keeping with the depressed social climate during the period of stagnation that followed the suppression of the so-called Prague Spring, which had dashed all hope for a reformed socialist society.⁸

Contrary to the accounts outlined above, I argue that Estonian unofficial art of the 1970s not only did not abandon its socially critical position, but in fact radicalized the critical art practices introduced in the late 1960s. My starting point is a series of texts by Leonhard Lapin, who is one of the most productive artists of his generation, and who in addition actively conceptualized his artistic production in the context of the generation of artists to which he belonged.

The Politics of Union Pop

Together with Ando Keskküla and Andres Tolts (joined later by Sirje Runge, Vilen Künnapu, Jüri Okas, and others), Lapin entered the Estonian art world in 1969 when he exhibited at the ambitious and aggressive pop art exhibition SOUP '69 in Tallinn's Café Pegasus, a popular meeting point for writers, artists, and other cultural producers. The poster for SOUP '69 featured Andy Warhol's Campbell soup can, “broken open by Estonian artists.”⁹ Estonian pop art, or union pop as it was labeled by Lapin to differentiate it from its American and British counterparts, was the first nonconformist art tendency in Estonia to engage with the Soviet reality, thus breaking with the unwritten taboo that unofficial art had to steer clear of all political involvement.¹⁰

Different in many ways from its counterparts in Britain and the United

States, union pop positioned Soviet ideology where Western pop art placed capitalist consumer culture and the mythologies of advertising. For artists working with union pop, the kind of popular culture created by official Soviet ideology with its heroes and fairy tales was an object of derision and became subject to parody. The best examples of union pop are Andres Tolts's collages depicting bizarre "scenes" of Soviet life. Tolts and Keskküla's poster for the Exhibition of Independent Student Works at the State Art Institute in 1968 depicts construction workers bursting with health on scaffolding; the poster mocks the image of the Soviet artist who takes on the role of the worker and participates in the construction of socialism.¹¹

Collages, assemblages, and ready-made objects were the preferred artistic media of union pop artists. Not surprisingly, Lapin too dismissed traditional painting as obsolete.¹² The SOUP '69 exhibition was followed by the Estonian Progressive Art exhibition, which took place the following year in the same café.¹³ Tolts and Peeter Urbla (from the Tartu-based group Visarid) showed assemblages made of cheap, mass-produced calico. While opposing mass production and attempting to disclose "the singularity inherent in every mass-product,"¹⁴ these objects (including their evidently erotic allusions) opened a critical and somewhat uncanny perspective on the surrounding standardized environment and conformity of everyday life in Soviet Estonia.

When union pop became the official avant-garde movement during the 1990s, this was largely because its rebellious nature was then interpreted as "resistance to the system." However, the policy of the young artists of the SOUP group in the late 1960s seems to have been something more complex than mere playful opposition to the system, more than just a funny and ironic



Figure 1: Leonhard Lapin. Poster of the exhibition SOUP '69, 1969. Ink on paper, 61.2 x 32.3 cm. Art Museum of Estonia. Photo by Stanislav Stepaško. Image courtesy of the artist.

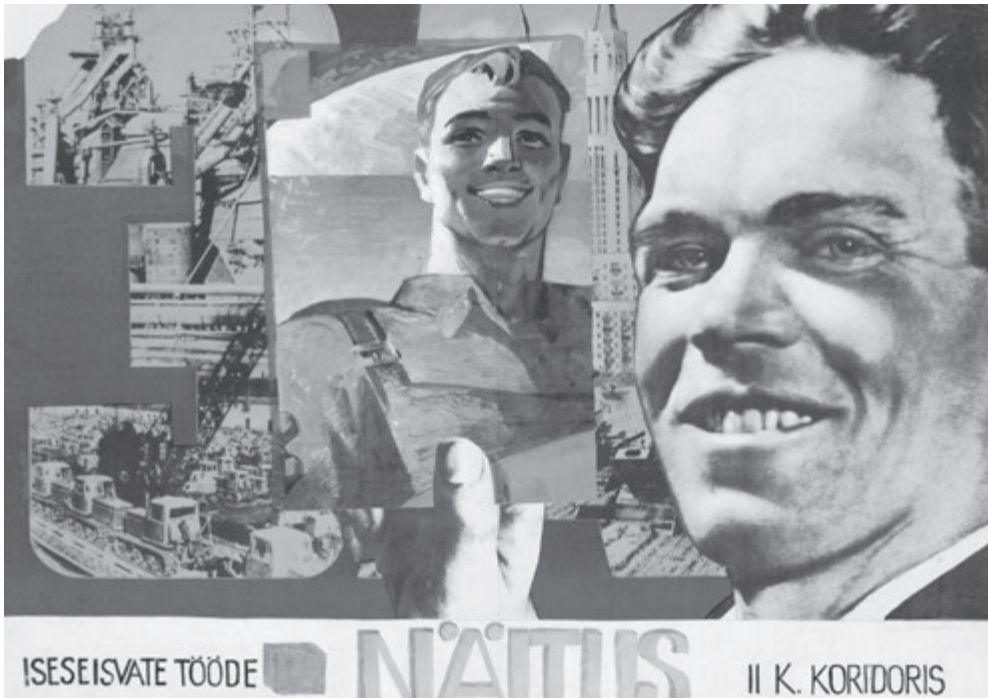


Figure 2: Ando Keskküla and Andres Tolts. Poster of the Exhibition of Independent Student Works at the State Art Institute, 1968. Collage, 59 x 77.5 cm. Art Museum of Estonia. Image courtesy of the artists.

mocking of Soviet mass culture and poorly mass produced goods. Behind their carefree parody lay a social sensitivity that considered art less a refuge than a means to shape a new cultural environment.¹⁵ As Lapin declared in a 1971 speech at the Exhibition of Independent Student Works, the interest in the popular should not be restricted to imitation in art by “presenting the objects of life on canvas,” but instead required a more active type of intervention. Lapin insisted that art must aim beyond the “beautiful” or “interesting,” beyond a merely decorative function, aiming instead at the production of a new environment.¹⁶

The Program of Objective Art

The period of 1960s union pop remained a short episode in the history of Estonian postwar art. Still, the fact that the artists involved in the movement raised crucial issues such as the social role of mass culture, the media, and the environment helped expand the traditional understanding of art as something that



Figure 3: Estonian Progressive Art. Exhibition in Café Pegasus, 1970. Image courtesy of Peeter Ürbla. Photograph by Heimar Lenk.

creates beauty. In the wake of the union pop movement, artists during the 1970s sought a critical exploration of everyday reality that persistently questioned the relevance of art in society. In the aforementioned speech, titled “Art Designing the Environment,” Lapin proposed the creation of an environment involving every branch of art, from design to happenings, as the only legitimate aim of contemporary art. According to Lapin the very “possibility of human life on earth” depended on such an understanding of art.¹⁷

In Soviet Estonia, progressive art events often happened not only off-site, in spaces outside of state art institutions, in cafés or scientific institutes, but also at the peripheries of the “fine arts.” Artists resorted to design, monumental art, and architecture to blur the borders of existing disciplines. Especially during

the 1970s, artists - many of them graduates of architecture and design faculties - operated simultaneously in the domains of art, design, and architecture.¹⁸ The faculty of architecture, and first of all of the newly founded faculty of design,¹⁹ had a reputation of being more open to experimentation and of a more broadly conceived teaching curriculum. This may be explained by the fact that in the socialist state, architecture and design were traditionally regarded as ideologically less important than painting or sculpture.²⁰

This, in turn, led to the assertion that under the cover of design, “free” (i.e., formalist) creation was possible.²¹ I would additionally like to suggest a more complex relationship to design. The new art was not only concerned with the problems of form and color, but rather was exploring the functionality and operability of art, its (changing) role in a (changing) society. Form and color only compensate for “personal complexes of the artist,” as Lapin stated in 1971, whereas the true challenge for contemporary culture lies in the “human living environment.”²²

While looking for meaningful ways to relate to the world, design, approaching

the relationship of the human being to his or her industrially and technologically transformed environment, was inspiring for many artists. Design was not just a “semantic ruse,”²³ but was intrinsically linked to the new understanding of art.

Six years after the SOUP '69 exhibition, Lapin launched his idea for a practice of the future he called “objective art.”²⁴ The occasion for the launch of this concept was the exhibition *Event Harku '75: Objects, Concepts* at the Institute of Experimental Biology in Harku, near Tallinn. The exhibition displayed an eclectic mix of trends such as pop art, kinetic objects, concrete poetry, and geometric abstraction and became the most important artistic event of the second half of the 1970s. In a programmatic speech presented at the symposium that accompanied the exhibition, Lapin formulated the historical and theoretical framework for the show.²⁵ Even though the official subject of the symposium was conceptualism as the most relevant tendency in contemporary art,²⁶ participants mainly discussed more general themes, such as the crisis in art and the role and function of art and the artist in society.

In his speech Lapin addressed the need, in this moment of crisis, for art to create a new (objective) imagery that would be developed in accordance with contemporary industrial reality and technological progress. In this context Lapin pointed to changes in the environment, developments in industrial production, as



Figure 4: *Event Harku '75: Objects, Concepts*, 1975. Image courtesy of Jaan Klõšeiko. Photograph by Jaan Klõšeiko. View of the exhibition: in the foreground kinetic objects by Kaarel Kurismaa; in the middle Sirje Runge's *Altar*; on the right tea bags by Jaan Ollik and Villu Järmut; on the back wall bus tickets by Järmut, Ollik, and Illimar Paul; in the left corner prints from Leonhard Lapin's series *Woman-Machine*.

well as innovations in communications technology. According to him, these changes made it imperative for artists to reconsider their practice as they fundamentally changed not only the concept of art but also the role of the artist.²⁷

Objective art, Lapin declared, doesn't express the "artist's arbitrary fun by playing with the forms taken from reality," but instead "turns to universal ideas, objective structures and materials."²⁸ He continued that objective art "is not an imitation of reality but part of reality, or reality itself."²⁹ The objective artist does not present his or her subjective view of the world, but "constructs; his creative process is not so much emotional and spontaneous as it is intellectual."³⁰

Lapin's main objective here was the creation of a new aesthetic system, an integral culture that would resonate with the logic of a new, technology-driven environment.³¹ Given the focus of the symposium, the term objectivity — the demand that the artist get rid of his or her personal emotions and abandon the ambition of singularity — referred first and foremost to conceptualism. Objectivity and the depersonalization of the creative process were the battle cries of the neo-avant-garde in the West, and in particular of conceptual art.³² Here a predefined concept determined the form of the work, liberating it from the authoritative subjectivity of the artist. Lapin indeed mentioned conceptualism as the most radical current of objective art, an art of pure ideas.³³ According to him, this led to a situation whereby art does not need any special means or social acceptance since it can be made, literally, by anyone: "[E]very human being is an artist [. . .]. This will set off a whole chain of spontaneous actions, an avalanche of aimless acts, destroying the myth of art as a product of a special kind of human activity."³⁴

Lapin's understanding of objective art and its role in society was influenced by various, even divergent ideas from different historical periods of art. In his brief historical introduction Lapin mentioned Cézanne, the cubists, the futurists, Constructivism, De Stijl, and the Bauhaus — artists and artistic movements that all searched for a new aesthetic system suited to a new (industrial) civilization. The principal objective artist for Lapin, however, was Malevich. Crucially, Lapin's understanding of art as having a social purpose and as an investigation of the "visual structures" of a future world that would make the entire environment the object of the artist's creative agency can be traced back to similar ideas developed by artists associated with Constructivism.³⁵ In Lapin's understanding, Constructivism succeeded in connecting Suprematist (objective) imagery with new methods of production; it

was a necessary utilization of Suprematist ideas to create new objectivity.³⁶ This also explains Lapin's demand that artists not simply imitate or reinterpret life, but actively engage with it. By designing a new environment, Lapin claimed, art would "solve the problem of the humanmachine relationship."³⁷

It is not by coincidence that in his speech at the Harku conference Lapin quoted Märt Laarman, an Estonian Constructivist and editor of *The Book of New Art* (1928), the manifesto of Estonian Constructivism. In Laarman's words, "Art that entertained or diversified life is now in charge of organizing life."³⁸ According to Laarman, the artist "confines his expression to a set of strict rules and by adopting them joins the collective [. . .]. [W]e are proud that we do not build on the common. As a result of this, new art is international."³⁹ This statement is remarkable, even if, according to Jaak Kangilaski, "personal style" was very important for the restoration of artistic autonomy and for signaling one's opposition toward the official establishment.⁴⁰ Whereas intelligibility and collectivism were official requirements for art, internationality was its ideology. Nevertheless, Lapin's reference to Constructivism was not just a mimicry to legalize contemporary concerns with history,⁴¹ but was entirely sincere and serious.

In October 1975, two months before the opening of the Harku exhibition, Lapin and his then wife Sirje Runge traveled to Moscow. The reason for the trip was the 9th ICSID (International Council of Societies of Industrial Design) congress, titled *Design for Man and Society*.⁴² During their stay in Moscow they visited Georgi Costakis's collection of Soviet art in his apartment, which made a lasting impression on both of them.⁴³ In the same year the Lapins became acquainted with the Leningrad artist Pavel Kondratiev, a pupil of Malevich's and Pavel Filonov's, with whom they became good friends until Kondratiev's death in 1985.⁴⁴

Prior to Lapin, the Estonian artist group Visarid had espoused ideas similar to Lapin's. In their manifesto, written in 1971, they had called for a new kind of art that would be appropriate to "tomorrow's automated recreational society," declaring, "The aim of the artist is no longer to seek refuge and to turn his back on the world, but to constantly enhance his participation in the facts of life. He leads people to better understand the essence of the new reality."⁴⁵ The new art was to break down the walls separating different branches of artistic practice, creating a synthesis: "In the future, individual artists will no longer create separate works of art, but groups of artists will reorganize the whole environment, designing not individual commodities,

but the whole ambience for everyday activities.”⁴⁶ Instead of the traditional work of the artist as a creator of unique objects, he or she was given a new role as an “irreplaceable interior designer of the new society.”⁴⁷

These discussions of the future of art, which called for the creation of environmentally encompassing works and the application of new technologies across different disciplines, drew significantly on Pierre Restany’s book *Livre blanc – objet blanc* (1969).⁴⁸ In this book Restany attempted to redefine the role of art within the new technological reality of the entertainment society. He encouraged artists to use new technological means and media to create what he called “total art,” suggesting a cooperation of artists from different fields to create a new kind of environment in which art would merge with reality.⁴⁹ Significantly, Lapin ended his Harku speech with a remark that was clearly indebted to Restany: “The future of objective art is that art will come to the streets. Museums will become centers of information and production. Academies will become laboratories. Monuments and fetishes that were meant to be eternal will be replaced by multiple changes in form.”⁵⁰

From Monument to Environment: Estonian Monumental Art 1902–1975

Lapin revealed what his new objective art would look like a year later at a survey show on 20th-century Estonian monumental sculpture titled Estonian Monumental Art 1902–1975. The exhibition, which opened in May 1976, was organized by the Exhibitions Department of the Ministry of Culture of the Estonian SSR, with Lapin as the show’s designer. The main exhibition consisted of Soviet monuments displayed in photographs and slides, neutral and decorative sculptures, and even a few constructivist compositions from the 1920s. The experimental work in the show’s last section (New Work) featured models and architectural projects, kinetic objects, abstract paintings, and prints, and was very different from the exhibition in other rooms. (These works were not included in the main catalogue but were added to it in a separate leaflet). It was in this experimental section of the exhibition that Lapin presented his project for *A Monument to Tallinn* — a 345-meter-tall monument located in the new residential area of Mustamäe. On each story of this Suprematist-styled monument, a period of the history of Tallinn would be displayed using audiovisual multimedia. At night “from 18 to 6 single elements glow colorfully and split away

to outer space. Unrepeatable spatial situations are regulated by a computer.”⁵¹

The experimental section was part of an ongoing discussion about monumental art and responded to the protracted crisis monumental art had experienced since the 1960s as a result of the transformation of the urban context and increased industrialization.⁵² After Lenin’s Decree on the Removal of Monuments Erected in Honor of the Tsars and Their Servants and on the Development of Sketches for Monuments to the Russian Socialist Revolution (1918),⁵³ monumental art became the

foundation for the connection between art and power in the Soviet Union and one of the most important genres of Soviet art. It might therefore appear that there could not possibly be anything more outdated than for young Estonian artists who were associated with the independent art scene to be engaged with monumental art. However, despite these appearances, monumental art seemed to offer new possibilities to artists with an interest in urban space to respond to their immediate surroundings. Lapin for one appropriated the official genre of monumental art and reshaped it in an extensive effort to redesign public urban space.⁵⁴ In this respect, much like Vladimir Tatlin’s concept of the “monuments of the new era,” monuments were for him not objects of veneration but fully operational sites used for various social activities, and they included lecture rooms, sports halls, information centers, print shops, cafeterias, and other social venues.⁵⁵

Estonian Monumental Art 1902–1975 can easily be overlooked as a kind of “practical opportunism” that presented abstract art, or art that did not conform to official cultural ideology, disguised as “monumental” art. I would like to suggest that this exhibition was different. One anonymous review in a local arts magazine (written by Lapin himself) noted that the designs presented at the exhibition did not refer so much to real future monuments as they opened up possibilities for a new kind of monumental art, creating an integral and (syn)aesthetic environment.⁵⁶



Figure 5: Leonhard Lapin. *A Monument to Tallinn*, 1976. Gouache on wood, 100 x 100 cm. Museum of Estonian Architecture. Image courtesy of the artist. Photograph by Peeter Sirge.

Lapin's understanding of (monumental) art viewed the latter as part of a larger system whose understanding required an interdisciplinary approach. Already in 1974, in an article on what he called "synthetic architecture," Lapin had extended these ideas to architecture as a "synthetic" art that integrated "philosophical ideas, sociology, psychology, research in theology and theater experiments, the formal aesthetics of visual arts, the efforts of the scientific-technological world and industrial possibilities."⁵⁷

One of the most intriguing works in the exhibition was the *New Visual Environment* by architect Tiit Kaljundi. Kaljundi suggested the planting of

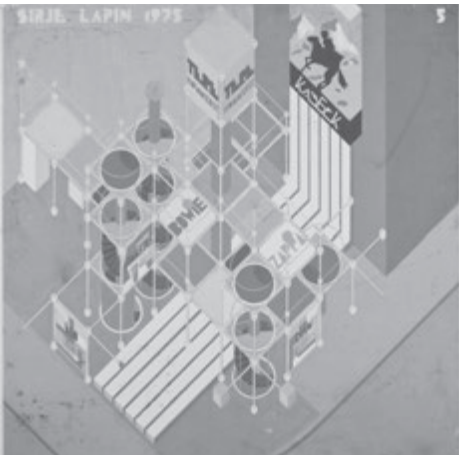


Figure 6: Sirje Runge. *Proposal for the Design of Areas in Central Tallinn*, 1975. Display board 7, gouache on cardboard, 100 x 100 cm. Museum of Estonian Architecture. Image courtesy of the artist. Photograph by Tiit Veermäe.

cereal crops on the grounds between anonymous Soviet-style apartment blocks in the satellite suburbs of Tallinn.⁵⁸ Different sorts of crops would be rotated annually and would play an important role in the aesthetic reconfiguration of the urban landscape. With the wind blowing across them, the cornfields would become a kinetic work of art that would best be observed from the buildings' upper balconies. At the same time, the seasonal harvests would become a participatory spectacle for local inhabitants.⁵⁹

On the one hand, Kaljundi's project critically addresses the monotony of modernization. However, in doing so it implies the city's mobilization rather than its abandonment. The idea of croplands goes back to land art and may be a reference to Dennis Oppenheim's work *Cancelled Crop* (1969). However, the crossing paths also reflect more mundane activities, such as the informal paths the inhabitants of newly constructed Soviet suburbs routinely created as they navigated their way across the no-man's land between their apartment blocks.⁶⁰

In his Harku speech, Lapin mentioned Sirje Runge's diploma work *Proposal for the Design of Areas in Central Tallinn* (1975) as the most significant example of objective art to date. Blending pop and Constructivist aesthetics with new

technologies, Runge's project consisted of nine design boards investigating the means for reconstructing different locations, most of which Runge envisioned turning into a dynamic urban environment.⁶¹

Runge's project included three kinds of interventions: First were urban "decorations" that consisted of repainting the buildings' facades with decorative patterns, a measure that would also help improve the appearance of the bleak inner courtyards. Second, there were to be two modular aluminum constructions, each up to six stories in height and equipped with cinema and TV screens, music boxes, communal information boards, and kiosks. These structures were intended to turn disused, neglected, or abandoned urban territories into dynamic points of communication. Runge's constructions reacted to the demands of post-industrialist recreational society and offered inhabitants opportunities for relaxation and physical recreation.⁶² In the cubic, cylindrical, or spherical boxes, constructed from corrugated plastic and either painted over or polished, one could relax, listen to music, or meet with friends.⁶³

The third urban intervention envisaged by *Proposal for the Design of Areas in Central Tallinn* consisted of what Runge called "urban design fantasies." One of the display boards showed colorful chimneys in a labyrinthine park to be constructed on the site of a former power station, with the aim of reintegrating a neglected area into the city. The park's chimneys would emit colorful and pleasantly scented smoke — a new kind of fountain that also sought to signal the historical legacy of their location.⁶⁴ Another board proposed installing a cogwheel clock on a square in central Tallinn. The clock's old-fashioned mechanism reintroduced a certain irrationality into city life, interrupting the clockwise rhythm of its movements.⁶⁵

In the mid-1970s Runge began working on a series of geometric abstractions that were exhibited in the exhibition of monumental art. Dealing with the construction of space in a more abstract way, her geometric paintings can be seen in the context of the architectural synthesis envisioned by Lapin's concept of objective art, and before the background of the debate about the renewal of monumental art. Runge's focus in these works was not the picture plane but rather relations in space and generative processes involving color and shape. As experiments, they were designed to function as prototypes for Runge's architectural projects, such as her design for the playgrounds of the KEK kindergarten in Pärnu (1977).

Of course, the work by Runge and other abstract work at Estonian

Monumental Art 1902–1975, such as the prints by Raul Meel, the drawings by Tõnis Vint, and the kinetic objects by the engineer Villu Jõgeva, might be considered designs for monumental paintings or decorations whose function was to smuggle abstract work into the show. However, I want to suggest that at least from Lapin’s point of view this was not the case. For him, such works should not be looked at as paintings or sculptures but as experiments in visual perception and the organization of space that would open possibilities for large-scale spatial productions and lead to the “formation of habitable audio-visual surroundings.”⁶⁶

Estonian Monumental Art 1902–1975, and Lapin specifically, proposed a different understanding of monumental art in which the monument was set apart from political propaganda and its traditional commemorative function.⁶⁷ (Lapin himself submitted a design for a sculpture — a tree symbolizing the unity of nature and cultural environment — that dissolves into the outer space.) Lapin’s “new monumental art” moved away from objects (monuments) toward an integrated environment; his idea was not to replace the old figurative monuments with more abstract compositions of “urban sculpture” as suggested by the official press, but rather to create a new kind of environment and, as a result, a different kind of public space.⁶⁸ For Sirje Runge, too, the redesign of the urban environment did not imply the development of a static and merely functional structure but rather the creation of a “multimedia [environment] employing every technical means.”⁶⁹ Unlike the traditional monuments with their specific ideological function, the purpose of Lapin’s and Runge’s more temporary constructions was to create a “neutral space of intimacy” rather than grand and heroic moments.⁷⁰

The new monumental art envisioned by Lapin for the first time in 1971 blended the 19th-century ideas of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, with its notion of a total aesthetic environment,⁷¹ with more contemporary theories of design and “total art” that used new technologies and relied on modern communications media.⁷² However, since Lapin clearly did not envision the artist as an entertainer but as an *organizer*, what did “organization” mean in this context?

