

# ZBORNIK

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## **IZMEĐU POLITIKE I KULTURE: INTEGRALNO JUGOSLOVENSTVO I LIKOVNA UMETNOST**

### *Sažetak:*

Ideologija integralnog jugoslovenstva bila je zasnovana na nizu složenih principa koji su negirali nacionalne karakteristike i individualne osobenosti Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Osnovni sadržaj integralnog jugoslovenstva bila je ideja o primodijalnom jedinstvu Jugoslovena, shvaćenih kao jedinstvena nacija. Ova ideologija, međutim, nije predstavljala apstraktnu doktrinu o nacionalnom jedinstvu već je podrazumevala niz konstitutivnih elemenata koji su bili zasnovani na sistemima kulturne reprezentacije. Likovna umetnost je u tom sistemu imala zapaženo mesto, pre svega u toku prvih nekoliko decenija 20. veka kada je ideologija integralnog jugoslovenstva dostigla svoj zenit. U obilju umetničkih poetika toga vremena posebno se izdvajaju dva skulptoralna ciklusa hrvatskog umetnika Ivana Meštrovića (1883-1962) – Vidovdanski ciklus i Ciklus Kraljevića Marka – kao ključna legitimacija političke doktrine o jedinstvenoj jugoslovenskoj naciji i nužnosti stvaranja zajedničke države Južnih Slovena.

*Ključne reči:* ideologija, integralno jugoslovenstvo, Jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe, nacionalni identitet, visoka kultura.

Kada je početkom 19. veka politička konstalacija na Balkanskom poluostrvu počela da se menja, južnoslovenske elite iz Habzburške monarhije započele su otvoreno da zagovaraju programe nacionalne emancipacije koji su istovremeno bili utemeljeni na revolucionarnim idealima progresa i na kulturi historicizma. Kao i u drugim evropskim sredinama koje su nakon Francuske buržoaske revolucije definitivno iskoračile iz tradicionalnog monarhističkog poretka zasnovanog na ideji transcendentne legitimacije vlasti, došlo je do simultanog razvoja „građanskog“ i „etničkog“ nacionalizma koji su u osnovi imali ideju o narodu kao centralnom suverenu. Talas nacionalizama — grčkog i rumunskog, kao i srpskog, hrvatskog i bugarskog — potaknut političkom prinudom stvaranja nezavisnih nacionalnih država na prostoru podeljenom između dve stare carvine — Austrijske i Osmanske — u kratkom je vremenu sasvim izmenio politički pejzaž Balkanskog poluostrva. Posledice su bile prekrajanje mape jugoistočne Evrope, kao završni talas globalne političke plime promena nakon Bečkog kongresa 1815. godine. Tokom narednih stotinu godina ovaj proces doveo je do konstituisanja formalno samostalnih ili delimično nezavisnih, ali politički i ekonomski zavisnih pokrajina i država, vezanih za evropske velike sile. Nakon „nacionalnih revolucija“ sa ishodištem u 1848. godini, Austro-ugarske nagodbe (1867) i Ugarsko-hrvatske nagodbe (1868), te Berlinskog kongresa 1878, novi politički entiteti — Srbija, Grčka, Crna Gora, Rumunija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Bugarska i Albanija, uz postojeće, ali redefinisane kraljevine Ugarsku i Hrvatsku, te potpuno defanzivnu Osmansku carevinu, trasirali su ideale zaokruženih nacionalnih država za naredno stoleće. Nova politička mapa reflektovala je nacionalne ideale koji su se legitimisali pozivanjem na istorijsko i prirodno pravo, ali je u isti mah oslikavala imperijalne ambicije svakog od novonastalih nacionalnih centara. Posledica toga bila je serija ratnih sukoba vođenih nacionalističkim ciljevima koja se konačno završila Mirovnim ugovorom u Versaju 1919. godine.<sup>1</sup>

Simultano sa razvojem ovih partikularnih etno-nacionalizama, među južnoslovenskim elitama došlo je do razvijanja ideologija jugoslovenstva koje su, u zavisnosti od istorijskog konteksta, predstavljale politički visoko operabilne ideološke sisteme.<sup>2</sup> Iza zamišljanja kulturnog jedinstva Južnih Slovena, vođenih romantičarskim idealima entuzijasta — počev od ilirskog pokreta iz dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 19. veka pa sve do istovremenih planova za uspostavljanje „Jugoslovenskog carstva“ u Beogradu i ustanovljavanja Jugoslovenske akademije u Zagrebu u sedmoj deceniji stoleća — neretko su stajali uski etnički interesi Srba, Hrvata, Slovenaca i Bugara. Međutim, između različitih koncepcija jugoslovenske ideje — od zamisli jezičkog, kulturnog, etničkog, pa do političkog jedinstva, oštro se profilisala jedna specifična ideja, predstavljena jednostavnom formulom o integralnom jedinstvu i istovetnosti Južnih Slovena.