For an exhibition of young architects in 1978, Lapin produced *The City of the Living – The City of the Dead*.⁷³ In this project he proposed building cemeteries in the courtyards between apartment blocks where deceased inhabitants could be buried together with their cars. In a way Lapin’s project is a perfect example of the principle of the Soviet satellite suburb (*mikrorayon*) since the “inhabitants [would]

be able to remain in their neighborhoods forever without ever needing to cross a single highway.”⁷⁴ The multifunctional tombstones would also act as objects of play. Andres Kurg has pointed out that Lapin was not suggesting that the process of industrialization could be reversed, for example, by demolishing the new urban developments or by making them “homely.” Instead he sought to “destabilize the present” by introducing an alienating perspective.⁷⁵ His goal was neither a harmonious environment that would efface all the contradictions of the new industrial situation, nor the control of “chaos” by means of total design.⁷⁶ Instead, Lapin was interested in disrupting the rationality and functionality of modern urban space, confronting it with irrational, illogical, and even destructive elements as a means of intervening in the meansends logic of modern technocratic society.⁷⁷

Calls, such as Lapin’s, for an aesthetically rejuvenated environment fully integrated with technology are certainly controversial. Indeed, they have been criticized for being complacent with the capitalist systems and consumer society.⁷⁸ However, in the case of the former Soviet Union, such appeals need to be recontextualized as the retooling of the city into a kind of experiential space in a way that offered a true alternative to official approaches to urban space. In the 1970s, such “aesthetic” interventions had emancipatory potential: reclaiming neglected and marginal spaces and opening them up for public use challenged and contested the bureaucratic hold over an indifferent society.

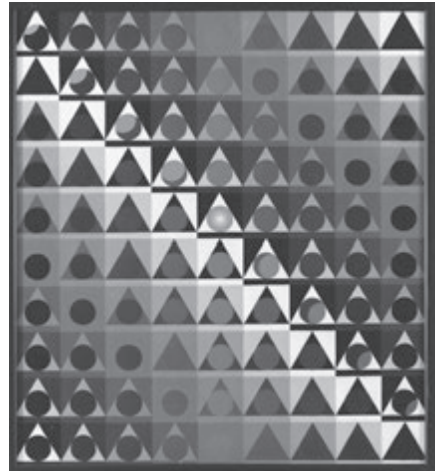


Figure 7: Sirje Runge. *Space II*, 1977. Oil on canvas, 100 x 90 cm. Art Museum of Estonia. Image courtesy of the artist. Photograph by Stanislav Stepaško.



Figure 8: Leonhard Lapin. *The City of the Living – The City of the Dead*, 1978. Display board, gouache, leterset on cardboard, 100 x 100 cm. Museum of Estonian Architecture. Image courtesy of the artist. Photograph by Peeter Sirge.

The belief that art is capable of imagining alternatives to the dominant order is what makes the art of Lapin, Kaljundi, and Runge political, even if they would not call themselves political artists. We are therefore not talking about political art in a traditional sense; unofficial artists in Estonia during the 1970s were not interested in politics *per se*; instead, they sought to renegotiate the social function of art and rethink the relation between art and politics. In their critique they called on other artists to define their position — why they created, and for whom.⁷⁹ Lapin, Runge, and Kaljundi were convinced that this could happen only if art actively intervened and transformed everyday living space. The turn toward such an understanding of the social role of art was not an “escape,” but instead stood for an artistic involvement motivated by the particular social situation of the 1970s, and by the demands it placed on Estonian artists.⁸⁰

Lapin and his fellow artists had given up on the idealistic notion that one could exist outside of society, that there could be an independent unofficial realm parallel to the official one, as was believed by the first generation of Estonian unofficial artists. They recognized that the unofficial art scene was in fact an integral part of the existing system, and consequently they looked for art to occupy a more influential position within that system: the artist could and must intervene. The position taken by Lapin and his friends would have been unthinkable without the groundwork laid by the union pop artists; it was they who first started to take an active interest in Soviet reality. However, the parodic attitude of pop artists, who relativized and ridiculed everything, didn't seem relevant in the altered social context of the 1970s. The potential for resistance theorized by Lapin consisted not in the “elegant refusal” but in an active readiness to engage the system from within. In a text titled “Art Against Art” (1977), Lapin writes that “art is no longer happy onanism in a Finnish [i.e., Western] bathroom.”⁸¹ Lapin goes on to compare the contemporary artist to a philistine who entertains himself “in the morgue of material prosperity and intellectual conformity” and whose awareness of reality is limited to “apartment, pub and office.”⁸² In the same text Lapin speaks out against the hierarchical differentiation of the arts and calls on his colleagues to “protest against their profession”: “Artists must see visual culture as a whole and they must search for means to eliminate the boundaries between individual fields; creative artists must not limit themselves to one art, but aspire to all the techniques available.”⁸³ Lapin further criticizes the lack of unity in contemporary (modernist) art practice and its bureaucratic/hierarchic organization that manifested

itself most glaringly in the labyrinthine structure of the different subassociations that made up the official Artists' Union, and he opposes this to an extensive artistic practice that would integrate all fields of life.

“Art Against Art” reads like a critique of the hedonistic strategies of pop art that mimicked Soviet reality and its absurd rituals without transforming it. Seen from this vantage point, the Tallinn exhibition of new monumental art could be seen as an attempt, counter pop, to harness architecture and design to the invention of new futures from within existing institutions. Lapin’s interdisciplinary approach, his aspiration to collapse art into life, went hand in hand with a persistent questioning of his own role as an artist. If in one sense such self-questioning was a strategy for disrupting the normative, hierarchical, and institutional structure of art; in another it was an affirmative redefinition of his own artistic position and a way to return to the institution from which he had been excluded.

Eastern European unofficial art of the “period of stagnation” is often seen as a series of efforts to escape from grim political reality into the relatively autonomous realm of (apolitical) art. However, as the example from Estonia shows, certain artworks and texts from the period reveal a political sensitivity that did not consider art a refuge but on the contrary a means to shape a new environment. At the 1978 exhibition of young architects mentioned above, Lapin presented a vision of Tallinn as the “New York of Estonia.” Though Lapin’s *New Skyline of Tallinn* cannot be taken altogether seriously, it does express the desire for a dynamic environment, of which the artists would be the architects; as if to prove this, in the left corner of the skyline stands Lapin’s own monument to Tallinn. Following the experiments of union pop, its critique of everydayness, and its interest in the new industrial and artificial environment, objective art provided the artist with a constructive goal: to “engage” with reality in a newly recovered, avant-garde sense of the word.



Figure 9: Leonhard Lapin. *New Skyline of Tallinn*, 1978. Display board, gouache, letraset on cardboard, 100 x 100 cm. Museum of Estonian Architecture. Image courtesy of the artist. Photograph by Peeter Sirge.

Notes:

¹ See, for example, “How Art Exists under Communism, a Compendium of Interviews and Reports”, *Artnews* 57, no. 2, April 1958; and *Artnews* 57, no. 8, December 1958. These reports included phrases such as “inner emigration” and “artists go underground”. See also “Editorial: Art under Communism Today 2”, *Artnews* 57, no. 8, December 1958, 23. The December issue of *Artnews* also published a “travelogue” by the American action painter Harry L. Colman, who had participated in the 6th *World Festival of Youth and Students* in Moscow in 1957. H. L. Colman, “An American Action Painter Invades Moscow”, *Artnews* 57, no. 8, December 1958, 33, 56–57.

² S. Helme, “Personal Time”, *Personal Time: Art of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania 1945–1996*, vol. 1, ed. A. Rottenberg, Warsaw 1996, 20.

³ See S. Helme and J. Kangilaski, *Lühike Eesti kunsti ajalugu*, Tallinn 1999, 192. See also J. Kangilaski, “Okupeeritud Eesti kunstiajaloo periodiseerimine”, *Kunstist, Eestist ja eesti kunstist*, Ilmamaa, Tartu 2000, 228–35; and P. Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta: Art and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989*, trans. Anna Brzyski, London 2009, 179.

⁴ Boris Bernštein has conceived the concept of “ethics of non-commitment”. B. Bernštein, “ANK kui eetiline fenomen”, *AMK '64*, ed. A. Liivak, Tallinn 1995, n.p.

⁵ S. Helme, “Artforumi ajad”, *1970ndate kultuuriruumi idealism: Lisandusi Eesti kunstiloole*, ed. S. Helme, Tallinn 2002, 15–16.

⁶ They were united primarily by a shared educational background – having entered the State Art Institute in the late 1960s – and by their interest in issues of the contemporary living environment, industrialization, and related changes in art.

⁷ Helme and Kangilaski 1999, 210. The rediscovery of Constructivism was accompanied by a significant shift in the movement’s evaluation, from social reform to a kind of esoteric internalization. See also Piotrowski 2009, 141.

⁸ On the period of stagnation and its focus on apolitical privacy and material well-being, see R. J. Misiunas and R. Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, Berkeley 1993, 204–50.

⁹ L. Lapin, “Startinud kuuekümnendatel. Mälestusi ja mõtteid”, *Kunst 68*, no. 1, 1986, 20. He also mentioned Lucy Lippard’s *Pop Art* (1966), which he had brought along from a trip to Hungary in 1969.

¹⁰ Boris Bernštein writes about the work of the previous generation of unofficial artists that there is no single piece “on the basis of which a future archaeologist could make a conclusion about the existence of Soviet power at that time – there is no trace of it”. Bernštein 1995, n.p.

¹¹ *The Exhibition of Independent Student Works* was an exhibition format initiated in 1966 by the artist Tõnis Vint, who was himself a student at the time. It enabled students to show works that were created outside of their specific curricular tasks.

¹² Lapin called painting an “academic junk word”, that is, “incompatible with contemporary thinking”. Leonhard Lapin, “Taie kujundamas keskkonda”, (1971), in: L. Lapin, *Kaks kunsti. Valimik ettekandeid ja artikleid kunstist ning ehituskunstist 1971–1995*, Tallinn 1997, 16. Widespread among these artists were Indian ink or colored pencil drawings, whereas serigraphy – one of pop art’s exemplary media – was rarely accessible.

¹³ The only existing photographs of the exhibition do not try to blend out the context; on the contrary, they appear to reflect the café’s animated atmosphere.

¹⁴ A. Tolts, “Muster—tekstiil—ruum”, *Kunst ja Kodu 42*, no. 1, 1974, 38.

¹⁵ This was noticed at the time. For instance, the art critic Ene Lamp described the works as a protest against “cosy and well-organized bourgeois life”. “The aim of the art work is not the creation of beauty”, she wrote, but to “shake the audience and make them think”. E. Lamp, “Uusi taotlusi eesti maalis”, *Kunst 39*, no. 1, 1971, 11.

¹⁶ Lapin 1997, 18. The opening of this exhibition a few days earlier had culminated with a joint “happening” in a turn-of-the-century suburb of Tallinn, where art and architecture students repainted a rundown playground.

¹⁷ Lapin 1997, 16.

¹⁸ Lapin was trained as an architect; his colleagues Andres Tolts and Ando Keskküla as well as Lapin’s then wife Sirje Runge were graduates of the Department of Industrial Art.

¹⁹ The study of design was introduced at the State Art Institut of the Estonian SSR in 1966. In 1968 a separate department for industrial design was founded. The intention of the head of the department and initiator of the program, Bruno Tomberg, was to educate not product designers but professionals with universal skills. Tomberg's understanding of design was related to the Ulm School, to designers and theoreticians such as Tomás Maldonado, Gui Bonsiepe, and Victor Papanek.

²⁰ S. Helme, *Popkunst Forever: Estonian Pop Art at the Turn of the 1960s and 1970s*, Tallinn 2010, 99-100.

²¹ For example, M. A. Svede, "Many Easels, Some Abandoned: Latvian Art after Socialist Realism", *Art of the Baltics: The Struggle for Freedom of Artistic Expression under the Soviets, 1945–1991*, ed. A. Rosenfeld and N. T. Dodge, New Brunswick, NJ 2002, 234-41. Svede mentions the strategy to exhibit abstract paintings in the section of design, suggesting they were designs rather than paintings. The use of the word design to veil an artist's "formalist" tendencies was highlighted recently by the exhibition *And Others: Movements, Explorations and Artists in Latvia 1960–1984*, organized by the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art, Riga, 2010.

²² Lapin 1997, 16.

²³ Svede 2002, 234.

²⁴ For a translation of the text of Lapin's speech, see L. Lapin, "Objective Art", *ARTMargins* 2:2, 2013, 172-85. For commentary by Andres Kurg (Tallinn) on this speech, see A. Kurg, "Introduction to Leonhard Lapin's 'Objective Art'", *ARTMargins* 2:2, 2013, 163-71.

²⁵ The exhibition was initiated by the artists Lapin, Sirje Runge, and Raul Meel and the physicist Tõnu Karu.

²⁶ M. Preem, "Sündmus Harkus", *Harku 1975–1995*, ed. L. Lapin, A. Liivak, and R. Meel, Tallinn 1995, 46, originally published in *TRÜ ajaleht*, December 12, 1975.

²⁷ L. Lapin, "Objektivne kunst", in: Lapin 1997, 28.

²⁸ Lapin 1997, 23. My translation.

²⁹ Lapin 1997, translation by Andres Kurg, *ARTMargins* 2, no. 2 (June 2013): 172.

³⁰ Lapin 1997, trans. Kurg, 172.

³¹ Lapin 1997, 24.

³² Knowledge of Western conceptual art in Estonia was limited at the time, though it was far from unknown.

³³ Lapin 1997, 23.

³⁴ Lapin 1997, 28, trans. Kurg, 184. Lapin is tacitly alluding to Joseph Beuys's assertion that "everyone is an artist."

³⁵ Lapin's call for unity between an artwork and the environment is also reminiscent of De Stijl. In 1974 he and Sirje Runge worked as artists on the animated film *The Colorful Bird*, directed by Rein Raamat (Tallinnfilm), which showed geometric views of the city that were evidently inspired by neoplasticist compositions.

³⁶ Lapin 1997, 24. See also L. Lapin, *Avangard*, Tartu Ülikoolikirjastus, Tartu 2003, 69–83.

³⁷ Lapin 1997, 28. Trans. Kurg, 184.

³⁸ Lapin 1997, 25. Trans. Kurg, 179. Laarman was referring to El Lissitzky and Ilya Ehrenburg's preface to the first volume of the trilingual journal *Beuys/Objet/Gegenstand* (1922), where Lissitzky and Ehrenburg appeal to a "constructive art" that "is not intended to alienate people from life, but to summon, to contribute to organizing it." E. Lissitzky and I. Ehrenburg, "Die Blockade Rußlands geht ihrem Ende entgegen", *El Lissitzky. Maler, Architekt, Typograf, Fotograf: Erinnerungen, Briefe, Schriften*, ed. S. Lissitzky-Küppers, Verlag der Kunst, Dresden 1976, 341.

³⁹ Lapin 1997, 25. Trans. Kurg, 178–79.

⁴⁰ J. Kangilaski, "Paradigma muutus 1970. Aastate lääne kunstis ja selle kajastus Eesti kunstielus", *Kunstist, Eestist ja eesti kunstist*, 220–21.

⁴¹ S. Helme, "In the Beginning There Was No Word!", Lapin, *Kaks*, 194.

⁴² The congress, with prominent international participants like Tomás Maldonado, was visited by a delegation of Estonian designers and artists. Another lecturer, the artist Raul Meel, referred to the congress in his speech.

⁴³ E. Sepp, "Leonhard Lapin: Autoportrait as Paradox and Parody", *Leonhard Lapin. Maal, graafika, skulptuur, arhitektuur*, ed. L. Lapin, Eesti Kunstimuseum, Tallinn 1997, 21.

⁴⁴ L. Lapin, "Pavel Mihhailovitš Kondratjev 1902–1985", *Kunst 68*, no. 1, 1986, 55. Both Laarman

(whom Lapin quotes extensively) and Arnold Akberg — another member of the Constructivist group Eesti Kunstnikkude Ryhm (Group of Estonian Artists), which was founded in 1923 — were still alive in the 1970s.

⁴⁵ *The Visarid Artists' Group, Tartu 1967–1972*, ed. K. Põllu and A. Liivak, Tallinna Kunstihoone, Tallinn 1997, 89. The group formed around the art studio at Tartu State University in 1967. One of the studio's activities, initiated by its head, the artist Kaljo Põllu, was the translation and “publication” of art criticism. Reviews and articles from Eastern European art magazines such as *Vý tvárné Umění* and *Projekt*, but also from *Art in America* and *Studio International*, were translated by students and made available in the form of self-edited volumes titled *Visarid*.

⁴⁶ *Visarid*, 89.

⁴⁷ *Visarid*, 89.

⁴⁸ For an assessment of the influence of Restany on contemporary art in Estonia, see A. Kurg, “Feedback Environment: Rethinking Art and Design Practices in Tallinn during the Early 1970s”, *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi* 20, nos. 1–2, 2011, 48.

⁴⁹ P. Restany, *Valkoinen kirja*, WSOY, Porvoo 1970, 33–34, originally published as *Livre blanc-objet blanc* (Apollinaire, Milan 1969).

⁵⁰ Lapin, “Objective Art”, 185. Trans. Kurg, 185.

⁵¹ Text on the board; see *Environment, Projects, Concepts: Architects of the Tallinn School, 1972–1985*, ed. A. Kurg and M. Laanemets, Eesti Arhitektuurimuseum, Tallinn 2008, 173.

⁵² L. Gens, “Traditsiooniline skulptuur ja uus arhitektuur”, *Sirp ja Vasar*, June 11, 1976, 9. Modernism in architecture was introduced already in the late 1950s as the only principle of architectural form, based on the industrialization of the building process.

⁵³ See *Zwischen Revolutionskunst und Sozialistischem Realismus. Dokumente und Kommentare: Kunstdebatten in der Sowjetunion von 1917 bis 1934*, ed. H. Gassner and Eckhard Gillen, DuMont, Cologne 1979, 441.

⁵⁴ “Uudislooming monumentaalkunsti näitusel,” *Kunst* 52, no. 2, 1978, 35.

⁵⁵ V. Tatlin, “Uut tüüpi monumentidest” (1919), *Arhitektid arhitektuurist. Nõukogude arhitektuurimeistrid arhitektuurist*, ed. L. Lapin, Kunst, Tallinn 1989, 97.

⁵⁶ “Uudislooming,” 35.

⁵⁷ L. Lapin, “Kunstide süntees kaasaegses arhitektuuris—“Sünteeiline arhitektuur””, *Kunst* 45, no. 1, 1974, 57.

⁵⁸ These empty yards, which seemed to have no specific use value, were in fact an elementary part of socialist city planning: they aimed to prevent any intimate communication between the inhabitants of adjacent buildings and, as a result, the formation of independent urban communities. T. Ojari, “Elamispind. Modernistlik elamuehitusideoloogia ja Mustamäe”, *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi* 13, no. 2, 2004, 65.

⁵⁹ Text on the board; see *Environment*, 284–85.

⁶⁰ Other proposals by Kaljundi included a project for turning abandoned heaps of slag in former mining areas in eastern Estonia into ski resorts. These would have been, Kaljundi explained, “active monuments to the transformation of natural resources.” T. Kaljundi, “Maastikuarhitektuurist. Presentation at the Young Architects' Seminar, April 12, 1978”, *Architecture. A Collection of Papers, Articles, Reflections, Documents and Translations about the New Architecture*, ed. L. Lapin (manuscript collection; Tallinn, 1979), 13–16, manuscript in Leonhard Lapin's archive.

⁶¹ The work also included eighty color slides that depicted the actual sites in their original condition; the slides showed mainly abstract fragments from the display boards of the project. At the time slides were just beginning to be used in exhibition design. However, Runge's use of slides for abstract images was unprecedented.

⁶² S. Lapin (Runge), “Tallinna kesklinna miljöö kujundamise võimalusi. Explanatory Note for the Diploma Work” (diploma work, Estonian State Art Institute, Department of Industrial Art, 1975), 8. Her aim, Runge wrote, was to convince people that the city is not “a hostile territory stretching from work to home.” Lapin (Runge) 1975, 5.

⁶³ Lapin (Runge) 1975, 8.

⁶⁴ Lapin (Runge) 1975, 16.

⁶⁵ Lapin (Runge) 1975, 17.

⁶⁶ This means taking into account not only individual spaces but also the whole infrastructure of the

city: for example, Jõgeva's kinetic experiments with chaotically pulsating lights and atonal music could help create systems of street lighting and neon signs and would extend the "present one-track functions of lighting and advertisement to a spatial work of art." "Uudislooming," 35. As Lapin mentioned in his speech on objective art, these projects cannot be realized without support from official institutions.

⁶⁷ Analyzing the built environment in the city center of Tallinn, Lapin emphasized the need for a new monumental art practice. He argued that in the daily life of ordinary citizens there is no urgent need for single heroic monuments; rather there is a need for integrated space. L. Lapin, "Tallinna kesklinna (city) arhitektuurne keskkond", *Tallinna Seminar*, ed. I. Fjuk (manuscript collection), ENSV Arhitektide Liit, Tallinn 1980, 20, manuscript in Leonhard Lapin's archive. After his graduation in 1971, Lapin worked at the State Directorate for Restoration. His research there was an important resource for Sirje Runge when she was working toward her diploma.

⁶⁸ The French sociologist Henri Lefebvre argues that a monument organizes collective space and that the search for new monumental forms also offers the potential for a reorganization of social life. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, Oxford 1997, 200.

⁶⁹ Lapin (Runge) 1975, 1. One of the sources Runge references in her diploma is Restany's *Livre blanc-objet blanc*. Runge's own designs are related to Constructivist drafts for information and propaganda kiosks.

⁷⁰ Lapin (Runge) 1975, 13.

⁷¹ This was one of the central topics discussed in the magazine *Kunst ja Kodu* (Art and Home), which was edited by Andres Tolts. The magazine introduced William Morris, art nouveau, and De Stijl to an Estonian and Soviet audience.

⁷² I am thinking of the multimedia environments developed by the Experiments in Art and Technology (EAT) initiative during the late 1960s and Robert Whitman's theatre pieces combining visual images, sound, film, and slides. In 1987 Lapin criticized the "environ-mental art" that had become the showpiece at the expos, servicing spectacle and business; L. Lapin, "Mängides happening'i", Lapin, *Kaks*, 34, originally published in *Teater.Muusika.Kino* no. 5, 1987.

⁷³ The Architecture Exhibition '78 took place in the foyer of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Tallinn and presented works by a loosely affiliated group of young architects who were critical of the prevailing architectural practice. Their unusual, playful, and humorous criticism — presented in the forms of project proposals, photo collages, drawings, etc., on standardization, Soviet mass housing, and modern urban planning — attracted a lot of attention.

⁷⁴ L. Lapin, "Albert Trapezž kunstnikuna", Lapin, *Kaks*, 66, originally written in 1977. The work contains more or less direct references to the Estonian Architects' Union; to the union's chairman, Mart Port; as well as to Lapin himself and his colleagues (*Environment*, 268).