Ideologija integralnog jugoslovenstva zasnivala se na negiranju isključujućih nacionalnih posebnosti, konfesionalne uslovljenosti i kulturno-istorijske determinisanosti Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, istovremeno insistirajući na ideji da su tako neželjene, a toliko uočljive kulturne razlike između njih arbitrarne, nametnute i nevažne, i da su se razvile zbog različitih političkih uslova



u kojima se u istoriji našlo to, nekada jedinstveno jugoslovensko pleme. To je značilo da se jugoslovenska nacija razumela kao totalizujući entitet sa nepropusnim granicama. One su se zasnivale na fikciji ne samo o jedinstvenoj autentično jugoslovenskoj kulturi, već i o jedinstvenom rasnom tipu, često označenom kao dinarski ili jugoslovenski.<sup>3</sup>

Tokom 19. i u prvoj polovini 20. veka diskurzivno konstruisanje ove zamisli podrazumevalo je složene mehanizme koji su operisali unutar različitih disciplinarnih poredaka znanja o integralnom jugoslovenstvu. Od ideje o „narodnom jedinstvu“, nastale na podlozi lingvističko-antropoloških teorija o istovetnosti južnoslovenske etničke i etno-psihološke grupe, preko historiografskih narativa i političke mitologije o praobrazima jugoslovenskog jedinstva u dalekoj prošlosti, pa sve do prinude prikazivanja jedinstvenog rasnog identiteta sa specifično jugoslovenskim somatskim osobinama, konstruisanje integralnog jugoslovenstva bilo je temeljno obeleženo prinudom kulturološkog determinizma.<sup>4</sup> Kao i u svakom procesu nacionalne identifikacije, identičnost se bazirala na sistemu razlika: jugoslovenska nacija, shvaćena kao integralna, trebalo je da se razlikuje po nizu kulturnih markera od ostalih etničkih skupina u geografskom i kulturnom okružju, a te su razlike bile po pravilu instrumentalni deo političkih diskursa. Status „Drugog“ u odnosu na Jugoslovene, međutim, nisu posedovale samo one okružjujuće zajednice koje su pretendovale na isti prostor, već i postojeće etničke skupine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Paradoksalno, one su istovremeno predstavljale središte i margine zamišljene jugoslovenske nacije, a njihova je pozicija varirala u zavisnosti od konteksta i interpretacije. U tom smislu, ideologija integralnog jugoslovenstva simultano se pozivala na sistem sličnosti i razlika — u jeziku, običajima, kulturi, karakteru, fenotipskim karakteristikama naroda.

Sinkopičan razvoj ovih ideja stabilizovan je početkom 20. stoleća — nakon smene vladajućih dinastija u Kraljevini Srbiji 1903. godine i novog kursa kulturne politike, te stvaranja i širenja uticaja Hrvastko-srpske koalicije u Hrvatskoj dve godine docnije; integralno jugoslovenstvo postalo je glavni zamajac u građenju kulture „troimenog jugoslovenskog naroda“, formalno uokvirenog nacionalnom državom 1918. godine. Uz različite hibridne formacije, integralno jugoslovenstvo oblikovalo je oficijelnu reprezentativnu politiku i kulturu novonsatane Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (Kraljevine Jugoslavije od 1929),<sup>5</sup> legitimišući krut centralistički poredak i unitarni sistem vladavine koji je obeležio kratkotrajnu, ali burnu istoriju prve moderne zajedničke države Južnih Slovena.<sup>6</sup> Upravo se od tih prvih godina novog stoleća može pratiti jasan trag kulturne prinude integralnog jugoslovenstva i postepeno, ali konačno formiranje njegove konstitutivne i reprezentativne paradigme zasnovane na fikciji o primordijalnom jedinstvu nacije. Najvidljiviji deo tog jasnog traga prepoznaje se kroz niz različitih umetničkih pojava nastalih tokom prvih decenija 20. veka. Ta izvorna, politički instrumentalizovana semiotizacija umetnosti kao nacionalne ili rasne — kao najvažnija instanca interpretacije, definitivno je odredila promenljiv status vidljivosti ovih pojava u okviru narativa nacionalnih historiografija, u kojima je integralno jugoslovenstvo prisutno — ukoliko se uopšte i pominje — tek kao kakav arheološki fragment.