⁷⁵ A. Kurg, "Modernism's Endgame, Tallinn 1978", *Environment*, 70. Drawing on Freud's work on the uncanny, Kurg interprets the cemetery in the middle of the new town as the return of modernism's repressed — the specter of finitude that transforms the familiar environment into something strange.

⁷⁶ Even though Lapin was indebted to contemporary design theories, this is what ultimately distinguishes him from a designer.

⁷⁷ Lapin 1971, 17. As opposed to Restany, the (new) art, in Lapin's view, would help people rediscover their real modern nature, but it would not necessarily make them happy. In fact, it might even frighten them. Lapin 1997, 25; L. Lapin, "Kunstiga kunsti vastu," L. Lapin, *Artikleid ja ettekandeid kunstist 1967–1977*, Tallinn 1977, 79–80, manuscript in Leonhard Lapin's archive.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., M. Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1976, 139ff.

⁷⁹ Lapin 1997, 24.

⁸⁰ At the time of the Harku exhibition Lapin's former comrades in arms, Keskküla and Tolts, who had started to paint in a hyperrealist manner, experienced a breakthrough. Lapin saw this as a form of compromise with the system. See L. Lapin, *Pimeydestä valoon: Viron taiteen avantgarde neuvostomiehityksen aikana*, Otava, Helsinki 1996, 102.

⁸¹ Lapin 1977, 78.

⁸² Lapin 1977, 77, 79.

⁸³ Lapin 1977, 81.

Mari Laanemets
Institut za istoriju umetnosti, Estonska akademija umetnosti

LET U SUTRAŠNJICU: PREISPITIVANJE UMETNIČKE PRAKSE U ESTONIJI TOKOM SEDAMDESETIH GODINA DVADESETOG VEKA (LEONARD LAPIN)

Sažetak:

Tekst sagledava način na koji su nova shvatanja umetnosti, koja se javljaju krajem šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka u okviru pop arta, uticala na grupe umetnika koji su ih radikalizovali tokom druge polovine sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka – perioda koji se smatra slabljenjem avangarde. Fokus teksta nalazi se u pisanjima Leonarda Lapina (Leonhard Lapin) koji se zalagao za umetnost kao sredstvo stvaranja novog životnog okruženja. Uzimajući Lapinov tekst kao okvir, autoka analizira intervencije na zvaničnim izložbama monumentalne umetnosti iz 1976. godine.

Ključne reči:

pop art, okruženje, Leonard Lapin,
interdisciplinarnost, umetnost u sovjetskoj Estoniji

Laura Giudici
Art History Department, University of Fribourg (Switzerland)

THE REPRESENTATION OF INTERSEX BODIES IN KLONARIS AND THOMADAKI'S MULTIMEDIA PRACTICE

Abstract:

The visual representations of intersexuality are inevitably involved in delicate philosophical, social and cultural issues. These images are therefore challenging to the art historian, opening a wide spectrum of methodological questions. From which perspective should these pictures be analyzed? How is it possible to develop a suitable interdisciplinary approach?

The multimedia practice of the artist duo Maria Klonaris and Katerina Thomadaki is a very good example of how these issues can be integrated. Two series of works, *Cycle des Hermaphrodites* (1982-1990) and *Cycle de l'Ange* (1985-2003), focus on intersexuality, and both question in different ways the problem of the migration of images and ideas. The result is a work which not only addresses concerns of gender and (post-)identity, but also technological, intermedia and interdisciplinary issues related to artistic practices. The aim of this article is to analyze both these cycles in relation to more general theoretical and methodological issues concerning the understanding and interpretation of these kinds of visual representations.

Keywords:

Intersexuality, hermaphrodite, androgyne, body, identity, intermediality, interdisciplinarity

The visual representations of intersexuality are inevitably involved in delicate philosophical, social and cultural issues. These images are therefore challenging to the art historian, opening a wide spectrum of methodological questions. From which perspective should these pictures be analyzed? How is it possible to develop a suitable interdisciplinary approach?

The multimedia practice of the artist duo Maria Klonaris and Katerina Thomadaki is a very good example of how these issues can be integrated. Two series of works, *Cycle des Hermaphrodites* (1982-1990) and *Cycle de l'Ange* (1985-2003), focus on intersexuality, and both question in different ways the problem of the migration of images and ideas. The result is a work which not only addresses concerns of gender and (post-)identity, but also technological, intermedia and interdisciplinary issues related to artistic practices. The aim of this article is to analyze both these cycles in relation to more general theoretical and methodological issues concerning the understanding and interpretation of these kinds of visual representations.

The notions of metamorphosis and renewal are central to Maria Klonaris' and Katerina Thomadaki's artistic practice and theoretical thoughts. Their manifest desire to question the common comprehension of sexual and gender identity and to reconstruct "a post-patriarchal unconscious"¹ is only imaginable through a revival of ancient, pre-patriarchal mythologies and cosmogonies. This return to old values and beliefs is important for them because they consider fundamental cultural components to be too often marginalized "by the amnesia of modern occidental technological societies"².

Concerning the temporal evolution of their production, Klonaris and Thomadaki stated that there is a chain of subjects moving through their works, creating a multiple mirror effect of expanding gender. They have expanded a single gender identity (the feminine) to include a sexual synthesis (the hermaphrodite), which has collapsed into an in-between condition (intersex).³

One of the principal aims of the artists is to propose new visual and metaphorical interpretations of some archetypal figures in order to denounce the objectifying gaze of which women and other individuals are often victims. They explain:

"The tyranny of normality is exerted at first through the gaze. The gaze is trained to look for the norm (...) and to decode subjects in terms of their conformity to it. Non-conformity generates rejection. (...) Consciously and unconsciously we have been elaborating reflexes and

strategies in order to free the gaze from the burden of norms – cinematic norms, visual norms, gender norms, anatomical norms.”⁴

In other words, they want to destabilize the codes, which usually characterize our visual knowledge.

In this process, the body plays a central role, undergoing many transformations and becoming “a mobile screen of inner visions”⁵. Klonaris and Thomadaki call the subjects of their works *personae*, or “mirrors of the self”⁶. Thanks to their visual reinterpretations, these are no longer mere objects of representation, but real subjects, able to express inner layers of the Self through their bodies and attitudes. In this respect, the artists actually say that “the language of the body materializes the language of the unconscious”⁷. The triangular connection between man, body and image central to the anthropological approach of Hans Belting has therefore a lot in common with their preoccupations⁸.

Starting to present the feminine as “a whole” (as opposed to Lacan’s statement about the woman being “not-whole”⁹), as an autonomous and therefore ultimately double gendered identity, the artists were successively interested in the mythological figure of Astarti – Artemis, the moon goddess of the Mediterranean who represents a matrix of concepts around the pre-patriarchal feminine, which is often described as androgynous. This idea of a double-gendered or androgynous Self finally brought Klonaris and Thomadaki first to the figure of the hermaphrodite and later to that of the intersex.

The *Cycle des Hermaphrodites*, realized between 1982 and 1990, is the first series of works explicitly focused on a sexually ambiguous subject. In this respect, the artists explained: “For us the concept of the hermaphrodite originated from the androgynous feminine, like the orphic egg from the night (...).”¹⁰ Here, the reference is an Orphic belief, which states that the Night of itself conceived and gave birth to an Egg from which Eros was born. They distanced themselves from the idea of the Hermaphrodite as an effeminate and weakened man – coming from Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* – and went back to the idea of the ancient Greeks who saw double-gendered mythological figures as symbols of completeness and fertility.

The first work of the *Cycle des Hermaphrodites*, *Mystery I: Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (1982), was a multimedia projection installation created for the Twelfth Paris Biennial. The starting point of this cycle was the Hellenistic sculpture *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, perhaps the most famous representation of a Hermaphrodite. The white marble

statue, found in Rome in 1619 and successively laid on an extremely refined mattress sculpted by Bernini, was reconstituted in Klonaris' and Thomadaki's installation exclusively through projection (*Figure 1*). Illusion effects typical of both Hellenistic and Baroque times were created by different projections – loops of films and slides – the various surfaces of projection – tulle screens, walls or black Plexiglas – as well as the objects themselves installed in the rooms. Ambiguity was suggested not only between feminine and masculine, but also between real and projected objects, materiality and immateriality. The visual universe was reflected in sound: continuous loops of baroque music, voluptuous voices and fragments of repeated texts. Alchemical references were present in both the iconography and the texts, evoking the idea of the hermaphrodite – or the androgyne – as the *coincidentia oppositorum*. The oneiric universe suggested by the sleeping body was intensified by the nocturnal and mysterious atmosphere emanating from the installation, together with the ghostly images inhabiting the exhibition's space. The principal aspects of *Mystery I: Sleeping Hermaphrodite* have clearly been formulated by the artists themselves: “This was not merely a transposition of the statue in the time and space of art history, but also an



Figure 1: Klonaris / Thomadaki, *Mystery I: Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, 1982, multimedia installation sound and cello player *in vivo* (©Klonaris/Thomadaki).

immersion into something magical, a recalling of a lost harmony, an amorous quest, a work about the ungraspable.”¹¹

The second step of the *Cycle des Hermaphrodites, Orlando – Hermaphrodite II* (1983), was inspired by a passage from Virginia Woolf’s novel *Orlando*, in which the male hero wakes up as a woman. Klonaris and Thomadaki regarded *Orlando* as “a contemporary archetype of the desire for destabilizing gender assumptions”¹², and they decided to make this desire visible through cross-dressing (*Figure 2*). The two artists, together with Syn Guérin, had to embody *Orlando*, and were filmed or photographed using different registers of cross-dressing according to their personal gender ambiguities. The hero of the 1928 novel, as well as the cross-dressing artistic practices emerging in the 1920’s, were reformulated in the projection performance. If the black-and-white images of this work were clearly inspired by the photographic cross-dressed self-portraits by some artists of the Nineteen Twenties, particularly those of Claude Cahun, they were created through a peculiar use of innovative projection strategies. Seated on the proscenium with their backs to the public, the artists themselves operated all projectors manually, creating a moving collage with slides and film juxtaposed and superimposed. In addition to the three protagonists, in this multiplicity of immaterial images, appeared nocturnal city illuminations, light calligraphies, blow-ups of fragments of pages torn from Woolf’s novel, winter trees and felines. *Orlando – Hermaphrodite II* clearly wanted to go beyond the duality traditionally associated with the hermaphrodite body, suggesting the multiple nature



Figure 2: Klonaris / Thomadaki, *Orlando-Hermaphrodite II*, 1983, multiple screen projection performance for film, slides and sound, 45 min (©Klonaris/Thomadaki).

of identity through kaleidoscopic and mirror compositions as well as a multimedia approach. By posing and acting themselves in these images and by being personally implicated in the projection process, Klonaris and Thomadaki offered a personal physical commitment to the questioning of traditional sex and gender identity.

In 1985, the artists started a new series, the *Cycle de l'Ange*, which currently includes more than twenty works. The starting point of this cycle was a clinical photograph of an intersex subject, found by Maria Klonaris in her doctor father's archives. This image of a male body with a female sex (*Figure 3*) is a typical medical picture (*Figure 4*): the focus is on the anatomical features and not at all on the individual inhabiting the body, as the blindfolded eyes prove. Klonaris and Thomadaki wanted to finally impart an identity and a voice to the represented person. In this regard, the artists said: "The object of scientific observation became the subject of a mutational process."¹³ And they specified: "S/he transcends the



Figure 3: Klonaris / Thomadaki, *The Angel. Body of Stars*, 1997, black and white photographic print on aluminium, 120 x 170 cm, Paris, Coll. du Fonds National d'Art Contemporain, (©Klonaris/Thomadaki).



Figure 4: Abb. 212. *Männlicher Scheinzwitter als Mädchen erzogen mit weiblichen Brüsten*, F. L. von Neugebauer, *Hermaphroditismus beim Menschen*, Leipzig: Verlag von Dr. Werner Klinkhardt, 1908, p. 400.

medical context to make a philosophical statement on the limits of the human-gendered condition.”¹⁴ The intersex individual symbolized for them “a collapse of gender”, “an in-between state”, evoking “the contemporary contest with sexual dichotomies” and the “late twentieth century private and public dream about a restructured sexual identity – double, multiple or neutral”¹⁵. They thus associated this subject with the angel, the archetypal figure of the in-between, presenting a transcendental quality, which the artists translated in various visual and conceptual ways. The original photograph underwent many iconographical and technological metamorphoses, resulting in innumerable visual variations.

One of the most interesting and richest works of the *Cycle de l'Ange* was the site-specific multimedia installation *Night Show for Angel*, realized in 1992 in an abandoned public bathhouse in London. The building was entirely darkened and, once again, the visible emerged from a nocturnal, mysterious universe. The visitor was immersed in successive dreamlike environments animated by images, sounds, instrumental music, recorded texts and light devices. Klonaris and Thomadaki state: “The space incorporated inner memory – some kind of reimagined Genesis, originating from the intersexual Angel figure.”¹⁶

For example, the installation (Figure 5) evoked Plato's theory of the origin and nature of the cosmos, claiming that the world was the creation of a Demiurge who fashioned the universe out of materials provided by a pre-existing *chaos* and organized it into four elements: earth, water, air and fire. In fact, these four elements have all been integrated into the installation



Figure 5: Klonaris / Thomadaki, *Night Show for Angel*, 1992, partial view of the site-specific environmental installation (large scale photographs, projections, embalmed animals, water, bowls of fire), Islington (London), Hornsey Baths, Edge Biennial (©Klonaris/Thomadaki).

Night Show for Angel in a physical way or in an immaterial way, through projections. The presence of celestial and cosmic images proved that the artists have very likely also considered the fifth element, added by Aristotle - which he called *aether*, meaning the substance of heavenly bodies, such as the moon, the planets, the sun and the stars. These still and moving images were superimposed on the original medical photograph or projected onto the floor, the walls and the objects characterizing the installation's spaces. In this way they elevated the intersex subject to a transcendental and universal dimension, clearly associated with the typical angelic environment. The wings superimposed or projected onto the ambiguous body of the picture connected it even more to the angel figure. But these wings were also a reminder of the alchemical androgyne. Looking at one of these representations (*Figure 6*), one can



Figure 6: *Book of the Holy Trinity* (BSB Cgm 598), 2nd half of the 15th century (not before 1467), p. 220 (Munich, Bavarian State Library).

observe that other traditional elements of this iconography have been reinterpreted by the artists: the moon and the sun, respectively associated with the feminine and masculine identity, have been revisited through cold and warm light atmospheres alternating all along the installation's path and resonating with the feminine nature of water and the masculine essence of fire. The alchemical universe was also suggested by other visual or technological metaphors, such as the glass test tubes and bowls evoking substances, mixtures and transformations or the perpetual alternation of still and moving images symbolizing the harmony of the opposites, the *Chemical Wedding* and finally the inner transformation of the soul.

As a conclusion, one could quote a significant statement by the artists: "The dialectic of mobility/immobility has philosophical implications. It implies opposing energies that, in our approach, exceed the dualistic division. We establish constant back and forth movements between fluidity and rupture, fluidity within rupture and rupture within fluidity – violence within serenity, melody within screams, difference within

repetition, wholeness within fragmentation.”¹⁷

Furthermore, the immateriality suggested by moving images related to traditional iconographical motifs seems to clearly represent the idea of the “errant ghost of survival”¹⁸ suggested by the concept of Warburg’s *Nachleben*.

This concept, together with the anthropological approach theorized by Hans Belting, seem to offer efficient instruments for the interpretation of the series of works *Cycle des Hermaphrodites* and *Cycle de l’Ange*. It is nevertheless necessary to combine them with the theoretical assertions made by the artists themselves in order to arrive at a thorough comprehension of their visual world.

With their desire to free the gaze from the burden of social and cultural norms, Klonaris and Thomadaki address the very nature of visuality itself and open up a variety of new figurative and theoretical perspectives on intersexuality. In other words, they use the transforming potential of image and sound technologies to reactivate latent cultural memory and give it a contemporary political and social subversive power thanks to formal and conceptual metamorphoses of intersex bodies.

Notes:

¹ M. Klonaris, K. Thomadaki, “The Feminine, the Hermaphrodite, the Angel: Gender Mutations and Dream Cosmogonies in Multimedia Projection and Installation (1976-1994)”, *Leonardo*, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1996, 275.

² Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 275.

³ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 273.

⁴ M. Klonaris, K. Thomadaki, “Dissident Bodies: Freeing the Gaze from Norms. On a Cinematic and Visual Practice”, I. Härtel, S. Schade (eds.), *Body and Representation*, Leske + Budrich, Opladen 2002, 143

⁵ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 274.

⁶ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 274.

⁷ Klonaris, Thomadaki 2002, 145.

⁸ In this respect, see: H. Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (translated by Thomas Dunlap), Princeton University Press, Princeton 2014, 9-83.

⁹ J. Lacan, *Seminar XX*, W.W. Norton & Co., New York 1998, 81.

¹⁰ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 275.

¹¹ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 276.

¹² Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 276.

¹³ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 278.

¹⁴ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 277.

¹⁵ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 277.

¹⁶ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 278.

¹⁷ Klonaris, Thomadaki 1996, 280-281.

¹⁸ G. Didi-Huberman, “Artistic Survival: Panofsky vs. Warburg and the Exorcism of Impure Time”, *Common Knowledge*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, Spring 2003, 280.

Laura Giudici

Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, Univerzitet u Friburu (Švajcarska)

REPREZENTACIJA INTERSEKSUALNIH TELA U MULTUMEDIJALNOJ PRAKSI UMETNIČKOG PARA KLONARIS - THOMADAKI

Sažetak:

Vizuelna reprezentacija interseksualnosti je nezaobilazni deo delikatnih filozofskih, društvenih i kulturnih pitanja. Budući da otvaraju široki spektar metodoloških pitanja, ove slike predstavljaju izazov istoričarima umetnosti. Iz koje perspektive se ovakve slike mogu analizirati? Kako je moguće razviti odgovarajući interdisciplinarni pristup ovakvim slikama?

Multimedijalna praksa umetničkog para koji čine Marija Klonaris (Maria Klonaris) i Katerina Tomadaki veoma je dobar primer za integraciju pomenutih dilema. Sve serije radova: *Cycle des Hermaphrodites* (1982-1990) i *Cycle de l'Ange* (1985-2003), koji se fokusiraju na pojam interseksualnosti, u pitanje dovode različite načine na koji se migracija slika i ideja problematizuje. Kao rezultat, nastaje rad koji se odnosi ne samo na pitanja roda i (post-)identiteta, već i na tehnološka, intermedijalna i interdisciplinarna pitanja umetničkih praksi. Cilj ovog teksta je da analizira ove dve serije radova u relaciji sa opštijim teoretskih i metodološkim okvirima za razumevanje i interpretaciju ove vrste vizuelnih reprezentacija.

Ključne reči:

interseksualnost, hermafrodit, androgenija,
telo, identiteti, intermedijalnost, interdisciplinarnost

UDK BROJ: 791.229.2
791.633 Тодоровић З.
ID BROJ: 212664844

Jasmina Čubrilo
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

MOĆ SLIKE, MOĆ REPREZENTACIJE, MOĆ INTERPRETACIJE

Apstrakt:

Rad će se baviti mapiranjem i teorijskim konceptualizovanjem dosadašnjih polemika vođenih povodom video-instalacije Zorana Todorovića *Cigani i psi* (2009) od kojih je deo njih, dostupnih ili od autora ustupljenih, objavljen krajem 2014. godine u knjizi *Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije*. Tekst ne predstavlja pokušaj pacifikacije sa (meta)pozicija akademske 'objektivnosti' niti zauzimanja 'strane' u polemikama, ne polazi ni od pretpostavke apsolutne autonomije dela, slobode umetnosti/umetnika, ali ni od kontekstualnog determinizma. On je rezultat pristupa zasnovanog na studiji koncepata ('concept-based methodology'), shvaćenih kao 'alatki' koje pomažu da se razume bolje objekat istraživanja.

Ključne reči:

otvoreno delo, rizom, (relacioni) antagonizam, politička (ne)korektnost, biopolitika, pogled, siromašne slike

Hronologija: video-rad, polemike, konferencija, knjiga

Cigani i psi je dvokanalna video instalacija, snimljena mikrokamerom okačenom na ogrlicu koju su nosila gradska deca prosjaci i gradski psi lutilice. Tokom 2007. godine, Todorović je na raskrsnici, u blizini mesta stanovanja, svakodnevno viđao nekoliko romskih porodica koje prose: nekada su to činila samo deca, a nekada i roditelji i deca. Porodica sa kojom je Todorović ostvario kontakt živela je u tom trenutku na relaciji Kragujevac-Beograd. Predlog da deca nekoliko sati tokom dana nose torbicu za dokumenta oko vrata sa mikro-kamerom koja bi po principu skrivene kamere snimala prolaznike i prolaznice, odnosno ponašanje ljudi i žena sa kojima dolaze u kontakt, porodica je prihvatila s tim da njihova saglasnost nije formalizovana na zakonom predviđen način.¹ S druge strane, istu tu kameru nosili su psi lutilice koji su se u tom trenutku okupljali i živeli u parkovima i na ulicama oko zgrade u kojoj Todorović živi. Konačan rezultat jeste video rad čiji su slika i zvuk nejasni, sa naglim prekidima, menjanjima rakursa, promenama intenziteta i vrste zvuka, tako da već na fiziološkom nivou video instalacija izaziva nelagodu i napor. Denotiranjem sadržaja rada upotrebom eksplicitno politički nekorektnog govora (*Cigani i psi*) tehnička brutalnost i agresivnost dobija svog dvojnika u jeziku.

Rad je prvi put predstavljen 2009. godine u Muzeju savremene umetnosti Vojvodine u Novom Sadu u okviru samostalne izložbe *Intenzitet afekta*, a potom, nekoliko meseci kasnije, i na 50. oktobarskom salonu *Okolnosti* (2009) nakon čega počinje oštra polemika između kulturnih radnika, aktivista, pravnika, teoretičara, kustosa i umetnika i to oko pitanja identitetskih zastupanja odnosno prava na reprezentaciju marginalnih, društveno osetljivih i/ili manjinskih zajednica s jedne i oko odgovornosti umetnika (umetnosti) u vezi poštovanja ljudskih prava i prava deteta tokom realizovanja rada, s druge strane. Debate su vođene preko elektronske pošte, na blogovima, u dnevnim novinama i stručnim časopisima, a Todorović arhivira tu raspravu u formatu elektronske i štampane knjige kao dokumenta o realizovanim diskurzivnim potencijalnostima video-rada. Knjiga u svom fizičkom obliku postaje sastavni deo rada, u tiražu ograničenom potrebama prikazivanja ovog rada na različitim izložbama, otvorenih korica u kojoj se svaki autorski stav formulisan u bilo kojoj formi (elektronska pošta, blog, stručni tekst) numeriše za sebe što dozvoljava periodično štampanje i unos novih tekstova.

Na inicijativu grupe aktivista koji su „u jednom periodu bez uspeha nastojali da pokrenu sudski postupak protiv autora rada i institucija koje su ga izlaganjem

podržale“;² Kulturni centar Rex 2012. godine organizuje međunarodnu konferenciju sa temom koja je referisala na institucionalni tretman rada *Cigani i psi*, nakon koje je objavljena publikacija.

Konačno, krajem 2014. godine u izdanju ProArtOrg-a, nevladine organizacije za savremenu umetnost, ustanovljene u Beogradu 2005. godine,³ objavljena je dvojezična, englesko-srpska, knjiga *Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije*, po konceptu ista kao ona okačena na Internet i po potrebi štampana, sada u većem tiražu i obuhvatajući nove dokumente za čije su objavljivanje Todorović i izdavač dobili saglasnost autora polemika. Knjiga, pored polemika koje su vođene na zatvorenim mejling listama kao i one u štampanom formatu a za koje saglasnost za objavljivanje nije obezbeđena, ne obuhvata ni one interpretacije objavljene u različitim publikacijama koje nisu bile u funkciji rasprave ili nisu u tom kontekstu pisane.

Namera ovog teksta nije da interveniše u dosadašnjim debatama generisanih ideološkim pozicijama koje su zauzete u pristupima i interpretacijama rada *Cigani i psi* i njegovih institucionalnih zastupanja (izložba, tekst, polemika), već pre svega da mapira, razmatra i analizira antagonističke relacije, naravno, uz punu svest da je i akademski diskurs takođe diskurs identifikacija i opozicija i u tom smislu antagonistički sasvim pozitivan.

Otvoreno delo/Rizom/Relacioni antagonizam

Zamisao *opera aperta*, onako kako je Umberto Eko (*Umberto Eco*) od 1962. godine razvijao, anticipirala je dve glavne teme savremenih teorija umetnosti: prva se odnosi na insistiranje na mnogostrukosti, raznovrsnosti, pluralnosti ili polisemiji u umetnosti⁴, dok je druga isticanje uloge čitaoca, posmatrača, interpretatora odnosno interaktivnog procesa između njih i dela tokom kojeg se artikulišu (moguća) značenja dela⁵. Temeljno nasleđe ovog koncepta 'otvorenosti' koje prevazilazi istorijske okvire svog nastanka i artikulisanja, kao i primere preko kojih je objašnjavan, jeste ideja da svet u kome neko posmatra ili čita delo ne podrazumeva postojanje nekakvog uspostavljenog reda koji bi mu garantovao konačna rešenja, već, naprotiv, da je to svet u kome je posmatrač ili čitalac odgovoran saučesnik koji mora da se kreće sa hipotetičkim i promenljivim rešenjima, u neprestanoj negaciji dosegnutog i davanju novih predloga. Eko je smatrao da umetnost predstavlja svet odnosno naše iskustvo tog sveta, i to ne reprezentacijom onoga iz čega se taj svet sastoji već načina na koji taj svet organizuje ono iz čega se

sastoji. Savremena umetnost postaje „epistemološka metafora“⁶ budući da je moderno otvoreno delo forma spoznaje sveta u kojem živimo. Ono nam kao specifična forma znanja, omogućava da sagledamo prirodu savremenih 'kriza' i štaviše teži njihovom razrešavanju nudeći nam „nove načine gledanja, osećaja, razumevanja i prihvatanja univerzuma u kome su tradicionalni odnosi razbijeni a nove mogućnosti mukotrпно iscertavane“ (U. Eko).⁷ Tako umetnost, bez obzira na svoj sadržaj, postaje politička na svoj, poseban način: ona proizvodi *novo* znanje koje može da posluži, u vreme nastanka koncepta 'otvorenog dela' još uvek kao osnova za promenu sveta, a danas kao provokacija naših uverenja, svetonazora, sistema vrednosti radi provere, preispitivanja i moguće emancipacije istih. Stoga, moglo bi se zaključiti da su polemike vođene povodom dela *Cigani i psi* u konceptualno-strukturnom smislu inicirane ne samim delom već njegovim značenijskim potencijalnostima koje mu je omogućio koncept 'otvorenog dela'.

S druge strane, konceptualno-teorijska pozicija umetnika sa koje on nudi javnosti ovaj video-rad/instalaciju utemeljena je u konceptu *rhizome* Deleza i Gatarija (*Deleuze, Guattari*). Zamisao rizoma takođe počiva na principu mnogostrukosti ali ga razvija u drugačijem pravcu: rizom je prostorna mreža, mnoštvo tačaka koje su u međusobnim odnosima, bez središta, bez hijerarhijski i/ili uzročno-posledično i hronološki organizovane strukture. Rizom podrazumeva „neprestano uspostavljanje veza između semiotičkih lanaca, organizacija vlasti i okolnosti koje se odnose na umetnosti, nauku i društvene borbe“.⁸ Rizom je mapa koja povezuje „vrlo različite režime znakova, pa čak i ne-znakova“⁹, širok spektar privlačnosti i uticaja bez specifičnog porekla ili geneze jer rizom „nema početak ni kraj, uvek je u sredini, između stvari, međubiće, *intermezzo*“.¹⁰ Mnogostrukost podrazumeva ne umnožavanje jednog već njegovo izuzimanje iz različitih dimenzija, „pravaca u pokretu“, napuštanje i (privremeno) zaposedanje teritorije/teritorija (deteritorijalizacija i reteritorijalizacija), metamorfozu, permanento stanje „postajanja“. Rad *Cigani i psi* ne označava, on daje uvid, mapira kako postojeće semiotičke lance (Romi, deca, psi lualice, tehnologija, dokumentovanje), tako i one koje će različite naučne oblasti i druge društvene prakse interpretiranjem ovog rada proizvesti (polemika, i izvan nje), a antagonistički ton uspostavljen između tih lanaca, omogućio je kontinuirana pomeranja (pa neka su i neka od njih bila reverzibilne prirode) i 'očuvao' je rizomski karakter rada.

Zamisao 'relacionog antagonizma' Kler Bišop (*Claire Bishop*), utemeljena na teorijskim i političkim platformama koje su razvili Šantal Muf (*Chantal Mouffe*), Ernesto Laclau (*Ernesto Laclau*) i Žak Ransijer (*Jacques Rancière*), nastala je kao kritika relacione

estetike Nikole Burioa (*Nicolas Bourriaud*). Saradnja, participacija i dijalog (koji bi po definiciji trebalo da podrazumevaju postojanje demokratije i emancipacije), osećaj 'zajedništva' i empatije, obeležavaju umetnički rad shvaćen u okvirima relacione umetnosti čija je forma stoga izjednačena sa „domenom ljudskih međusobnih odnosa i njihovog društvenog konteksta“ a značenje sa interpretacijom koja se kolektivno razvija.¹¹ Međutim, kako kritika relacione estetike razotkriva, postojanje harmonične zajednice je fikcija, konstrukt blizak konceptima (neo)liberalizma koji su nekadašnje isključivanje podela, partikularnosti, antagonizama u ime ideje univerzalnog principa građanstva (liberalizam) preformulisali u priznavanje, kontrolisanje i neutralisanje različitosti putem „novih ekonomsko-industrijsko-komunikacijskih mašina“¹² kojima se „strukturira globalna teritorija biopolitički“¹³ (neoliberalizam). Muf i Laklau su liberalnoj teoriji demokratije zasnovanoj na konceptima slobode i jednakosti tj strategiji konsenzusa, ponudili koncept radikalne demokratije utemeljen na onome što je liberalni isključivao i poništavao, a to je razlika. Prema Muf i Laklau, definisanje 'nas' uvek se odvija u kontekstu različitosti i sukoba, „odnosi ne nastaju iz totaliteta, već iz nemogućnosti njihovog konstituisanja“¹⁴, tako da se „više ne može postavljati pitanje stvaranja sveobuhvatne zajednice iz koje bi antagonizam, sukobi i podele iščezli“.¹⁵ Drugim rečima, antagonizam strukturira međusobni odnos podeljenih i nedovršenih subjekata, a pluralnost ne znači usaglašavanje kontradikcija ili puko prihvatanje razlika, već priznavanje kontradikcija sa svim društvenim autonomijama koje proizlaze iz njih. Dakle, umesto „pacifikovanja zajednice ingenioznim uređenjem strasti mnoštva“¹⁶, ono što zastupnici radikalne demokratije predlažu jeste izgradnja društva na partikularnostima i drugostima koje su stalno u redefinisaju svojih relacija prema univerzalnom. Bišop konceptualizuje 'relacioni antagonizam' kao teorijski okvir za onu umetnost u kojoj se odvija 'susretanje' različitih/suprotnih pozicija. Relacioni antagonizam se ne „zasniva na društvenoj harmoniji, već na razotkrivanju onoga što je potisnuto u podržavanoj sličnosti u ovoj harmoniji“, čime se „pruža konkretnije i polemično polje za promišljanje našeg odnosa prema svetu i jednih prema drugima.“¹⁷

Događaji koje Todorović inicira svojim instalacijama, video i foto dokumentacijama/radovima ne proizvode uslove za artikulisanje harmonične zajednice, izazivanje osećaja pripadanja i identifikovanja sa 'mikroutopijskom' skupinom, već prostor u kome se provociraju kako podeljeni i nedovršeni subjekt, tako i biopolitički horizont koji reguliše savremeni društveni život, a zajedno sa njima i specifični efekti susreta pojedinca i konteksta. Todorovićevo razmatranje društvenih

antagonizama je posredno, u meri u kojoj su proizvedeni ili proizlaze iz specifične perspektive biopolitičke produkcije shvaćene kao „produkcije samog društvenog života u kome se ekonomsko, političko, kulturno veoma prepliće i međusobno investira.“¹⁸ U tom smislu, čini se da se otvara mogućnost da se Todorovićev 'relacionizam' bliže specifikuje kao biopolitički relacionizam. To bi značilo da njegov rad generiše prostor za uspostavljanje (specifičnih) društvenih odnosa koji su u direktnoj, uzročnopsledičnoj vezi sa procesima u kojima institucije, primera radi 'Imperije' (Hardt&Negri)¹⁹ ili 'vanrednog stanja' (Agamben)²⁰ u uslovima visokorazvijene biotehnologije proizvode subjektivitet.

Kritičko mišljenje/pravo na političku (ne)korektnost

Ideja politički korektnog govora je proizvod savremene jezičke kulture i kulture 'multikulturalnosti', a njegova zamisao suštinski proizlazi iz poststrukturalističke ideje da su subjekti i identiteti konstruisani u i kroz jezik iz čega sledi da se posredstvom jezika može generisati i ispoljavati (ne)tolerancija prema partikularnim društvenim razlikama. Todorovićeva upotreba politički nekorektnog govora u artikulaciji naziva rada kritički referiše na napore učinjene poslednjih godina da se putem korekcije na nivou jezika utiče/izrazi prevrednovanje u kulturi i definisanje novih (političkih) subjekata, a time i mogućnost njihove aktivne participacije u javnoj sferi i organizovanog rada na ostvarivanju sopstvenih interesa u okvirima pravnog sistema date države. Politički nekorektan naziv temeljno problematizuje kulturne vrednosti i norme političke i rasne korektnosti, bez moralnih predrasuda beleži 'stanje na terenu' koje je daleko od projektovane, idealizovane pacifikacije koja je suštinski neadekvatni odgovor na izazove društvenih antagonizama koji čekaju systemska rešenja. Kamera beleži/prati kretanje pre svega golog života kao činjenice koju dele biološka tela svih živih bića, a sama slika je svojevrsna politizacija ili simulacija procesa politizacije koji proizvode 'formu života'.²¹

Krhki subjekat ili jaki objekat?

Hito Štajerl (*Hito Steyerl*) slike lošeg kvaliteta, u AVI ili JPEG formatu, rezolucije ispod propisanog standarda, instant slike, *brze* slike, koje se besplatno distribuiraju digitalnim vezama, dele, skidaju, reedituju i ponovo puštaju u cirkulaciju, koje kvalitet

preobražavaju u dostupnost, naziva siromašnim slikama.²² Kvalitet slike i zvuka video rada *Cigani i psi* naizgled se podudara sa 'tehničkim' odlikama „siromašne slike“, i samo naizgled sa njom deli dematerijalizovanost koja dolazi iz delovanja protiv fetišističke vrednosti visoke rezolucije. Video rad čini niz nesavršenih slika: ono što se tokom projektovanja video rada (ne) vidi i (ne) čuje, implicirano je nazivom dela. Naziv rada sistematizuje i usmerava naš pogled, odnosno dodeljuje prepoznatljivost obrisima i maglinama, od nejasnog vizuelnog sadržaja proizvodi reprezentaciju, odnosno subjekte i objekte. Tako dolazimo do najosetljivijeg trenutka rada: kome zapravo ova slika dodeljuje ulogu subjekta a kome reprezentacija odnosno interpretacije? Na ovom (etički) najosetljivijem mestu postaje vidljiva rizomska struktura Todorovićevog rada. Dakle, šta mi to stvarno vidimo? Kome je dodeljena uloga subjekta koji gleda a kome posmatranog objekta? Nama, deci, snimljenim prolaznicima? Todorović posmatrača u ovom radu strukturno postavlja na kako se ispostavlja veoma neprijatnu poziciju posmatrača, o čemu svedoče višegodišnje oštre polemike i konačno knjiga otvorenih korica kao i online arhiv. Ono što mi vidimo jeste nejasni snimak učinjen skrivenom kamerom koju nose deca beležeći realnost sveta u kojem se kreću. Da je kamera bila vidljiva, odnosno da su deca kameru nosila u visini oka, kvalitet snimka bi svakako bio bolji ali onda u toj reprezentaciji ne bi bilo mnogo od stvarne realnosti svakodnevnog života ove dece. S druge strane, postavljanjem kamere u torbicu tako da kamera bude nevidljiva, telo ove dece postaje ono koje gleda čime se radikalizuje efekat onoga što ono vidi. Drugim rečima, deca koja pripadaju zajednici nevidljivih u ovom radu postaju vidljiva kroz svoj pogled koji razotkriva (ne)svesno većinske i dominantne zajednice. Iako na prvi pogled izgleda da su oni objekti kojima manipuliše umetnik, objekti pogleda i obraćanja prolaznika, i, konačno objekti različitih zastupanja iz ugla političke korektnosti, ako se vratimo onome što mi gledamo i vidimo tokom projekcije i još više iz čijeg ugla mi to posmatramo, dakle, na samu sliku, uočavamo da niti pogled umetnika, niti naš ili pogled prolaznika ne proizvodi i kontroliše tu sliku već pogled (tela) dece koja su snimala. Ona su na poziciji subjekta koji svojim pogledom zastupaju sebe i realizuju svoju partikularnost čineći vidljivim svoje relacije prema univerzalnom, dominantnom upravo dokumentovanjem relacija dominantnog prema njihovoj partikularnosti. Objekti njihovog pogleda su prolaznici, a objekat našeg pogleda je *slika* - rezultat ili objekat njihovog pogleda. Pogled gradskih pasa lualica je retorska figura kojom je 'intenzitet afekta' suočavanja sa haosom, sa nesvesnim, sa necenzurisanim životom, sa brutalnim, sirovim i stvarnim životom, sa simptomom intenziviran.²³

„Siromašna slika“

Siromašna slika se, kako Štajerl zaključuje, „odnosi na realne uslove sopstvene egzistencije ... na otpor i prisvajanje, kao i na konformizam i eksploataciju. Ukratko: odnosi se na realnost“²⁴, drugim rečima ona ne reprezentuje realnost već sama postaje fragment realnog sveta „stvar kao i svaka druga“.²⁵ Na tom tragu, mogli bismo zaključiti da rad *Cigani i psi* predstavlja nesimbolizovano Realno a da knjiga *Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije* daje uvid u procese simbolizacije, u procese pretvaranja Realnog u niz realnosti ili delezovski rečeno u procese proizvodnje beskrajnih varijacija koje hvataju događaje pomoću koncepata.

Napomene:

¹ T. Đorđević, „Efekti i konsekvence Denkverbot-a: hoćemo li zvati umetnike na informativni razgovor“, Z. Todorović, *Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije*, Beograd 2014, 7.

² Z. Todorović, „Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije“, Z. Todorović, *Cigani i psi II, Simptomi i tragovi javne percepcije*, Beograd, 2014, 2.

³ <http://www.proartorg.com/index.php?lng=srp> (pristupljeno 26.12.2014.)

⁴ „(b)ilo koje otvoreno delo ne objavljuje smrt forme; ono pre predlaže nove, fleksibilnije verzije svoje forme kao *polje mogućnosti*“, U. Eco, *The Open Work*, Cambridge, MA 1989, 102-103.

⁵ „‘Citalac’ je uzbuđen novom slobodom dela, njegovim beskonačnim potencijalom širenja, njegovim unutrašnjim bogatstvom i nesvesnim projekcijama koje nadahnjuje. Sama platna ga pozivaju ne da izbegava kauzalne veze i izazove jednoglasja, i da sebe posveti razmeni bogatoj u nepredvidivim otkrićima.“, Eco 1989, 91.

⁶ Eco 1989, 90.

⁷ Citirano prema: D. Robey, Introduction, u: U. Eco, *The Open Work*, Cambridge MA, 1989, XV.

⁸ J. Deleuze & F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis, London 2005, 7.

⁹ Deleuze & Guattari 2005, 21.

¹⁰ Deleuze & Guattari 2005, 25.

¹¹ N. Bourriaud, *Esthétique relationnelle*, Paris 1998, 14, 18.

¹² M. Hardt & A. Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge, MA 2000, 40.

¹³ Hardt & Negri 2000, 31.

¹⁴ E. Laclau & C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, London 1985, 125.

¹⁵ Š. Muf, „Feminizam, princip građanstva i radikalna demokratska politika“, prevod Ranko Mastilović, *Studije kulture*, ur. J. Đorđević, Beograd 2008, 447, preuzeto iz: J. Butler & J. Scott (eds.), *Feminists Theorize the Political*, New York & London 1992.

¹⁶ Ž. Ransijer, *Na rubovima političkog*, Beograd 2012, 11.

¹⁷ C. Bishop, „Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics“, *OCTOBER*, 110, Fall 2004, 79.

¹⁸ Hardt & Negri 2000, xviii.

¹⁹ ‘Imperija’ po Hardtu i Negriju ne predstavlja metaforu nego koncept koji se u osnovi odlikuje nedostatkom granica. Pravilo ‘Imperije’ je da ona operiše u svim registrima društvenog reda prodirući u sve pore globalnog društva. Ona ne upravlja samo teritorijom i populacijom već sama stvara svet koji potom nastanjuje. Takođe, ona ne samo da reguliše međusobne odnose ljudi već takođe teži da ovlada ljudskom prirodom. Drugim rečima, „objekt njene vladavine je društveni život u svojoj sveobuhvatnosti i stoga Imperija predstavlja paradigmatiku formu biomoći.“ Videti u: Hardt & Negri 2000, xv.

²⁰ Agamben ‘vanredno stanje’ definiše kao savremenu paradigmatiku vladanja. On kaže da je prvobitno vanredno stanje podrazumevalo nešto krajnje neobično, izuzetno, nešto što je bilo predviđeno da traje

samo tokom ograničenog vremenskog perioda, ali da je prošlo istorijsku transformaciju koja je od izuzetka napravila pravilo, odnosno normativizovala kao formu upravljanja/vladanja. Drugim rečima 'vanredno stanje' predstavlja sebe kao legalnu formu onoga što zapravo nema legalnu formu. Videti u: „Life, A Work of Art Without an Author: The State of Exception, the Administration of Disorder and Private Life“, intervju sa Giorgiom Agambenom, *German Law Journal*, No. 5, Special Edition, 1 May 2004, <http://www.germanlawjournal.com/article.php?id=437> (pristupljeno 22.12.2014.) i G. Agamben, *The State of Emergency*, izvod iz predavanja održanog u Centre Roland-Barthes (Université Paris VII, Denis-Diderot), <http://makeworlds.org/node/16> (pristupljeno 23.12.2014.)

²¹ J. Čubrilo, „Dokumenti o ogledima iz biopolitike“, *Žoran Todorović, Warmth-Toplina*, ur. S. Vuković, Beograd 2009, 152.

²² H. Steyerl, „In Defense of the Poor Image“, H. Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen*, Berlin 2012, 31-45.

²³ Ovo nije prvi rad Zorana Todorovića u kojem on telu i to onom koje je unutar dominantne patrijarhalne ideologije problematično i/ili objektivizovano daje moć da (nad)gleda, da kontroliše, da disciplinuje. Reč je o performansu koji je bio pripreman početkom 1999. za izložbu *Ars Electronica*, ali nikada nije bio izveden zbog bombardovanja SR Jugoslavije usled kog Todorović nije mogao ni da dobije vizu za ulazak u zemlje Šengena niti da izađe iz zemlje. Iz materijala koji je snimljen tokom probe performansa, dakle dokumenta koji svedoči o izvedenom događaju, nastala je video instalacija koju čine dve sinhronizovane slike. Jedna je slika ženskog polnog organa, a druga je slika načinjena iz njegove unutrašnjosti. Ova druga slika napravljena je tako što je u vaginu beogradske striptiz plesačice postavljena mikrokamera kojom je snimano ono što Ona vidi, a to je, u okolnostima performansa trebalo da bude ambijent, kao i publika onoliko koliko bi ta publika bila dostupna ili poželeva da bude dostupna pogledu kamere/ženskog polnog organa dok bi se sadržaj tog 'unutrašnjeg' pogleda prenosio na veliko platno. Međutim, u ovoj kamernoj varijanti/dokumentu probe izvedene 1998. godine od kog je montiran video rad 'Zurenje' kamera je zabeležila lica malobrojne i isključivo muške publike posmatrača i učesnika u „posebno koreografisanom striptizu snimateljke“ (Z. Todorović). Kurbeov (Gustav Courbet) otvoren pogled na/u konvencionalno mesto 'kastacije uznemirenosti', u lakanovom smislu (iako ima interpretacija da realističnost prizora ukazuje da je Kurbeo najmanje projektovao strah a više pozitivnu sliku ženske seksualne energije i snage prokreacije, S. Faunce, „Courbet: feminist in spite of himself“, A. Bond, *Body*, Sindney 1997, 97-110), zahvaljujući tehnologiji pervertovan je u pogled iz čime je i subjekt pogleda postao objekt pogleda.

²⁴ H. Steyerl 2012, 44.

²⁵ H. Steyerl, „A thing like you and me“, H. Steyerl 2012, 52.

Jasmina Čubrilo

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

**POWER OF IMAGE, POWER OF REPRESENTATION,
POWER OF INTERPRETATION**

Summary:

The article deals with mapping and theoretical conceptualization of current polemics that developed around Zoran Todorović's video installation *Gypsies and Dogs* (2009), a segment of which – available or with the permission by authors – was published at the end of 2014 in the book *Gypsies and Dogs II, Symptoms and traces of the public reception*. This text is not an attempt to pacify with (meta) positions of academic 'objectivity', nor it takes a 'side' in the polemics; it does not develop out of an assumption of the absolute autonomy of work of art, the freedom of art/artist, but neither from the contextual determinism. It is a result of an approach based on the study of concepts ('concept-based methodology'), which are referred to as 'tools' helping to more thoroughly grasp the research object.

Keywords:

the open work, rhizome, (relational) antagonism, political (in)correctness, biopolitics, gaze, poor image

POLEMIKE

POLEMICS

Maria Bremer
Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte, Paris

**SELF-REPRESENTATION AS “SELF-DIVESTMENT”?
EPIGONISM AND SINGULARITY IN VETTOR PISANI’S
*THE CHAMBER HERO AT DOCUMENTA 5 (1972)***

Abstract:

Harald Szeemann’s fifth *documenta* exhibition of 1972 emphasised not yet canonized art practices, displayed under the heading of ‘individual mythologies’. In this section, a new self-centred attitude unfolded. Since the artist’s authority and authoriality had been widely questioned by then, the selected positions encountered critical reception. Among the most discussed works we find Italian artist Vettor Pisani’s performance *The Chamber Hero*. Staged in the ‘self-representation’ wing of the ‘individual mythologies’ section, in the reviewers’ eyes it embodied a radical withdrawal of art from social concerns. At a closer look, however, the critics’ readings significantly differed from the artist’s intention. Focusing on the performance from different perspectives, this essay reconstructs its multifaceted interpretation in 1972 and casts light on the conception of subjectivity at stake in the work, which intertwines epigonism and singularity.

Keywords:

Harald Szeemann, Vettor Pisani, *documenta 5*, individual mythologies, self-representation, alchemy, bachelor machine

In the summer of 1972, the fifth edition of the international exhibition *documenta* opened in Kassel under the title *Inquiry into reality - visual worlds today*. Its curator was Harald Szeemann, together with Hamburg aesthetic professor Bazon Brock and Lucerne Museum director Jean-Christophe Ammann contributing to conceptual development. For the first time in the history of *documenta*, the event was built around a theme, which – having established reality as what we perceive in the form of images – explored the cognitive functions of artistic and non-artistic visual worlds, as well as their interrelations. The exhibition’s encyclopaedic approach had the wide scope of a universal visual semiotics: it was divided into numerous sections held together by a three-part theoretical framework of Hegelian inspiration, and included an art exhibition dominated by the dichotomy between Western hyperrealism and conceptual art. Defying stylistic classification was the third section, which Szeemann entitled ‘individual mythologies’. With indefinite boundaries in terms of media and form, it seemed to stand outside *documenta*’s rigid pre-established mapping, and appeared focused on the *process* of the work on the one hand, and on the artist’s self-representation – or *behaviour* – on the other. “In their exterior appearance,” Szeemann explained at the closing of the exhibition, “individual mythologies are a phenomenon with no common denominator; they should be understood as part of a history of intensity in art, which is not oriented solely according to formal criteria, but first and foremost according to the perceptible identity of intention and expression.”¹ The term “history of intensity”, as opposed to a history of styles, would serve Szeemann as a slogan to fix his personal vision of art and implement it as a curatorial position in the course of the seventies. The ‘individual mythologies’ exhibited in 1972 were symptomatic not only of Szeemann’s canon, but also of the artistic intentions and critical discourses which in those years formed, crisscrossed and sometimes contradicted or transcended this very canon. It is on the ground floor of the Museum Fridericianum, in one of the spaces set up for ‘self-representation’, that Italian artist Vettor Pisani enacted a performance entitled *The Chamber Hero*. In the mirror of German criticism, his work produced the same misunderstandings raised by Szeemann’s notion of ‘individual mythologies’, accused of anachronistically exalting the figure of the artist as an author – in the years of his conceptual deconstruction. Comparing the reception of the performance with Pisani’s intention, I’ll attempt not only to reconstruct the reasons that hinder its reading in 1972, but also to clarify the conception of subjectivity discussed in the work in question.

“A very short event”

It was a “beautiful work on Meret Oppenheim and Duchamp”² seen at Michelangelo Pistoletto’s studio which led Szeemann to reflect on Pisani’s possible participation to *documenta 5*.³ The curator received Pisani’s address from the gallery owner Fabio Sargentini in January of 1972. In the brief exchange of letters that followed, Pisani described his project as “a 45-minute action entitled ‘L’EROE DA CAMERA”⁴ to be presented once a day during the first week of the event, and of which he sent Szeemann three photographs illustrating “a particular moment.”⁵ The title was in fact maintained, sometimes in rather awkward translation (“Held im Zimmer”, hero in the room);⁶ the two operators initially envisaged were joined, “in defining the work,” by a third, and for the entire duration of *documenta*, “signs” and “objects” were displayed in the space used for the action, to which the artist attributed the function of “testifying in the space and over a longer time period to a very short event that can only be witnessed occasionally.”⁷ What remains of this “very short event” today are, in addition to the critical commentary and to the testimony of the assistants involved, a few photographic and video traces, which allow a partial reconstruction.⁸ It seems that the performance set not a material, but a dramaturgical separation between aesthetic space and real space: in a narrow room the audience voyeuristically observed, without intervening, the development of an unequal interaction between Pisani himself, in action, and his sister Luciana, still and nude, tied with a sliding collar to a chain, which was stretched between two facing walls (*Figure 1*). The regime was clearly theatrical, but of non-naturalistic, symbolic character. Exposed in their materiality, the bodies functioned according to a logic to interpret, which includes and motivates the presence of the many tools, which the artist-actor used: a round clock, hung to one of the walls, the liquid colours green, white and red in transparent watertight vases, a drum pedal, a flashlight, an iron heel, a tri-colour flag and a ribbon, a switchblade, the word ‘SPQR’ in metal letters, a white chalk, a dark palette, a wooden measurement tool and a compass (*Figure 2*). The actor’s movements divided the performance in acts that seemed to allude to a precluded intercourse, invoked shaking the colours in the pots, rubbing his body against the wall, hitting the actress’s left or right leg with the drum pedal and painting her foot in white, penetrating the chain links and the carved metallic heel with the knife. The erotic tension towards conjunction, made explicit by the interposition



Figure 1: Vettor Pisani, *L'Eroe da camera* [*The Chamber Hero*], 1972. Performance. Museum Fridericianum, Kassel. Image and photo: courtesy of Mimma Pisani.

of metaphorical gestures, was equally metaphorically contrasted by the immobility of the actress and by the allusion to castration of the actor, who simulated to cut his fingers – strung in latex gloves – with the metallic wire. The palette, colors, and measurement instruments featured the actor as an artist; the tri-color flag and the SPQR inscription, where the compass needle pointed at, designated his geographical origin. Regardless of which interpretation one would choose to follow, the reading presupposes that very principle of representation, which the performance medium in those years tried to overcome by means of a non-symbolic *integration to the real*. Only few walls divided Pisani from Joseph Beuys: in the same section of *documenta* and for the entire duration of the one hundred exhibition days, he was physically present in an office of his “Organization for Direct Democracy through Referendum” (*Organisation für direkte Demokratie durch Volksabstimmung*) set up in the Museum Fridericianum, where he interacted with the audience by integrating his artistic practice in a real political practice. Unlike Beuys’ self-representation, Pisani’s intervention required to be read, what we might call with Jean-Marc Poinsoit *contrat iconographique*,⁹ a horizon of reference common to both the artist and the viewer in which the work must be placed

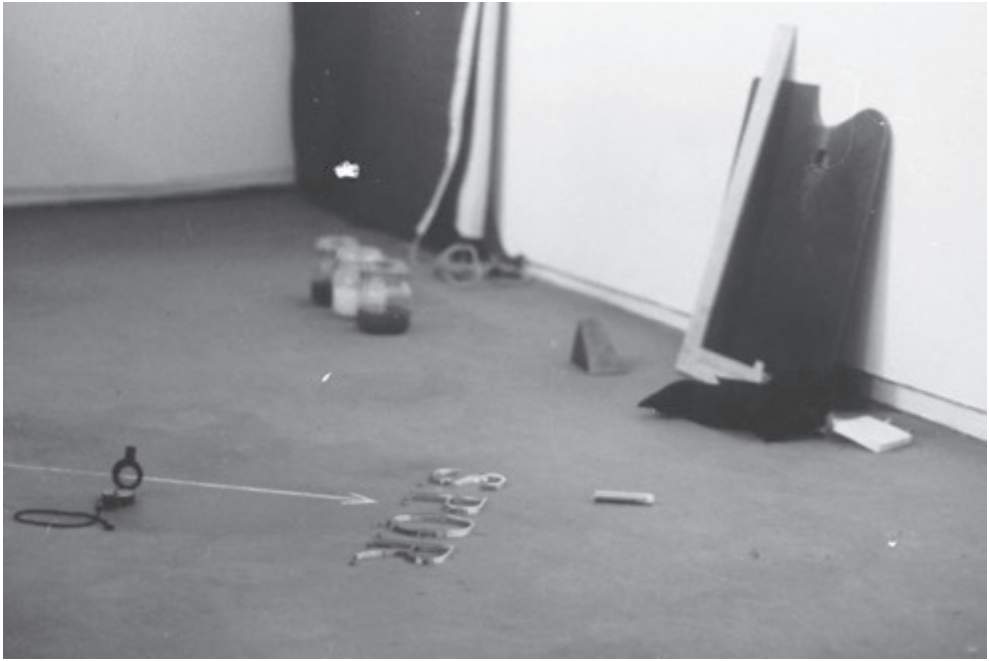


Figure 2: Vettor Pisani, *L'Eroe da camera* [*The Chamber Hero*], 1972. Performance. Museum Fridericianum, Kassel. Image and photo: courtesy of Mimma Pisani.

in order for it to be deciphered. In the context of *documenta*, did the entry into force of such a contract succeed? Which grips did the artist provide to the public in the performance itself and elsewhere to clarify his stance? Which information remained instead withheld from the viewer? In the economy of this symbolic exchange, what was the relationship between explication and omission?

“From I to We”

Among the main attractions of *documenta*, Pisani’s action was mentioned in numerous articles published in the Federal Republic of Germany during the summer of 1972. It is the potential for scandal of the peep-show effect prosaically invoked by the real presence of a nude woman, which ensured Pisani controversial critical resonance. His work collided with the expectations of a public opinion, which for the first time in the history of *documenta* came into contact with actions in real-time. The indignation of the local press resulted in accusations of pornography and seemed to be rather limited to ambiguously exploiting the scandalous potential, pandering to public curiosity. More generally, the performance descriptions that refuse to look

beyond the evidence of the “shock factor” of the nude woman, the imbalance between the man and the woman involved and the latent violence of the gestures were often intentional, put on by detractors bent on denigrating *documenta*.¹⁰ Reinhard Müller-Mehlis dedicated almost an entire paragraph in the *Freisinger Tagblatt* to the work, also mentioning interventions by Ben Vautier, Klaus Rinke or Paul Thek, and describing it as configuration of absurd and meaningless gestures, without delving into the analytical plane.¹¹ The harsh criticism of single works aimed at investing the very concept of ‘individual mythology’ as a narcissistic and self-referential attitude, focused on the medium and not on the dialogue with the audience, which betrayed the expectations raised by the exhibition title *Inquiry into the reality - visual worlds today*. Here, the object of investigation no longer seemed to be the objective reality, but a subjective one, based on the figure of the artist, dangerously close to a romantic aesthetics hostile to the public dimension expected from art in those years. Where a reading of the performance was provided, opinions generally converged in the hypothesis that it might have been a demonstration of a fascist-style psychological and physical coercion.¹² This track may have been fuelled by the associative potential of the tri-colour flag and the writing “SPQR”, as well as by Pisani’s clothing, as it was formulated in almost identical ways in numerous articles without further explanation.¹³ Even in this case, however, the reading focused the attention on the spectacular and aestheticized character of the performance, without considering a possible critical dimension. The editor of the *Konstanz Südkurier* Egon Treppmann referred to it in order to delineate the emergence of a new anti-bourgeois attitude, which he saw as a break with an old *Bohème*, comparing Pisani’s work – with its supposed pursuit of excess and liberal subjectivism – to the brutal practices of Viennese Actionism presented at *documenta* in photographic form.¹⁴ Others seemed to doubt the proposed interpretation, insinuating that it was a pretext invented by Pisani to justify the female nudity, when in reality the horror of fascist torture could have been analogously demonstrated on an (old) male body.¹⁵ The critic Thilo Koch read in Pisani’s work the process of detachment of an unmistakably pornographic nude, which had, if anything, the effect of mocking and trivializing real practices of politically motivated torture.¹⁶

However, among the entries that reproduced the reference to fascism stands out the mention of an informative leaflet, which Pisani and critic Achille Bonito Oliva had distributed on the occasion of the performance. Although other journalists

did not mention the leaflet, Peter Schille quoted the text, paraphrasing the artist’s intention to shift art “from the ideology of I” to that of “we”.¹⁷ A further dimension seems to open here in contradiction to the issues identified by the critics. Bonito Oliva *a posteriori* confirmed the distribution of a leaflet and certified that the content was later integrated into his text *About ideology*,¹⁸ where the mentioned phrase can be retrieved:

“We believe that the only ideological progress in art is to move the issue forward: from I to We. By now many artists, with a gesture of ideological kleptomania, intervene on the bourgeois culture that is a practice of I, they expropriate it, reducing the value of private property inherent in artistic creation. [...] The conjugation of We consists in reducing language to the only flagrant act of theft (the quote), in the acquisition of a sign and of a non-private language, which means self-divestment of the artist’s own imagination in favor of a model now objective and impersonal.”¹⁹

Bringing the intent of the performance back to an attack on the subject as a bourgeois category and identifying the aesthetic instruments of this attack in the tendency towards objectivity implicit in the use of citation, the leaflet related Pisani’s work to conceptual practices widespread in those years, placing it in a political context. At the same time, it did not, however, specify the object of the “flagrant act of theft” in the case of the performance: which one was the quote in question?²⁰ If we consider the textual apparatus as *recit autorisé*,²¹ as a report authorized by the artist, the inference from the representation to its content is hampered. Beyond the misunderstandings due to the cultural horizons of the audience, it is surprising that along with the unusual use of the symbolic in the performance medium, no adequate system of translation was provided. The discrepancy between the reading advanced by German critics and the intent of Pisani mentioned in the quoted text attested to the non-establishment of the above mentioned *contrat iconographique*. To what extent was the clouding of representation programmatic here, and how did it inform the self-representation of the artist?

“Bachelor Machine”

Only about a decade later, in 1984, when Helmut Friedel invited Pisani to attend the exhibition *Der Traum des Orpheus. Mythologie in der italienischen Gegenwartskunst*

1967 bis 1984 at Lenbachhaus in Munich, the German audience would be confronted with the solution of the riddle. The catalogue stated that Pisani's *documenta 5* performance cited Marcel Duchamp through the theme of the 'bachelor machine':

"The reference to the bachelor machine follows Duchamp. This becomes evident in works such as Maccina [sic] *celibe. Elevazione della vergine* (Bachelor machine. Elevation of the virgin), 1972, presented at *documenta 5* as an action."²²

This notion, here mistakenly classified as the title of the performance, closely followed the term 'bachelor apparatus' coined by Duchamp in relation to his *Grand Verre - La mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires, même* (1915-1923). In origin it designated the lower half of the glass as a male sphere, distinguishing it from the above placed 'kingdom of the Bride'.²³ In an influential essay of 1954, Michel Carrouges defined the 'bachelor machine' as a category of interpretation of literary and visual arts around 1900, isolating its distinctive element in the – unsuccessful – tension of a male and a female component towards conjunction (*eros*) under threat of death (*thanatos*): "Une machine célibataire est une image fantastique qui transforme l'amour en mécanisme de mort."²⁴ According to Carrouges, in order to be defined as 'bachelor machine', a fantastic image must imply an interaction of sexual nature translated or accompanied by a mechanical interaction. Filtered by Carrouges' writings, the concept of 'bachelor machine' took on a central role in the esoteric-chemical reading Arturo Schwarz offers of Duchamp's work. Schwarz ends up characterizing the *Grand Verre* in its entirety as an *alchemical bachelor machine*, as the "unattainable transparency of the Philosopher's Stone",²⁵ in which the male and the female element tend to converge through transmutation, towards that union that would dissolve their categorization, creating the 'new man'. The artist Duchamp became the hero of this operation: in terms of representation – identified with the 'bachelor' who longs for the 'bride'; in terms of biographical reality – as a brother who desires his sister, Suzanne – and in terms of historical reality. In 1966 Schwarz stated, anticipating the more detailed interpretation he will publish in 1969: "If in a rationalistic, prosaic and fragmented world as ours, one still wanted to attempt an irrational, poetic and humanistic adventure, no one more than Duchamp could be its hero."²⁶ The postulated equivalence between the generation of 'new man' in an alchemical sense and the "humanistic adventure" advocated by Schwarz was based

on the intimate relationship, which the alchemical ontology establishes between the transmutation of matter and the spiritual ennobling of the adept. Centuries after the historical end of the practice of alchemy, in the early twentieth century, Carl Gustav Jung resumed this correlation in psychology, verifying the occurrence of alchemical allegories in what he calls the collective unconscious. Jung suggested that the deciphering of these images would bring the patient – as centuries before the exploration of the secrets of matter the adept – to *ekstasis*, the total experience of the self.²⁷ It is Jung himself who related the archetype of the hero to the alchemist, suggesting the identification, which is then used by Schwarz, who applied it to Duchamp.²⁸ Both Jung and Schwarz thus understood alchemy in its humanistic sense; they actualized its imagery to propose a conception of subjectivity in the fields of psychology and art modeled on the *homo totus*, on a global image of man.

Coming back to *The Chamber Hero* and crossing the reference to the ‘bachelor machine’, which Friedel gave in 1984 with the track of a quote suggested by the leaflet of 1972, it is possible to read the performance as a representation not so much of Duchamp’s ‘bachelor apparatus’, but of its interpretation as a ‘bachelor machine’ filtered through Schwarz’s reading. In Pisani’s work we find both a male and a female actor, the latter is suspended – as Duchamp’s Bride – to the machine element of the sliding chain. The attempts of conjunction shown in the phallic symbols and in the simulated acts of penetration by the Hero do fail; the protagonists remained isolated in the separate dimensions of movement and immovability. The erotic dynamics unfolded under constant threat of death by hanging, because – as Jung states and Schwarz repeated – the perfect *coniunctio oppositorum* is the incestuous and therefore inadmissible one, between brother and sister. From this perspective, therefore, Pisani would add another version to the range of the ‘bachelor machine’ iconographies that retains its distinctive traits, but invents, in the medium of performance, a new form solidly based upon the Italian reception of Duchamp’s work in those years. The German audience, however, was less familiar with the alchemical interpretations of Duchamp’s work. In the context of the exhibition, the performance was furthermore uprooted from Pisani’s oeuvre as a whole, already eminently understood since his first exhibition titled *Maschile, femminile e androgino – incesto a cannibalismo in Marcel Duchamp* (Rome and Bari, 1970)²⁹ as a “negative tribute”³⁰ (A. Boatto) to the French artist. In order to decipher the not evident, and therefore opaque Duchamp quote in the summer of 1972, the German audience would have had to travel to Frankfurt,

where on July 11 at the *Kunstverein Plagiat* (Plagiarism) opened, an exhibition created in collaboration by Pisani and Pistoletto and previously presented in Italy. In the catalogue essay the critic Maurizio Calvesi identified Duchamp as the model onto which Pisani based his reflection around the androgynous, which symbolizes, so Calvesi, “the relationship as a composition of opposites: male and female, left-right, that is also limited-unlimited, definite-indefinite, individual-many.”³¹ The artist figure that emerged from this process of collaborations, tributes, quotations and plagiarism – which of course would require to be further deepened – echoed with the leaflet distributed at *documenta*, wherein aesthetic “kleptomania” was decreed “ideological”, as intervention on “bourgeois culture”, as expropriation, reducing the “private property value inherent in artistic creation.” However, the alleged denial of originality as property through epigonistic strategies has itself a mythical downside. As we shall see, this negation in fact affirms, at the same time, the emulation as a personal style – or meta-style – reinforcing the subjective categories of intention and invention.

Epigonism and singularity

This ambivalence runs through the performance at multiple levels. The weakening of the artist as author – by the Duchamp reference – is further underlined by the deconstruction of the artist as creator. The act of painting the actress’s foot in white, in a central moment of the performance (*Figure 3*), superimposes on the register of the erotic metaphor a mythological quote, which reverses the creative ambition narrated in the myth of Pygmalion, denying it through the petrification of the woman under the artist’s hands. Finally, it is also the heroic register to be contradicted by both the work title, which reduces the Hero to a “chamber” size,³² and the self-representation techniques of the artist-actor, which – for the clothing and the tinkering with the tools described above – rather recall an eccentric imaginary. The denigrating gesture therefore intends to strike a precise form of artist subjectivity: the heroic model of the Creator, guarantor of originality and authenticity. In this way Pisani reports on the level of representation that struggle which, from 1968 onwards, invests authority on all fronts, stating “the killing of the self – the teacher, the auctor – as a key figure of the relationship between generations (and therefore of transmission of knowledge), in order to fold into a collective ‘I’, an ‘I’ preceded and inferred from the ‘We’.”³³ The anchor in the representation, the



Figure 3: Vettor Pisani, *L'Eroe da camera* [*The Chamber Hero*], 1972. Performance. Museum Fridericianum, Kassel. Image and photo: courtesy of Mimma Pisani.

refusal to adhere to more current performance practices that integrate to the real, becomes a prerequisite for a reflection on representation itself: the attack on creative subjectivity generates the critical arranger of discursive fragments. Insisting on the interpersonal dimension of language, the artist inscribes himself into the mechanisms of knowledge building, weaving meta-textual nets. But the motor of the epigonistic practice remains, as Bonito Oliva stated at the conclusion of his analysis of the performance in 1972 published under the title *The Slideway*, the “trust in culture and history”: “The slideway is the bachelor machine that promotes the triggering of language, it extends it in an infinite operation that can no more be stopped: here, an additional layer of immortality uncloses, proper to language, which also arises from the artist’s consciousness of being able to oppose to the dissolution of time and matter, and therefore to death, immortality and trust in culture and history.”³⁴ In the “artist’s consciousness” language becomes the tool to ensure a historical and cultural continuity. In this sense, the meaning of ‘bachelor machine’, which Bonito Oliva referred to, can be related to the same premises as Schwarz’s, to the model –

attributed to Duchamp – of the artist as the protagonist of a return to humanism.

Only the authority, but not the fundament of the subject is therefore tackled: the category of intention, as well as that of conscience, remains intact. The explication of an overcoming of authority, the transposition of a critical intention in the staging of a pre-meditated performance introduced the inventive aspect of imaginative epigonism. Thus it itself established an individual style, which distinguished Pisani's practice from the practices he mentioned and became his personal calligraphy. In this sense, while deconstructing a certain artist model, Pisani did not decree his overcoming *tout court*,³⁵ but focused on a significant shift within his real and at the same time imaginary and symbolic status, exemplifying what art sociologist Nathalie Heinich defines as *régime de singularité*.³⁶ the particular 'order of singularity' that characterizes the artist élite in the twentieth century. It follows up on the vocational order of the nineteenth century, integrating the aristocratic legacy of the criteria of origin and affiliation, the democratic component of political engagement and the romantic one of the *Bohème*. Quote and homage perform contradictory functions: if they invoke, on the one hand, a democratization of the concept of intellectual property, a relativization of authorship – and, therefore, a political stance against the authoritarian structures of knowledge transmission – on the other hand they attest to the inscription in a precise, and therefore exclusive, artistic and intellectual tradition, established by reference models (Duchamp). This affiliation was further corroborated in Pisani's practice through the mythicization of his biographical origin and through the blurring of representation in his works, which are clearly symbolic, but polysemic in their reading, positioning themselves on a hermetic register and rooted in a programmatic eccentricity with respect to a culture that in the seventies is increasingly massified. The deprivation of subject authority was in Pisani's performance thus redirected towards a humanistic project in which the artist is involved as an individual marked by a personal style and as part of a community of spiritually related artists, intellectually rooted in the historical avant-gardes. It is the tangle of synergies and energies engaged by this ideal community that forms the core of the "history of intensity in art", which Szeemann aimed at showing throughout the seventies, starting with the 'individual mythologies' at *documenta*: "The signs, the signals and symbols that they [the fools and the thinkers] pose, and the intensity with which they fill them up, constitute for us the density of the world they imagine."³⁷

Notes:

¹ H. Szeemann, “Individuelle Mythologien” (1972), *Museum der Obsessionen*, Berlin 1981, 87-92, here 88-89. All German and Italian citations in this essay are translated to English by the author. The Italian version of this essay is to be published 2015 in the catalogue of the exhibition Vettor Pisani. Eroica / antieroaica: una retrospettiva, 21 December 2013 - 24 March 2014, Museo MADRE, Naples.

² H. Szeemann, letter to V. Pisani, 2. 2. 1972, box 56 (*documenta 5*), *documenta* archives Kassel.

³ What is probably meant here is the series of works Pisani and Pistoletto realized in cooperation in 1971, shown at the exhibition *Le quattro dita macinate di Meret Oppenheim* at Lucio Amelio’s Modern Art Agency Gallery in Naples (April 1971) and subsequently, in an expanded version, in the shows titled *Plagio* (Turin, Sperone Gallery; Rome, La Salita Gallery, May and June 1971, and Rome, Marlborough Gallery, May 1973). See G. Dalla Chiesa, “Il ‘Plagio’ di Vettor Pisani e Michelangelo Pistoletto interpretato. Il passaggio da Venere a Meret, da Meret a Maria”, *Arte e Critica*, n. 71, June-August 2012, 72-74.

⁴ V. Pisani, letter to H. Szeemann, 23. 2. 1972, box 56 (*documenta 5*), *documenta* archives Kassel.

⁵ Ibidem. The action which Pisani refers to here had never been presented in public, but a first version of the work existed in photographic form, realized with the actress Monica Strebel in Elisabetta Catalano’s Roman photo studio. Two photographs taken from the sequence are inserted in the *documenta 5* catalogue with the following caption: “L’EROE DA CAMERA Performance, Incontri Internazionali d’Arte, Rom 25.11. + 18.12.1971”. They can also be found in Szeemann’s archive: “Vettor Pisani”, Artist Files, Harald Szeemann Papers, Getty Research Institute. Pisani’s work at *documenta* should therefore not be confused with the performance *L’Eroe da camera. Tutte le parole dal silenzio di Duchamp al rumore di Beuys*, later staged at L’Attico Gallery in Rome in a different version (March 30-31, April 2, 6, 7, 9 1973). See M. Pisani, *L’Eroe da camera. Tutte le parole dal silenzio di Duchamp al rumore di Beuys*, 1973, leaflet stored in the Pisani archive, Rome.

⁶ See P. T. Hoffmann, “Die aktuelle Kunst und ihre Schaustellung. Sensationen und Verwirrung auf der *documenta 5* in Kassel“, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 15. 7. 1972.

⁷ V. Pisani, letter to H. Szeemann, undated, box 56 (*documenta 5*), *documenta* archive Kassel. The third operator is his wife Mimma, who although not participating in the action, accompanied the artist and produced a photographic record of the work.

⁸ Mimma Pisani remembers the staging and the various phases of the action, of which she created the photographic documentation stored in the Pisani archive, Rome. M. Pisani, oral testimony to the author (21. 10. 2012).

⁹ “Par contrat iconographique j’entends la formulation des termes du consensus minimum que l’artiste veut voir s’établir avec ses interlocuteurs sur ce qu’il donne à voir dans son œuvre.” J.-M. Poinot, *Quand l’œuvre a lieu. L’art exposé et ses récits autorisés*, Geneva 2008, 145.

¹⁰ On the general reception of *documenta 5* see for example F. Scharf, “Zur Geschichte der *documenta 5* - eine quellenkundliche Revue”, *Wiedervorlage d5. Eine Befragung des Archivs zur documenta 1972*, Exhibition catalogue (Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, November 3 to December 30, 2001), Ostfildern-Ruit 2001, 22-39. The above mentioned violent reactions of protest must be re-contextualized in the debate that preceded the event, unleashed around the changes to the initial exhibition concept that aimed at realizing, instead of a traditional exhibition, a “one hundred days event”, entirely composed of actions. The ‘progressives’ accuse the organizers of supporting, with an encyclopedic show, institutionalizing strategies of artistic practices after the experimentations in the second half of the sixties (return to the museum). More conservative voices instead criticize the simultaneous exposure of art and non-art, attacking in particular the sections ‘pornography’, ‘trivial realism and kitsch’ and ‘imaginary of the mentally ill’. They furthermore accuse Szeemann of sympathizing with Marxist positions, for his efforts, proved unavailing, to exhibit socialist realist works and for having included a contribution of the Marxist philosopher Hans Heinz Holz in the exhibition catalogue.

¹¹ See: R. Müller-Mehlis, “DOCUMENTA V. EINE ENDSTATION: Das große Grusel- und Absurditäten-Kabinett”, *Freisinger Tagblatt*, 1. 7. 1972.

¹² Maybe the journalists related Pisani’s aesthetics to controversial performances such as Fabio Mauri’s aestheticized re-enactment of fascist *ludi juveniles* titled *Che cosa è il fascismo*, 1971. See also: F. Boràgina, *Fabio Mauri. Che*

cosa è, se è, l'ideologia nell'arte, Soveria Mannelli 2012, 56-61; or to the exhibition of a disabled adolescent by Gino de Dominicis at the Venice Biennale of 1972, read as a critique of fascist eugenics.

¹³ On the persistence of this reading in German criticism see also: D. Schwarze, "Bilder nur für den Augenblick. 50 Werke aus 50 Jahren documenta – 1972 zeigte Vettor Pisani 'L'Eroica da Camera'", *Hessische Niedersächsische Allgemeine*, 12. 8. 2005. In the „office“ clock Pisani uses, Schwarze identifies a reference to the "bureaucratic precision" of fascist torture. Pisani's coat reminds him of the clothing of the National Socialists secret services, but the presence of the Italian flag relativizes the reference to German past.

¹⁴ See: E. Treppmann, "Kunst – nicht mehr gefragt. Die Kasseler documenta 5 zeigt Wandlungen auf", *Südkurier Konstanz*, 1. 7. 1972.

¹⁵ See D. Westecker, "Ein Museum für die Maus. Spektakuläres auf der V. documenta", *Solinger Tageblatt*, 1. 7. 1972.

¹⁶ See: T. Koch, "Erforderlich ist eine Anti-documenta", *Hessische Allgemeine*, 19. 8. 1972.

¹⁷ P. Schille, "Kunst, die auf den Leib rückt", *Zeit-Magazin*, 31, 4. 8. 1972, 4-15.

¹⁸ A. Bonito Oliva, oral testimony to the author (24. 5. 2013). See ID., *Autocritico automobile. Attraverso le avanguardie, remake per le nuove generazioni*, Rome 2002, 290-299.

¹⁹ Ivi, 296-297.

²⁰ It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the text *About ideology* retraces precisely the content of the leaflet. Pisani's work briefly mentioned in the essay is the intervention *The East is red and the West is black*, 1972. If the leaflet had, however, revealed the object of the citation, the information would have been inserted in the press comment as a reading key.

²¹ „Ils ne sont ni œuvres ni discours indépendants, mais récits institutionnels systématiquement associés à la production des événements et prestations artistiques [...]. Ainsi, nous ne pouvons pratiquement pas percevoir d'œuvres contemporaines sans saisir du même coup au moins une partie des récits qui les accompagnent. Ce sont les titres, signatures, dates et autres dénominations [...], les déclarations d'intention, recensions et descriptions, les informations, les invitations, les prescriptions...“ J.-M. Poinot, *Quand l'œuvre a lieu. L'art exposé et ses récits autorisés*, Geneva 2008, 144.

²² H. Friedel, "Vettor Pisani. Das Spiel der Irrtümer und Rätsel", *Der Traum des Orpheus. Mythologie in der italienischen Gegenwartskunst 1967 bis 1984*, Exhibition Catalogue (Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, May 16 – July 1, 1984), 36-53, here 37.

²³ See M. Sanouillet, P. Matisse (eds.), *Duchamp du signe*, Paris 2013.

²⁴ M. Carrouges, "Mode d'emploi", *Junggesellenmaschinen/Les machines célibataires*, Exhibition Catalogue (Bern, Venice, Bruxelles, Düsseldorf, Paris, Malmö, Amsterdam, Vienna, 1975-1976), Venice 1975, 21-47, here 21-22.

²⁵ A. Schwarz, *Duchamp*, Milan 1966 [no numbered pages].

²⁶ Ivi. See also the more detailed version of Schwarz' studies on Duchamp, originally published in English: ID., *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, New York 1969; and the revisited Italian edition: ID., *La Sposa messa a nudo in Marcel Duchamp, anche*, Turin 1974.

²⁷ See C. G. Jung, *Psychologie und Alchemie*, Zurich 1914.

²⁸ See Ivi, 451 and following.

²⁹ The exhibition takes place in Rome, La Salita Gallery, April 28-May 30, 1970 and Bari, Castello Svevo, July 15 - August 12, 1970. See *Vettor Pisani. Il Premio Pascali*, Exhibition Catalogue (Castello Svevo, Bari, July 15 - August 12, 1970). See also D. Viva, "Verso la meta pittura. Quadro e autoritratto a Roma negli anni Settanta", in *Anni Settanta. Arte a Roma*, Exhibition Catalogue (Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, December 17, 2013 – March 2, 2014), Rome 2013, 54-63.

³⁰ A. Boatto, "'a' DUCHAMP / 'a' PISANI", *Vettor Pisani. Il Premio Pascali*, Exhibition Catalogue (Castello Svevo, Bari, July 15 - August 12, 1970), Rome 1970, 17-18.

³¹ M. Calvesi in *Plagio*, Exhibition Catalogue (Marlborough Gallery, Rome, May 1973), Rome 1973. Calvesi's short essay has been translated to German on the occasion of the German staging of the show, but without being published; it is therefore inaccessible in German except for its printed version, stored in the Kunstverein archives.

³² Bonito Oliva interprets the title as follows: "If the hero is driven by fury, by eros as an antagonist of the world, here the chamber hero is the one who performs language as a weapon and a stigmata, not facing the world, but the unstoppable threshold of subjectivity", A. Bonito Oliva, "Vitalità del negativo e le sue stanze" in *Autocritico automobile. Attraverso le avanguardie, remake per le nuove generazioni*, Rome 2002,

254-267, here 264.

³³ L. Doninelli, „Io/Noi“, in *Anni Settanta. Il decennio lungo del secolo breve*, Exhibition Catalogue (Triennale, Milan, October 26, 2007 – March 30, 2008), Milan 2007, 268.

³⁴ A. Bonito Oliva, *Lo scorrevole/The slideway*, Rome 1975.

³⁵ One could relate the notion of ‘bachelor machine’ not only to Schwarz’ discourse, but also, following a more radical, anti-humanist perspective of a deposing of subjectivity, to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s psychoanalytic theories, also published in 1972: “Empruntons le nom de ‘machine célibataire’ pour désigner cette machine qui succède à la machine paranoïaque et à la machine miraculante, formant une nouvelle alliance entre les machines désirantes et le corps sans organes pour la naissance d’une humanité nouvelle ou d’un organisme glorieux. Il revient au même de dire que le sujet est produit comme un reste, à côté des machines désirantes, ou qu’il se confond lui-même avec cette troisième machine productrice et la réconciliation résiduelle qu’elle opère.”

In the context of the struggle that began in 1968, the two authors call for a liberation of desire against power. They criticize the reduction of desire to lack and ghost - in the Freudian use of the Oedipus myth - and redeem the productivity of desire by defining the unconscious no longer as a theater, but as a factory. If the desire is production, there aren’t but machines: the ‘bachelor machine’ engages, between the desiring machines and the ‘body without organs’, a “new humanity”, a “glorious body”, producing the subject merely as a “rest”. In Pisani’s work, however, desire remains imprisoned in theater and therefore in representation. Art shows the possibility of a loss of subjection, but without realizing it. G. Deleuze, F. Guattari, “L’Anti-Edipe” (1972), quoted in *Junggesellenmaschinen/Les machines célibataires*, Exhibition Catalogue (Bern, Venice, Bruxelles, Düsseldorf, Paris, Malmö, Amsterdam, Vienna, 1975-1976), Venice 1975, 19.

³⁶ See N. Heinich, *L’élite artiste. Excellence et singularité en régime démocratique*, Paris 2005.

³⁷ H. Szeemann, “Die Agentur für geistige Gastarbeit im Dienste der Vision eines Museums der Obsessionen“ (1979), in ID., *Museum der Obsessionen. Von/über/zu/mit Harald Szeemann*, Berlin 1981, 107-124, here 119-121. The notion of intensity as a manifesto of the anti-authoritarian struggle relates Szeemann’s stance to that of Deleuze/Guattari (intensity is the product of the ‘bachelor machine’) and Jean-François Lyotard. See G. Deleuze, F. Guattari, *L’Anti-Edipe – Capitalisme et schizophrénie*, Paris 1972; J.-F. Lyotard, *Des dispositifs pulsionnels*, Paris 1973.

Maria Bremer

Nemački institut za istoriju umetnosti, Pariz

**SAMOPREDSTAVLJANJE KAO “SAMOLIŠAVANJE”?
EPIGONSTVO I SINGULARITET U PERFORMANSU
THE CHAMBER HERO VETORA PIZANIJA NA IZLOŽBI
DOCUMENTA 5 (1972)**

Sažetak:

Peto izdanje izložbe *documenta* iz 1972. godine kuratora Haralda Zemana istaklo je još uvek nekanonizovane umetničke prakse i predstavilo ih pod nazivom „individualne mitologije“. U okviru ovog dela izložbe razmatrani su novi, auto-refleksivni umetnički stavovi. Budući da su autoritet i autorska pozicija umetnika do tada uveliko dovedeni u pitanje, izabrane umetničke pozicije naišle su na snažnu kritičku recepciju. Među najviše diskutovanim radovima je performans *The Chamber Hero* italijanskog umetnika Vetora Pizanija. Predstavljen u delu „individualnih mitologija“ koji se bavi „samopredstavljanjem“, ovaj rad nailazi na reakciju kritike koja ga posmatra kao otelotvorenje radikalnog povlačenja umetnosti od društvenih pitanja. Recepcija dela se, međutim, značajno razlikovala od umetnikove intencije. Fokusirajući se na performans iz različitih perspektiva, ovaj tekst rekonstruiše njegove različite interpretacije iz 1972. godine i ukazuje na koncept subjektivnosti koji je naglašen u delu, a koji se prepliće sa pojmovima epigonstvo i singularitet.

Ključne reči:

Harald Zeman, Vektor Pizani, *documenta 5*, individualne mitologije, samopredstavljanje, alhemija, *bachelor machine*

KRITIKE

REVIEWS

Ania K. England
Independent researcher

IN THE SHADOW OF THE RED STAR: CAMP STRATEGY IN POLISH ART AFTER 1945

Abstract:

The phenomenon of camp, described for the first time by Susan Sontag in 1964, was rarely present in the analyses of Polish art in socialist Poland due to a lack of adequate language, but this does not mean that it did not exist. Although camp on a broader scale appeared only after 2000, this article aims to demonstrate that it was in fact a continuous thread of oppositional strategy before and after 1989, aiming at the oppressive norms and stereotypes, which did not really disappear with the fall of the socialism.

Despite having many, often contrary definitions, camp will be perceived here as a subversive strategy which is undermining oppressive norms – including heteronormative order – with the help of kitsch aesthetics and laughter. It will be present in the artworks created by female and gay artists as well as those, who regardless their sexuality, questioned the dominant presence of the Roman Catholic Church. The thread of this subversive camp action will start in the late 1960 following problem with the issues, which Poland has still not resolved despite being a democratic country since twenty five years.

Keywords:

Camp, subversion, socialism, Poland, feminism, homosexuals,
the Roman Catholic Church

Although the socialist¹ regime collapsed in Poland twenty-five years ago, there are still issues within Polish society, which are the outcomes of this imposed regime. Such problems like homophobia, misogyny, discrimination or lack of equal rights for every individual were not previously taken into account and appeared only after 1989. Despite the presence of the metaphorical Red Star on the Polish sky for over forty years, one could notice here and there a colourful splashes of excess, laughter, pleasure and the kitsch aesthetic visible in the field of art. These subversive actions were aimed at mocking the power of the regime and therefore were clear signs of an independent and a free thinking people. Such theatrical gorilla fighting is associated with camp and is expressed in various forms of human activity.

The title of the article refers to the Piotr Piotrowski's book *Avant-Garde in the Shadow of Yalta. Art in East-Central Europe, 1945–1989*², but concentrate just on Polish art and on the colourful glimpses of subversive camp actions. Although the socialist star finally set down in 1989, it did not mean that the old problems would disappear automatically nor straight away, just that the camp strategy will become more visible in the present.

The colours of camp

When in 1964 a 31-year old Susan Sontag published her ground-breaking essay *Notes on Camp* in the journal "Partisan Review"³, she consciously detached camp from its homosexual base thus causing an understandable outrage within this spectrum of society. Until the Stonewall Inn riots in 1969 camp was a strategy of communication within the excluded and marginalized sexual minorities, which was based on a specific sense of humour. Sontag, with her essay comprising of fifty-eight loose notes, on the one hand introduced this relatively unknown phenomenon to the mainstream, but on the other took it away from the subcultural circles. Therefore for the mainstream her publication was considered as the birth of camp, but for the gay culture it was its death knell. According to Sontag camp was describing borders of a particular epoch by representing its *zeitgeist* and a "crisis of the humanistic institutions of criticism"⁴. However, she enlarged camp's meaning by adding the attitude of the healthy enjoyment of things so bad that they are actually good,⁵ thus making the definition of camp more blurred, until finally in the 1990's camp was declared dead.⁶ However, just like the mythological Phoenix, it soon reappeared in a new form and in a new, academic environment, together with the introduction of gay and lesbian studies.

At the same time Pamela Robertson argued that the subversive camp strategy had been used by feminists to undermine men's domination. Camp masquerades were especially attractive for feminists because the "female spectator laughs at and plays with her own image [...] by making fun of, and out of, that image – without losing sight of the real power that image has over her"⁷. Robertson understood camp as a form of pleasant domination over male culture, in which so far, women were put under pressure to hold on to a certain image and be excluded from public life, including the art world. Robertson called this subversive feminist camp "guilty pleasures" stressing that the appropriation of various aesthetics is not a one-way process. Women are adopting elements of gay culture in the same way that gays are adopting women's and thus – like gays – they also produced camp. "This tradition of feminist camp, which runs alongside – but is not identical to – gay camp, represents oppositional modes of performance and reception. Through my analysis of feminist camp I reclaim a female form of aestheticism, related to female masquerade and rooted in burlesque, that articulates and subverts the 'image-and culture-making process' to which women have traditionally been given access"⁸. The loosened relations between camp and gay culture exposed the presence of misogyny and gave a way for feminists to use the defensive strategy of a gender parody for their own purpose.⁹

The colours of camp therefore, if one would like to paint it as such, are associated with oppressed groups in the patriarchal, heteronormative environment and are connected to multi-coloured rainbow, a gay symbol and to the pink colour associated with women. With a mocking laughter and a kitsch aesthetic, camp is aiming not to create a new order, but dismantle the old one by showing its absurdities.

The pink shade

After WWII Poland, like most of Eastern Europe, found itself "in the shadow of Jałta" or under the influence of the Soviet Union, which shaped its cultural, social, economical and political situation until the late 1980's. This oppressive regime blocked the country from participating in certain discussions, which were carried out in the West during the 1960's and 1970's and in Poland exploded only after the iron curtain fell down in 1989. There was neither "psychopathology of affluence"¹⁰, so characteristic for camp nor feminist or gay rebellions. The Polish reality was shaped by the domination of the harsh "heteronormative patriarchal system"¹¹, which did not accept neither homoerotic nor female artworks.¹² Anything extravagant, which is

considered as a hallmark of camp, could be perceived as an expression of individuality forbidden in the country based on collectivity. There was no second feminist wave in Poland and no changes in the social conditions, because women were under the pressure of keeping the nation together and staying in their own private place, which was far away from the public life.¹³ Not surprisingly feminism was perceived as a real threat to this precious little Polish family model. A similar situation appeared in the art world, where the strong position of a male, heterosexual artist was based on a romantic paradigm and “in this pathetic, ‘free’ modernist discourse, which survived for so long in Poland, *the subject* was a heterosexual artist–hero, who was living in a world inaccessible for a layman”¹⁴.

A different reality and the strong presence of a modernist paradigm influenced reception of new trends in art and for example the role of pop art started and ended with breaking the resistance towards the figurative painting, because the generation of 1960’s artists was more interested in presenting their moral concerns than an objective and disengaged reality.¹⁵ However, those individuals, who managed to break with this mainstream tendency, were female artists working as sculptresses during a time, when this profession was so far reserved for male artists.

One of the first artists that undertook a subversive camp action towards the dominating men’s art world was Alina Szapocznikow. By creating light, small and colourful assemblages *Desserts* (1970–1971) and *Lamps* (from 1966) she switched from a harsh and heavy materials to light polyester and focused on her own body as the most interesting subject and object for her art. Jerry Saltz from *New York Magazine* called her artworks “post–Pop appropriation, pre–Koonsian”¹⁶, having in mind the exhibition *Sculpture Undone 1955–1972* in 2012 in the Museum of Modern Art in New York.¹⁷ Pierre Restany argued that Szapocznikow treated the body which was “way ahead”¹⁸ and it was focusing on woman’s identity. Agata Jakubowska argued that Szapocznikow was “making a fun of herself” by dressing as a woman and placing herself in a man’s world.¹⁹ Her criticism towards the culture, in which she existed, was visible in the production of figurative artworks, to which she incorporated female motifs. There were leg cast, lips and bellies as well as breasts, frosted and presented on a platter like a dessert. In this grotesque and cannibalistic carnival of sculptures she consolidated biased male artist in his stereotypical opinions about women and then climbed over his shoulders to reach for the next project. Her last and unrealised sculpture – *My American Dream (Rolls–Royce II)* from 1971 – was a pink Rolls Royce

topped with a golden phallus with wings in a 2:1 scale and created in Portuguese marble. She called it an object for snobs, a “very expensive, completely useless, and a reflection of the god of supreme luxury”²⁰. In other words – a perfect joke at the expense of macho man.

To this subversive group of female artists belonged Maria Pinińska-Bereś, whose sculptures resembled a “stipulated place of pleasure and an erotic kitsch created by the middle-class culture”²¹. Anna Markowska argued that both artists (Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Alina Szapocznikow) concentrated on dangerous iconography expelled from the traditional culture,²² while Andrzej Kostołowski added that by using the pink colour she was expressing her sarcasm and unaccepted treatment of women.²³ Her assemblage *Czy kobieta jest człowiekiem?* (*Is a Woman a Human being?*, 1973) was a bitter reminder that a carnality, associated with a woman, foreclosing her from being a real human – hence the information “use by date”, which she placed on the sculpture. The artist deliberately chose secondary subjects and materials (for example *papier-mâché* or textiles) and desperately tried to disconnect herself from her artist-husband and from the whole male dominated art world. This struggle and loneliness illustrated “quilt duvets [which] suppressed her scream and were like a padded walls in an asylum for mad people”²⁴. From the camp perspective however, the most important is the visible dominance of the pink colour associated with an ideal female beauty, youth and eroticism as well as with a bad taste, kitsch and everything which is not serious but is naïve, “girlish” and non-artistic. The pink colour is also very subversive and by using it she created rather a sweet and free from the pathos atmosphere of cheeky criticism. She was brave enough to make a pink colour a hallmark of her art and to tease the establishment so successfully that she was followed by the next generation of camp artists.

One of them was Marta Napiórkowska-Łosin, who in a series of photographs *Princess Bubu* (2005–2007; Figure 1), transformed herself into kind of Barbie doll by overexposing her own characteristic face features. She parodied not only the image of an ideal woman, but also her stereotypically imagined environment dominated by various magazines, cosmetics and beauty accessories. The outcome of the artist's activity was a product of the contemporary pop culture with a name more suitable for a pet dog than a woman. In a male dominated world *Bubu* is not a partner for a conversation, but a puppet. Through her own, theatrical gorilla fight, Marta Napiórkowska-Łosin followed the route of May West, who was a master of disguise

when it came to playing a woman and one of the first female to use camp excess, eroticism, humour and a kitsch aesthetic to expose a much more serious problems.

The pink colour was soon appropriated by male artists, who followed the alternative path created by the first feminist artists. In 2010 Maurycy Gomulicki placed in Poznan's Square Market a three meter tall *Obelisk*, which was a counterpoint for the nearby whipping post – a nasty instrument of torture associated with disgrace and debasement. The artist therefore created its optimistic alter ego with the help of the pink colour, which became a hallmark of his joyful and ostentatious culture of pleasure. “Pink erection”, placed in a public space, thus became a subversive dialogue and a male's masquerade expressed via art. In the Polish context the artwork gained an additional meaning as a symbol of a subversive opposition towards overwhelming martyrdom in the society²⁵. Placed at the heart of the city it teased and seduced by forcing passers-by to reflect not only upon the place of a woman in society and culture, but also upon the role of men. Gomulicki therefore changed the symbolic, phallic meaning of his art object into a manifestation of gender equality and a parody of his own “species”.

The artist is very consistent in creating his hedonistic vision of the world



Figure 1: Marta Napiorkowska-Losin, *Princess Bubu*, 2005-2007. Image: courtesy of the artist.

hence his next artwork created in 2012 was placed in the sea resort Sopot. *Relaks i luksus* (*Relax and Luxus*) resembled a quintessence of a female beauty – two enormous breasts rolling in the water like two, giant buoys. The artist's intention was to expose the erotic atmosphere of the city and its pier, which was used by women as a catwalk and where marketing activity of go-go bars was very visible. It could be said that up to some point this parodist action resembled the attitude of Alina Szapocznikow, who was also overexposing the female body, but could also be read as a pink homage paid by a male artist to the female world of Maria Pinińska-Bereś.

The rainbow tone

The first artist, who broke the silence and presented an optimistic and exhibitionist version of a so far hidden gay world, was the English artist David Hockney. A Polish version of this world, although much more decadent, was painted in the hyperrealist style by Łukasz Korolkiewicz, a master of the male portrait in contemporary Polish art.²⁶ Ewa Kuryluk, however, argued that all that he created was a comical mystification filled with posing friends pretending to be women.²⁷ Paweł Leszkowicz called his art works a picture of the moral bohemian world, through which he created his own, private space in the socialist country.²⁸

Just like David Hockney left England for California in 1964, Wojciech Ćwiertniewicz left Kraków in 1984 and travelled to the Portuguese island of Madeira, where he painted a series of night portraits with Carlos (Figure 2 and 3). That picturesque, nocturnal art trip was a reflection of a reality, in which a young Polish artist wonder around empty city streets, filled with nostalgia and melancholy. Not surprisingly the world, which he created, was a reversal of the happy-sunny experience of Hockney, but still filled with a desire and an atmosphere of intimate love. Paweł Leszkowicz argued that only homosexuality could free male nudity, because “just as in the history of art female nudes represented desires, fantasies and frustrations of heterosexual artists, erotic male nudes are an expression of homosexual desires, obsessions and experience”²⁹. According to him Wojciech Ćwiertniewicz was “the first artist in the whole history of Polish painting, who really sees, feels and shows the male body”³⁰, especially that his nudes were painted during the time when it was usually deformed or simply did not exist. The picture therefore, in which a man is looking with a desire at another man, was a form of a revolt and a sign of liberation from the heterosexual world. Contrary to the consumptionist culture the

socialist one was constricting the pleasure, because “an excess of pleasure [...] could be associated with a turn towards the Western culture. The body, which welcomes pleasure, can easily cross the moral norms set up in the socialist country”³¹.

It is important to stress that there was no such turning point in Polish society like the gay uprising in Stonewall Inn in New York in 1969, although Paweł Leszkowicz argued that its Polish version took place in 2003, during the artistic action *Let Them See Us*.³² The action aimed at presenting homosexual couples as normal human beings living in society, thus the artist Karolina Breguła photographed thirty couples holding their hands and then exhibited these photographs in in the city space. This action faced aggressive responses and – unlike the New York rebellion – was unsuccessful. Yet just a couple of years later things seem to be changing, perhaps because the gay art gained a new, humorous face.

In 2006 a young photographer Oiko Petersen created a series of photographs *Gays. From Poland with Love*,³³ which Paweł Leszkowicz called “the most positive and erotic postcards from the contemporary Poland”³⁴. The alternative Poland was presented there as a kitsch, fairy tale-like land, where lived a new “species” of Polish man. Similarly to Marta Napiórkowska-Łosin, who created an image of a woman based on a stereotypical jokes, Oiko Petersen proposed the same false image of a homosexual, although he went even further by presenting him with a “self-awareness that he is an object of desire [...]”. Petersen photographed a male’s narcissism, beauty and an aura of sexuality³⁵. Agnieszka Gniotek called



Figure 2: Wojciech Cwierniewicz, *Hidden Things*, 1985, 148 x 148 cm, acrylic on canvas. Image: courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3: Wojciech Cwierniewicz, *Such*, 1986, 100 x 162 cm, acrylic on canvas. Image: courtesy of the artist.

his project “a real document of the horrific fears”³⁶ of the society construed by prejudices and phobias, but despite this – or maybe because of this – the project was an example of a successful, subversive camp action, which created various bridges between heterosexuals and homosexuals, old and young, female and male and so on. Petersen gave men the freedom to expressing themselves as they wish, thus breaking with a stereotypical image of a macho man.³⁷

The artwork, which is symbolically connecting the present and the past with a whole set of rainbow colours is *Tęcza* (Rainbow), created by Julita Wójcik in 2011 in Warsaw.³⁸ Although she did not have an intention of making a gay art, but rather focused on pleasant emotions invoked by the appearance of a rainbow in the sky,³⁹ the artwork soon became connected with the LGBT and later on destroyed several times. It is therefore not only a symbol of love, but also a probe for checking the level of tolerance within the society and a kind of a fragile symbol of the new, democratic Poland.

Overcoming the black

The influences of the Catholic Church over the Polish society cannot be overestimated and when the regime fell and the opposition gained power, the Church wanted its own shares. It soon started to interfere not only with the politics of the country, but also with the private life of its citizens. The present Church and the pro-Catholic parties dominant position is therefore a bitter reflection upon a history, which repeats itself over and over again. During the socialist times, however, artists were not concerned about the Church’s oppressive activity but were rather inspired by its baroque aestheticism and a theatrical environment. That was precisely the domain of Władysław Hasior, who was also incorporating everyday leftovers into his artworks, which gained him the name of the first pop art artist in Eastern Europe, or – as it is sometimes said – the first one in the world⁴⁰. But while the American pop art was basing on the big cities agglomerations and on a consumerist civilization, its Polish version focused on leftovers found in small towns, villages and markets thus creating metaphors and symbols illustrating folk and martyrdom awareness.⁴¹

Hasior tried to find his own language of expression as well as to break off with the masochism of art by creating a more optimistic picture framed in gold.⁴² The best examples of such approach were banners created from the middle of 1960’s to the beginning of 1990’s, which were filled with “gold and silver as colours

of elevation”⁴³, exaggerated with a collection of fringes, haberdashery, bulbs, toys, chains, rosaries, foil and various leftovers available on the nearest rubbish place. By incorporating kitsch objects into sacral banners he was degrading its pathos but at the same time adding to them a new, ironical meanings. Just like a dandy, as described by Susan Sontag in her *Notes on Camp*, Hasiór was fascinated by the vulgar tackiness, cheap kitsch and artificiality, subverting not only the seriousness of the art, but also of the Church itself. In this way he created his own, blasphemous version of art.

After 1989 a new democratic Poland faced such “problem” like equal right for every citizen regardless gender and sexual orientation, to which the Catholic Church decisively opposed. Artists therefore became to use gay icons in order to subversively undermine the oppressive Catholic domination. One of them was saint Sebastian, who lived in the II century and was a Roman soldier of Christian faith, which made the Roman Emperor Diocletian so angry that he ordered his execution with arrows. Saint Sebastian thus died because he was pretending to be someone else while hiding his true identity. The reminiscence of his life to the situation of gays, who are forced to live “in the closet” with a double identity gained him the title of the gay icon. Because the saint is usually portrayed half naked and as a very handsome young man, this ambiguity was exposed by Bitch von Kicz (Joanna Wilińska) in her photography created in 2009. The photographer, instead of tidying the saint to the tree as the previous artists did, simply made him handcuffed, so he appears like a participant of some perverse sex game. As her photography appeared on the cover of the *Stajd* magazine, she metaphorically gave the social visibility to all those who were still in the closet. Saint Sebastian personifies a “gender without genitals”⁴⁴ in the same way that camp blurs the borders between a man and a woman. By creating a Catholic saint, who at the same time is holding the status of a gay icon, Joanna Wilińska is bantering with the Church institution understood as a place created by men and for men and giving to both – camp and the Saint – the right to exist, because “camp, like saint Sebastian, belongs to the reality of pleasure”⁴⁵.

Conclusion

Although the political system has changed in Poland there are still many unresolved issues within the society. Together with the rising of dominant position of the Catholic Church a new, previously unknown problems have appeared, making camp once more the aesthetic strategy of subversion. Camp witnessed

the first female masquerades and an exaggerated identification through which female artists contested the male dominated art world. By incorporating casts of their own bodies into art, the body thus became an important subject and an object of art, because “in the patriarchal culture exists a strong identification between a female and a body contrary to an intellect connected with man”⁴⁶.

The patriarchal culture is slowly (although too slowly) changing and female artists started to receive support from male artists, who pursued their own approach to overcoming prejudice, oppressive norms, damaging influences of stereotypes as well as social and cultural obligations. For the first time a subversive camp art appeared in the public space and thus became visible, while artists focused on creating a positive image of excluded groups and individuals, who simply were a “product” of heteronormative phobias.

The goal of camp strategy in Poland is therefore to place all things *queer* in the centre of attention and encourage all citizens, despite their sexual orientation, race or religious beliefs, to take part in a democratic and constructive discussion. This could be precisely the reason for why camp will not disappear, but will only change its own assumptions. Maybe that is why Philip Core highlighted that “camp is always in the future; that is why the present needs it so badly”⁴⁷.

Notes:

¹ In the Polish People’s Republic, like in the most of the Eastern European countries, the term “communism” is problematic and the system should be rather called “real socialism”. Poland was ruled by the corrupted state bureaucracy, which belonged to the Party, but it did not follow the communist ideals (P. Leszkowicz, *Nagi mężczyzna. Akt męski w sztuce polskiej po 1945 roku*, Poznań 2012, 27).

² P. Piotrowski, *Awangarda w cieniu Jąty. Sztuka w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1945-1989*, Poznań 2005.

³ Polish translation of *Notes on Camp* was published in 1979 in the journal *Literature of the World* (*Literatura na Świecie*). The 1970s were a time of a better relationship between East and West thanks to the politics of Edward Gierk, who also created an illusion of a consumptive culture within the Polish society: Ł. Ronduda, *Sztuka polska lat 70. Awangarda*, Warszawa 2009, 324.

⁴ L. Christian, “The Sign’s Send-up: Camp and the Performing Subject of Semiosis”, *Semiotica*, 137, 2001, 118.

⁵ S. Sontag, “Notes on Camp”, *Against Interpretation*, London 2001, 291.

⁶ C. Flinn, “The Deaths of Camp”, *Camp. Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject. A Reader*, ed. Fabio Cleto, Edinburgh 1999, 433–457.

⁷ P. Robertson, *Guilty Pleasures. Feminist Camp from Mae West to Madonna*, London 1996, 17.

⁸ Robertson 1996, 9.

⁹ P. Czaplński, “Kamp – gry antropologiczne”, *Teksty Drugie*, 5, 2012, 22–23.

¹⁰ Sontag 2001, 289.

¹¹ Leszkowicz 2012, 24.

¹² Leszkowicz 2012, 23–24.

¹³ E. Zierkiewicz, I. Kowalczyk, “Oswajanie feminizmu? Feminizm i feministki w prasie kobiecej”, *Kobiety, feminizm i media*, eds. E. Zierkiewicz, I. Kowalczyk, Poznań 2005, 65.

- ¹⁴ A. Markowska, *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u*, Katowice 2003, 15.
- ¹⁵ A. Wojciechowski, *Młode malarstwo polskie 1944–1974*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1983, 18, 104.
- ¹⁶ J. Saltz, “Five Shows Jerry Saltz Really Wants to See”, *New York Magazine*, Fall Preview, 19.08.2012, URL: <http://nymag.com/guides/fallpreview/2012/art-critics-picks-2012-8/index1.html> (accessed: 28.10.2014).
- ¹⁷ In 2009 in the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw Joanna Mytkowska and Agata Jakubowska presented her artworks in the context of the Western female artists. When placed next to works of Louise Bourgeois Agnieszka Sabor concluded that both artists were very aware of woman’s eroticism and this knowledge allowed them to express themselves in a form of a joke and at the same time to mock the male dominated world (A. Sabor, “Siła kobiecości”, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 7.06.2009, 39).
- ¹⁸ P. Restany, “Alchemik sztuki”. Interview conducted by Ewa I. Nowak, *Arteon*, 4, 2003, 25.
- ¹⁹ A. Jakubowska, *Portret wielokrotny dziecka Aliny Szapocznikow*, Poznań 2008, 159–160.
- ²⁰ A. Szapocznikow, “My American Dream” (project’s description from 1971), *Alina Szapocznikow: Sculpture Undone 1955–1972*, eds. E. Filipovic, J. Mytkowska New York 2011, 58.
- ²¹ A. Rottenberg, *Sztuka w Polsce 1945–2005*, Warszawa 2007, 214.
- ²² A. Markowska, *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u*. Katowice 2003, 157.
- ²³ A. Kostołowski, “Ażyl Marii”, *Magazyn Sztuki SzukPuk*, [no date], URL: <http://www.szukpuk.art.pl/documents/764.html> (accessed: 01.10.2014).
- ²⁴ K. Czerni, “Skrawki życia – różowe sny Marii Pinińskiej-Bereś”, *Rezerwat sztuki. Tropami artystów polskich XX wieku*, Kraków 2000, 176.
- ²⁵ M. Gomulicki, “Raj to przecież ogród. Interview conducted by Aleksandra Łukaszewicz–Alcaraz”, *Magazyn Sztuki*, 4, 2013, 18.
- ²⁶ Leszkowicz 2012, 84.
- ²⁷ E. Kuryluk, *Hiperrealizm – nowy realizm*, Warszawa 1979, 178.
- ²⁸ Leszkowicz 2012, 310.
- ²⁹ P. Leszkowicz, *Ars Homo Erotica*, exhibition catalogue, Warszawa 2010, 72–73.
- ³⁰ Leszkowicz 2010, 333.
- ³¹ I. Kowalczyk, *Ciało i władza: polska sztuka krytyczna lat 90*, Warszawa 2002, 39–40.
- ³² P. Leszkowicz, “Sztuka a seksualna przebudowa polskiej przestrzeni publicznej. Igor Mitoraj i ‘Niech nas zobaczą’”, *Obieg*, 18.05.2005, URL: <http://www.obieg.pl/teksty/5771>, (accessed: 20.08.2014). Also available in his book *Nagi mężczyzna*, 362–376.
- ³³ Original title in English.
- ³⁴ P. Leszkowicz, “Młodzieńcy o wzorowych obyczajach. Erotyka i polityka sztuki gejowskiej w Polsce”, *Secesja*, 2, 2007, 80.
- ³⁵ Leszkowicz 2007, 80.
- ³⁶ A. Gniołek, “Oiko Petersen – Guys. From Poland with Love”, *Artinfo. Portal Rynku Sztuki*, 25.04.2008, URL: <http://www.artinfo.pl/?pid=events&sp=relation&id=8946&lng=1>, (accessed: 29.06.2014).
- ³⁷ Leszkowicz 2007, 82.
- ³⁸ The rainbow is 9 meters tall, 26 meters wide and consists of 16 thousand artificial flowers. It was constructed for the first time in 2010 and a year later placed in Brussels during the Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union. The artwork then came back to Warsaw, where it was burned down several times.
- ³⁹ J. Wójcik, “Co dręczy Panią Tęczę. Interview conducted by Piotr Szarzyński”, *Polityka*, 6, 2013, 71.
- ⁴⁰ A. Micińska, *Władysław Hasior*, Warszawa 1983, 45; B. Kowalska, *Polska awangarda malarska 1945–1980. Szanse i mity*, Warszawa 1988, 123, 152; R. Dąbrowiecki, *Upadły anioł. Rzecz o Władysławie Hasiorze*, Katowice 2004, 97.
- ⁴¹ W. Włodarczyk, *Sztuka polska 1918–2000*, Warszawa 2000, 124.
- ⁴² W. Hasior, “Misterium współczesne”. Interview conducted by Wiesław Darkiewicz, *Tygodnik Kulturalny*, 30, 1977, 3.
- ⁴³ H. Kirschner, *Hasior. Opowieść na dwa głosy*, Warszawa 2005, 122.
- ⁴⁴ P. Core, *Camp: The Lie that Tells the Truth*, London 1984, 7.
- ⁴⁵ T. Kaliściak, “Święty kamp. Psychoanalityczne studium świętego Sebastiana”, *Campania. Zjawisko campu we współczesnej kulturze*, ed. P. Oczko, Warszawa 2008, 140.
- ⁴⁶ Leszkowicz 2012, 82.
- ⁴⁷ Core 1984, 15.

Ania K. England
Nezavisni istraživač

U SENCI PETOKRAKE: STRATEGIJA KEMPA U POLJSKOJ UMETNOSTI POSLE 1945. GODINE

Sažetak:

Fenomen kempa, koji je po prvi put opisala Suzan Sontag 1964. godine, retko je prisutan u analizama umetnosti socijalističke Poljske zbog nedostatka adekvatnog jezika, što ne znači da nije bio prisutan. Iako se kemp i širem smislu javlja tek nakon 2000. godine, ovaj tekst teži da demonstrira da je on zapravo u kontinuitetu prisutan u strategijama pre i nakon 1989. godine, ciljajući na opresivne norme i stereoripe koji nisu nestali ni sa padom socijalizma.

Uprkos mnogim, neretko suprotstavljenim definicijama, kemp će ovde biti percipiran kao subverzivna strategija koja podriva opresivne norme – uključujući i heteronormativni red – koji deluje uz pomoć estetike kiča i smeha. Prisutan je u umetničkim radovima koji propituju dominantno prisustvo Rimokatoličke crkve. Početak ove subverzivne kemp akcije je počeo tokom kasnih 1960-ih, prateći probleme koje Poljska nije uspela da reši uprkos tome što je demokratski uređena zemlja već dvadeset i pet godina.

Ključne reči:

kemp, subverzija, socijalizam, Poljska, feminizam, homoseksualnost,
Rimokatolička crkva

PRIKAZI

REVIEWS

UDK BROJEVI: 75.071.1 Мотли А.
75:069.9(73)"2014"
ID BROJ: 212665868

Simona Čupić
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

„DOBA DŽEZA“ U SLIKARSTVU ARČIBALDA MOTLIJA

„I used to go down there almost every night. I got to studying the people there. I asked him, ‘Are there any Americans come in here?’ He said, ‘No Americans, they’re all people from Senegal, people from Martinique, people from Libya, people from North Africa and French people, but no Americans.’ I said, ‘That’s the thing I like about it.’ So I used to go there with my sketchbook, I’d sit there and order a beer or wine and make sketches of various people in the place. I finally composed a final sketch in my studio for the painting that I have. I went to work on it and it turned out very successfully. The idea is that there are no Americans in that painting black or white. They are all either French, some of the dark ones are Senegalese from Senegal, some of the lighter ones come from Martinique or North Africa. But there are no white Americans. And they think that the black people there are Americans, but they’re.“¹

Ovim rečima je 1979. godine Arčibald Motli opisao pariske prilike u kojima nastaje slika *Bluz* (1929), koja „otvara“ umetnikovu retrospektivnu izložbu u LACMA (*Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, oktobar 2014 — februar 2015). Atmosfera koja opravdava naslov izložbe je tu: gužva noćnog kluba, parovi na plesnom podijumu, brikolaž rasa i nacija, vino, cigarete, niske bisera, ar deko šesirići, haljine i potpetice, tromboni i klarineti. Odmah do nje posetilac može da pročita da je Motli rođen u Nju Orleansu ali da je mahom stvarao u čikaškom kvartu „South Side“, da je umetnički ponikao iz klime

Rad je nastao kao rezultat istraživanja na projektu Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije br. 177013 (*Srpska umetnost 20. veka: nacionalno i Evropa*)



Bluz (Blues), 1929, Kolekcija Mara Motley, MD, i Valerie Gerrard Browne. Ljubaznošću Chicago History Museum, Chicago, Illinois © Valerie Gerrard Browne

„Harlemske renesanse“, da se smatra vizuelnim hroničarem gradske, afro-američke zajednice, da je kao dobitnik prestižne Gugenhajmove stipendije boravio u Parizu, te da su za njegovo slikarstvo karakteristične opore, jake, fluorescentne boje. Tekst prati portretska fotografija sa suprugom Edit Granco Motli, snimljena u Parizu 1929. godine. Ali na šta nas zapravo upućuje ta jedna slika, jedna fotografija i nešto malo prigodnog teksta?

Ficdžeraldska odrednica iz naslova — „doba džeza“ — nedvosmisleno aludira na Ameriku dvadesetih godine prošlog veka, epohu koja je vremenom postala sinonim motlijevskih tema (bez obzira na činjenicu da je dugovečnost usloвила njegovo bavljenje slikarstvom tokom narednih 60 godina) i koja se u američkoj (kulturnoj i muzičkoj) istoriji prepoznaje ponajviše kao period kada su elementi „crne“ i „bele“ muzike započeli bogatu i kako će se ispostaviti neraskidivu fuziju. Istovremeno urbani razvoj afro-američke muzičke scene, pre svega u Njujorku i Čikagu, vodi stvaranju



Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art © Fotografija: Dimitrije Pero

prvih javnih prostora u kojima dolazi do istinske međurasne integracije. Fotografija Motlijevih — crnca i belkinje — podseća nas, pak, da ovo pitanje nije spadalo samo u domen javnih prostora. Niz segregacijskih zakona u SAD-u, pre svega zakonska zabrana međurasnih seksualnih odnosa i sklapanja brakova dodatno usložnjava priču: u trenutku kada se dešava scena u koju gledamo zakon 30 saveznih država i dalje brani ovakav brak.² Fotografija je, inače, nastala u Parizu, baš kao i slika *Bluz* — premda se i jedan i drugi prizor bez jasne atribucije ne mogu nedvosmisleno vezati za izvan američki prostor. Naprotiv, raznolika grupa ljudi koja se zabavlja u klubu skoro da upućuje na američku noćnu scenu „burnih dvadesetih“. Uostalom kada govori o nastanku slike i sam Motli se osvrće na njen „konfuzni“ identitet. Da posetilac ispravno veže prizor za francusku prestonicu omogućava originalni potpis ispod fotografije: „Pariz -1929-“, koji fotografiju ali i iste godine nastalu sliku, smešta u adekvatan (geografsko-referentni) okvir. Značaj međuratnog Pariz je dvostruk. Grad je centar razvoja širokog spektra različitosti moderne umetnosti i njenog internacionalizma, zbog brojnosti američke umetničke kolonije neretko se čuje da



Crni pojas (Black Belt), 1934, Kolekcija Hampton University Museum, Hampton, Virginia
© Valerie Gerrard Browne

je „kulturna prestonica Amerike“; ali Pariz je i centar „negrofilije“. Kada Džejms Kliford naziva crno telo u Parizu dvadesetih godina prošlog veka „ideološkim artefaktom“ jasno je da ga posmatra kao kulturni proizvod, odnosno da govori o fenomenu koji afričku kulturu posmatra, definiše i vrednuje kroz prepoznavanje njene travestije u okvirima mogućnosti, interesovanja i istorijskog nasleđa francuske (kolonijalne) kulture. Ipak, kada se govori o nesumnjivom (is)korišćenju crnog Drugog u evropskoj međuratnoj — „negrofilskoj“ — kulturi, ne treba prevideti njegovu evidentnu asimilaciju sa znakovima modernosti, odnosno tretman „crne“ kulture kao dela modernističkog iskustva uobličenog brikolažom evropske, afričke i afro-američke kulture, te afirmaciju „crne“ kulture izvan kategorije etnografskog. Situacija u SAD je naravno, znatno složenija. Pre svega po činjenici da afričko poreklo u Americi nije nekakvo blagonaklno i radoznalno pojmljeno „egzotično drugo“ već vrlo problematično i bolno društveno-političko pitanje. Ova razlika artikulisana u svim socijalnim formama, uočljiva je, svakako, i u vizuelnoj kulturi, kao jednom od

načina na koji je je afro-američka zajednica društveno vidljiva.

Zanimljivo je da uprkos kosmopolitskoj atmosferi Pariza, za Motlija on, po svojoj prilici, nije hemingvejski „pokretni praznik“. Šestomesečni produžetak stipendije koji mu fondacija Gugenhajm nudi, umetnik odbija uz objašnjenje: „I told them I thought a year was enough. I dont know, I was always a homebody anyway. I wanted to be home. I can't find any place like Chicago. You know I love this place... I loved Chicago and I love America.“³ Kako ta ljubav izgleda? Kako izgleda Amerika na Motlijevim slikama? Sažet presek stožernih motiva njegovog slikarstva srećemo već na samom početku izložbe. Privatne i javne prostore — odnosno 1) portrete, uglavnom jasno enetrijski određene i oblikovane nizom detalja koji sugerišu status, interesovanja, često poreklo i mogućnosti portretisanog (*Portret moje majke* (1919), *Mulatkinja sa figurinom i holandskim predelom* (oko 1920), *Oktorontkinja*⁴ (1925), *Portret kulturne dame* (1948)) i 2) prostore javnog okupljanja, uglavnom zabave, u klubovima i na ulici (*Kokteli* (oko 1926), *Spletkaroši* (1933), *Crni pojas* (1934), *Subota uveče* (1935), *Ulična scena iz Čikaga* (1936), *Karneval* (1937)). Ali sve te teme čine zapravo jedan kontinuirani prikaz afro-američkog *gradskog* života — života koji se ne razlikuje znatnije od onog koji vodi ostatak (bele) Amerike dok ih, istovremeno, u potpunosti odvaja od turobnih ruralnih prizora. Kako nas potseća Emi Moni, „the portrait can serve as a means of socialization providing a transition between the interior and exterior, thus bridging the gap between ‘us’ and ‘them’.“⁵ Motlijeva slika američke crne zajednice nije ništa manje udaljena od pariske negrofilije i fascinacije afričkom „egzotičnošću“, koliko od uobičajene predstave Afro-amerikanaca u *mainstream* američkoj umetnosti i posebno popularnoj kulturi, filmu i fikciji. Urbana, neretko dobrostojeća građanska klasa, svedoči o „novom crncu“ koji radi, živi, provodi se, voli i razmišlja u dometima i okvirima novih mogućnosti. Ta slika, odnosno ta nova, narastajuća snaga, nudila je alternativu arhetipskim (južnjačkim) predstavama Afro-amerikanaca kao „mammy“ i čiča Tome. Drugim rečima, „south“ prikaz zamenio je „South side“ prikaz.

Uprkos težini vremena u kome je živeo i stvarao Arčibald Motli nije bio sklon ogoljenoj kritici i radikalnom aktivizmu, baš kao ni idealizaciji afro-američke zajednice. Neki elementi njegove biografije često su prepoznati kao razlozi *umerenog* aktivizma i/ili nedovoljne gorčine: nemačko poreklo supruge, život bez trzavica u belom predgrađu, kvalitetno školovanje. Nazivan je često „autsajderom sa insajderskim privilegijama“.⁶ Ipak, čini se da je njegovom stavu ponajviše doprinela jedna sveukupna blagost koju je poneo iz porodice. Govoreći o najtežim nepravdama

kroz koje prolaze njegovi pretci, on smireno ponavlja: „The maternal grandmother on my mother’s side she was in slavery, I think, in Tennessee and also in Louisiana. She talked to me so much about slavery and told me so many wonderful stories about it. One of them was that she had a very good master and mistress.“ Kasnije slikajući baku, naslikao je i „njenu gospodaricu“. Na portreu *Krpljenje čarapa* (1924), predstavljena je starica koja sedi okupirana poslom. Pored nje je sto sa knjigama, lampom, šivaćim priborom i ovalom punim voća. Na zidu iznad vidimo Raspeće i portret mlade (bele) devojke: „[t]he woman in that painting was her young mistress. They gave her the picture when she was freed. And she took care of that, oh, like a very valuable diamond of something. She had it in the house there in a closet. So when I started that painting I told her, ‘I’m going to put it in this painting.’ She said, ‘Oh, how beautiful that will be.“⁷ Anegdota nam takođe pokazuje i kako je Motlijev portretski prizor, iako ostavlja utisak isečka realnosti, zapravo brižljivo konstruisan iako, ne i nužno tačan.

U slojevitosti i osobenost Motlijeve modernosti privatno i javno prepriču se sa duhom epohe. On teži modernoj slici, nudeći prizor modernog grada, mesta pokreta i promene ali ostaje suštinski nezainteresovan za elemente formalne modernosti. Prepoznatljiva „fluorescentna“ boja ne vodi u pravcu razgradnje slike i bavljenja pitanjima „čistog“ slikarstva već služi naraciji: utisku noćnog, neonskog osvetljenja, prostorima na koje ono upućuje, dok spektaklom šarenila najčešće boji siromaštvo i tugu. U brikolažu ličnih iskustava, Arčibald Motli nudi jednu sliku epohe koja je po svojoj suštini veoma intimna, pokazujući jasno da istoriju ispisuju sudbine pojedinca.

Napomene:

¹ Oral history interview with Archibald Motley, 1978 Jan. 23-1979 Mar. 1, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-archibald-motley-11466>.

² Zakonom regulisana zabrana međurasnih seksualnih odnosa i sklapanja brakova na teritoriji SAD počinje još od 18. veka. Prvi talas napuštanja ove regulative dešava se tokom druge polovine 19. veka, drugi tek nakon 1948. godine. Ova zakonska zabrana zadržaće se sve do 1967. godine u Alabami, Arkanzasu, Delaveru, Floridi, Džordžiji, Kentakiju, Lujzijani, Misisipiju, Misuriju, Severnoj i Južnoj Karolini, Oklahomi, Tenesiju, Teksasu, Virdžiniji i Zapadnoj Virdžiniji.

³ Oral history interview with Archibald Motley (kao u fusnoti 1).

⁴ „Oktoron“ (*the Octoroon*) je termin koji se koristio da označi osobu koja ima osminu crnačke krvi.

⁵ A. M. Mooney, „The Portraits of Archibald Motley and the visualization of black modern subjectivity“, *Archibald Motley. Jazz Age Modernist*, ed. R. J. Powell, Durham 2014, 24.

⁶ Videti detaljnije: D. L. Baldwin, „‘Midnight was like day’ strolling through Archibald Motley’s Bronzeville“, nav. delo, 49.

⁷ Oral history interview with Archibald Motley (kao u fusnoti 1).

UDK BROJEVI: 821.111(73).09-31 Чаплин Ч.(049.32)
791.633 Чаплин Ч.(049.32)
792(410)*18/19*(049.32)
ID BROJ: 212666380

Uroš Tomić
Univerzitet u Beogradu

SENTIMENTALNI ISTORIČAR VARIJETEA: ČARLI ČAPLIN KAO KNJIŽEVNIK

a) Datumi i činjenice

Kada je 27. januara 1973. godine Čarli Čaplin primio neočekivanog Oskara za najbolju muziku za film *Svetlosti pozornice* (*Limelight*, 1952), ovo remek-delo bilo je već uveliko punoletno. Karijera i značaj velikog komičara su u Americi do tada bili dovoljno deo filmske istorije da je godinu dana ranije od Američke akademije za film i umetnost primio i Oskara za životno delo, kao neku vrstu odavno zasluženog izvinjenja za to što je, iako najveća svetska zvezda krajem četrdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, usled političke nepodobnosti bio zabranjen i izbačen sa američkog tla. Tako je pomenuti film, svojevrsna kruna njegove karijere, i omaž muzičkom pozorištu Čaplinove mladosti po prvi put u Americi prikazan punih dvadeset godina nakon distribucije u Evropi.

Početak 2014. godine, kada se navršio puni vek od prve pojave Čaplinove Male skitnice na velikom platnu u filmu *Dečja trka automobilima na plaži Venecija u Kaliforniji* (*Kid Auto Races at Venice*, 1914), izdavačka kuća Čineta di Bolonja objavila je po prvi put Čaplinov kratki roman/novelu *Svet pozornice* (*Footlights*), zajedno sa analitičkim tekstom vrsnog proučavaoca Čaplinovog dela, Dejvida Robinsona. Krajem iste godine, u značajnom izdavačkom poduhvatu i rekordnom roku, beogradska izdavačka kuća Geopoetika objavljuje bogato opremljeni prevod ove važne knjige (Dejvid Robinson, *Čarls Čaplin: Svet pozornice uz Svet filma Svetlosti pozornice*, preveo Uroš Tomić, Geopoetika, Beograd 2014). Roman *Svet pozornice*, nastao u periodu od 1948. do 1951. godine, bio je pohranjen u Čaplinovom arhivu, kao važan dokument koji svedoči o složenom procesu nastanka jednog umetničkog dela. Iako ga je najjednostavnije posmatrati kao most ka stvaranju filma *Svetlosti pozornice*, ovaj roman nije samo predložak za pisanje scenarija, već književno delo samo po sebi, koje govori o preokupacijama jednog svestranog umetnika, njegovim umetničkim kvalitetima i manama.

Rođen 1889. godine u siromašnom delu Londona, Čarls Čaplin mlađi, čiji su roditelji Hana i Čarls Stariji bili vodviljski umetnici, na scenu je i sam stupio sa devet godina, i to kao član grupe Osam momaka iz Lankašira, u kojoj je sa ostalim dečacima pevao i plesao u klompama. Godine 1903. postao je glumac u popularnoj predstavi *Šerlok Holms* sa kojom je obišao čitavu Englesku. Komediju je otkrio nekoliko godina kasnije, zajedno sa polubratom Sidnijem, u trupi mendžera Vola Pinka, sa kojom je učestvovao u nekoliko burleski. Godine 1913. sasvim slučajno pred početak Prvog svetskog rata napustio je Englesku i trajno se preselio u SAD, gde će kao pionir filma i najveći svetski komedijaš ostati sve do septembra 1952. godine kada mu je, zbog (neosnovanih i na sudu nedokazanih) sumnji da je blizak komunističkoj partiji povučena američka viza i zabranjen povratak u zemlju. Poslednje godine života proveo je u Švajcarskoj, okružen porodicom – trideset šest godina mlađom suprugom Unom Čaplin, ćerkom dramatičara i nobelovca Judžina O'Nila, i njihovo osmoro dece – pišući autobiografske spise, ali lišen mogućnosti da radi ono što je najviše voleo: da snima filmove i zasmehava ljude.

b) *Svet pozornice: inspiracija i namera*

Po uzoru na neme filmove koje je nekada pravio, Čarli Čaplin je na početak filma *Svetlosti pozornice* dodao kratak uvodni natpis koji je „na elegantan način (sumirao) proces esencijalizacije koji je postigao:

Glamur svetlosti pozornice, iza kojih godine moraju da se skrivaju kada nastupa mladost.

Priča o balerini i klovn...

London; kasno popodne u leto 1914. godine¹

Ove tri jednostavne rečenice efektno sažimaju i Čaplinovu autorsku nameru prilikom pisanja novele koja je kasnije postala izvor za film.

Zahvaljujući obimnoj građi Čaplinovog arhiva, pismima, nacrtima, beleškama i predlošcima, nije teško utvrditi da je klica priče o umetniku koji se suočava sa laganim zalaskom karijere nastala kod Čaplina još u vreme njegovog „Zlatnog perioda“, tokom tridesetih godina dvadesetog veka kada je snimio filmove *Svetlosti velegrada* i *Moderna vremena*. Direktan povod mogao bi biti Čaplinov susret sa čuvenim baletanom Vaclavom Nižinskim, koji je na njega ostavio dubok utisak, i čija se senka proteže kako kroz roman *Svet pozornice* tako i kroz film koji je proizašao iz romana. Ipak, lik tužnog

klovna, vrsnog umetnika čija je zvezda prestala da sija, mogao se u Čaplinu razviti tek sa realnim prolaskom godina zbog kojih je i njegova sopstvena umetnička slava neminovno bleedela. S obzirom na to da je roman pisan sa jasnom namerom da čini osnovu za budući film, Čaplinu je bilo važno da osmisli lik koji bi on mogao da igra.

Konstruisanje likova i zapleta bilo je za Čaplina dugotrajan i naporan proces koji je, po svemu sudeći često bio uslovljen i ljudima sa kojima je u datom trenutku saradivao. Tako je kao naivnu devojkicu u ranoj verziji priče o klovnu i balerini video svoju tadašnju suprugu, glumicu Polet Godar, da bi je kasnije, po razvodu, izbacio iz priče i lik osmislio iz početka. Kako Dejvid Robinson navodi u uvodnom tekstu romana „Spis za koji se veruje da je najraniji pokušaj formiranja priče počinje direktno: ‘Bio jednom jedan predivni baletan koji je na zabavi upoznao prelepu devojkicu, a pošto je ona žarko želela da se pridruži baletu, on je obećao da je primi na audiciju’“⁶²

Ova Čaplinova rečenica dovoljna je da se na osnovu nje donese prvi sud o njemu kao književnom autoru. Iako je reč o sinopsisu za budući tekst romana/novele, očigledno je da se radi o piscu koji svet sagledava na sentimentalni način, i koji u svoj okvir priče od samog početka unosi bajkovite elemente žudnje za ostvarenjem želje, moćne figure koja tu žudnju može da zadovolji, ali i ideju o posledicama koju takvi dogovori uvek sa sobom nose. Iako su likovi prvobitno različito postavljeni – devojkica je ta koja svojom mladošću i nevinim i čistim osećanjima može donekle da iskupi ostarelog i često pijanog genija – u samom romanu *Svet pozornice*, suština zapleta ostaje nepromenjena: reč je o procesu pronalaženja onoga za čime svačije srce najviše žudi, ispunjenja date želje i neminovnog plaćanja cene takvog ispunjenja.

Radnju romana Čaplin je smestio u njemu dobro poznati London, pred početak Prvog svetskog rata, kada je britanska prestonica bila i prestonica varijetea, specifičnog muzičkog pozorišta koje je spajalo balet, muziku, pevanje i dramski izraz u jedinstvenu kombinaciju dobre zabave i emotivnog naboja. Za Čaplina su pozorišta Lester skvera, u srcu Londona, a naročito čuveni Empajer i Alhambra, bili i ostali simbol kreativne slobode, napornog rada u kome je uživao, discipline i zahvalnosti brojne publike. Stoga ne čudi njegova želja da ovim romanom oda počast jednom periodu britanske pozorišne istorije koji je skoro netragom nestao. Glavni likovi njegovog romana, mlada balerina Tereza i ostareli klov Kalvero, svaki iz svoje vizure, osvetljavaju s jedne strane teški život radničke klase a s druge ništa manje tešku egzistenciju malo bolje stojećih varijetetskih umetnika. Pomalo neobično za Čaplina kakvim ga većina konzumenata popularne kulture poznaje ili zamišlja, roman je, kao i film nastao od njega, često melanholičan, i

slika duboko problematizovani svet u kome skoro da nije više ostalo ništa od one lakoće postojanja, doduše uvek setne, ali podnošljive, koju nam je predočavao Mali skitnica.

c) *Svet pozornice: likovi i događaji*

Podnaslov romana, *Simfonija*, nenametljivo postavljen na početku teksta poput naslova poglavlja, jasna je indikacija Čaplinove namere: *Svet pozornice* je funkcionalan tekstovni odraz budućeg filma dok je film vizuelni prikaz muzike kao neodvojivog dela varijetea. Prednost i ovog predloška u odnosu na finalnu verziju filma je što nudi obilje detalja kojih u filmu nema – takav je slučaj sa Terezinim detinjstvom koje je provela raznoseći haljine koje je njena majka šila za dame lakog morala. Saznanje da i njena sestra Luiza prodaje ljubav kako bi porodici omogućila bolji život i platila Terezine časove plesa menja mladu Teri iz korena, obezbeđuje njenom liku puniju motivaciju u nastavku romana, kada Teri sledi svoje snove o baletskoj karijeri, i prihvata pomoć Kalvera, ostarelog klovna koji poput nje iznajmljuje sobu u kući plahovite gospođe Alsop. Između dvoje nesrećnika razvija se duboko poštovanje, i neka vrsta ljubavi, složene i značajne za razvoj događaja u romanu.

Terezina vernost Kalveru ne dovodi se u pitanje upravo zbog toga što je on u odsudnim trenucima bio uz nju. Čak i kada joj ljubav izjavljuje mladi i odskora uspešni kompozitor Nevil, Teri odoleva iskušenju. U njoj se mešaju osećanja nežnosti i odgovornosti; ona je, iako mlada, svesna da Kalveru znači isto koliko i on njoj, i da jedno drugom pružaju podstrek neophodan za uspešno ostvarivanje njihovih želja. Kalvero sanja da još jednom trijumfuje na sceni, da drugima, ali prvenstveno sebi, pokaže da talenat koji ima nije presušio zajedno sa slavom i novcem. Simbiotski odnos koji njih dvoje razvijaju neophodan je uslov da zajednički postignu uspeh. Ipak, jasno je da će Kalverov trijumf označiti i njegov kraj – van ovacija publike, posle Terine pažnje za njega ništa više ne postoji. Kalvero u činu svog poslednjeg uspeha takođe podnosi i vrhunsku žrtvu – umetnosti ali i ljubavi, jer svojim odlaskom sa scene omogućuje Terezi i Nevilu da ostvare svoju, mnogo logičniju, ljubav.

Umetnički kraj centralnog Londona poznat kao Soho u kome je smeštena većina radnje romana i sam prerasta u književni lik kome Čaplin posvećuje podjednaku pažnju – bilo da je reč o šetalištu kraj Temze, trgu Pikadili ili o mnogobrojnim pozorištima i kafanama obasjanim plinskom svetlošću. Ovo je London koga se Čaplin seća iz mladosti, London koji možda nikada nije ni postojao, ali će se uskoro naći ovekovečen na velikom platnu – i to u kombinaciji studijskih scena snimljenih u Kaliforniji i Njujorku, čime se još jednom udvaja distanca u odnosu na pravi predratni grad. Takvom Londonu pripada i

Klaudije, Bezruko čudo, „zdepast, ružan čovek od oko pedeset godina... rođen bez ruku, ćosav i sa retkom kosom mišaste boje“³. Još jedan lik koji nije dospao u finalnu verziju filma, Klaudije u romanu igra značajnu ulogu jer pomoću njegovog lika – nakaze visoke inteligencije, odanog prijatelja i dobrog čoveka – Čaplin slika specifičan odnos poštovanja između dvojice umetnika u dirljivoj sceni susreta sa Kalverom u baru Kvins Hed.

d) *Svet pozornice: „Kako je to tužno biti komičar..“*⁴

Čaplin je u romanu, kao što je pomenuto, bez premišljanja često sentimentalniji i setan, i stilski ne teži za umetničkom ispoliranošću koliko za postizanjem odgovarajućeg efekta kod publike. Vredi pomenuti još jednom da ovaj roman i nije namenjen čitaocima, već predstavlja kuriozitet u procesu nastajanja filma: prvi i jedini put, Čaplin je umesto sinopsisa ili nacрта za scenario odlučio da o svojim likovima ispriča celu priču, a da pritom veoma detaljno opiše i period u kome se radnja odvija, kao i sve ljude kojih se, sa manje ili više verodostojnosti, iz tog perioda seća.

Tako je liku klovna Kalvera, koga će u filmu sam tumačiti, posvetio i posebnu kratku priču bez naslova (u ovoj knjizi objavljenu uz jednostavnu oznaku „Kalverova priča“), u kojoj minuciozno iscrta motivacijsku mapu lika, njegovu predistoriju, čime Čaplin efektno pokazuje u kojoj meri je sam film *Svetlosti pozornice* krajnji, skoro telegrafski sveden rezultat prethodnog, dugog putovanja svakog od likova. Zbog toga objavljivanje ovakve knjige predstavlja značajan poduhvat ne samo zbog osvetljavanja složenog procesa nastanka jednog vrhunskog filma već i zbog pružanja uvida u daleko širi kontekst Čaplinovog umetničkog izraza i senzibiliteta.

Lik Kalvera tako u romanu postaje neka vrsta alter ega Čarlsa Čaplina (a možda još više, umetnika poznatog kao *Čarli Čaplin*), u čijoj osnovi leži koncept nužnog jedinstva tuge i radosti življenja, ozbiljnosti i komedijaštva, odnosno napornog, disciplinovanog rada i prividne lakoće nastupa pred publikom. To pokazuje i roman *Svet pozornice* – Čaplinov svet, svet jednog umetnika.

Napomene:

¹ Dejvid Robinson, *Čarls Čaplin: Svet pozornice uz Svet filma Svetlosti pozornice*, preveo Uroš Tomić, Geopoetika, Beograd 2014, 12.

² Robinson 2014, 23.

³ Robinson 2014, 49.

⁴ Robinson 2014, 57.

CIP – Каталогизacija u publikaciji
Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Beograd

7.038.6 "19/20"(497.11)

ZBORNIK Seminara za studije moderne umetnosti
Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu = The Journal
of Modern Art History Department Faculty of Philosophy University
of Belgrade / odgovorni urednik Lidija Merenik. - 2010,
br. 6- . - Beograd : Filozofski fakultet, 2010-
(Beograd : Službeni glasnik). - 23 cm

Godišnje. – Tekst na srp. i engl. jeziku.
ISSN 2217-3951 = Zbornik Seminara za studije moderne
umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu
COBISS.SR-ID 179507468