Ironično, upravo je ideja fragmenta, poput nečeg sačuvanog kao ulomak, bila centralna za diskurs integralnog jugoslovenstva. U njegovom središtu, kao najznačajnija pojava koja je trajno i definitivno uslovlila ideologiju integralnog jugoslovenstva, nalazila se umetnost Ivana Meštrovića.

Kada je u januaru 1910. godine ovaj umetnik, čiji tranzitivni nacionalni identitet dobro oslikava složenost kulture jugoslovenstva — krećući se od hrvatskog i dalmatinskog ka srpskom i jugoslovenskom do hrvatskog — izložio svoje *Vidovdanske* ili *Kosovske fragmente* u Bečkoj Secesiji, taj događaj predstavljao je kulminaciju ne samo naglog i prodornog uspeha samog umetnika,



IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ,  
KOSOVKA DEVOJKA, 1908

već i zaokruženu demonstraciju ideologije integralnog jugoslovenstva.<sup>7</sup> Monumentalne skulpture *Vidovdanskih fragmenata*, nastalih u Meštrovićevom pariskom ateljeu 1908. godine i prvi put prezentovanih javnosti na „Prvoj dalmatinskoj umjetničkoj izložbi“ u Splitu iste godine,<sup>8</sup> interpretirane su kao doslovni i simbolički tragovi, ostaci i fragmenti drevnog jugoslovenskog naroda koji se, nakon vekova muke, robovanja i sna o budućem jedinstvu iznova budi da zauzme svoje mesto u areni evropskih nacija. Upravo su ovi *Fragmenti*, zamišljeni da stoje unutar arhitektonske celine *Vidovdanskog hrama* — koji je trebalo da se pobedonosno uzdiže na „oslobođenom Kosovu“ — predstavljali centralni narativ integralnog jugoslovenstva sa više sistemskih uloga u političkom diskursu. Nastali u rasponu od nekoliko godina između 1908. i 1911, činilo ih je više od osamdeset skulptura sa tematikom vezanom za, kako se to govorilo, narodni srpski i jugoslovenski ep: pre svega Kosovski boj, kao paradigmu svih „jugoslovenskih Kosova“, te ciklus srednjovekovnog mitsko-poetskog junaka Kraljevića Marka.<sup>9</sup> Ne samo tematski okvir, već i formalna konstitucija ovih sugestivnih skulptura koje su bile veoma disonantne u odnosu na standardnu akademsku skulpturu toga vremena, predstavljala je važnu instancu u građenju značenja Meštrovićevog narativa.

Naime, opšte mesto u tumačenju ne samo Meštrovićevih dela, već i radova onih umetnika koji su svesno negovali sličnu ikonografiju — kao što su Toma Rosandić, Tomislav Krizman (*Marko kraljević i vila*, 1910), Jozo Kljaković (*Boško Jugović*, 1911) ili Mirko Rački (ciklus slika *Kraljevića Marka*, 1910-1911) — predstavljalo je mišljenje da su ta dela zapravo nastala kao rezultat intrasemiotičke translacije narodne epske poezije u medijum plastike ili slikarstva. Nastale u kulturi opšte krize političkog liberalizma, u okruženju nabujale kulture nacionalizma, ove umetničke zamisli koncipirane su kao *Gesamtkunstwerk* — sasvim u skladu sa umetničkim poetikama svoga vremena. Meštrovićevi fragmenti i celina *Vidovdanskog hrama*, na kojima se u formalnom smislu prelamala aktuelna post secesijska stilizacija puna izmeštanja akademske sintakse i hipertrofije oblika, te svesno vezivanje za arhajske kulture Egipta, predklasične Grčke, gotike, Mesopotamije i Vizantije, predstavljali su opšte mesto srednjoevropskih nacionalnih zamišljanja zasnovanih na sistematskoj mobilizaciji vizuelne kulture.<sup>10</sup> Kao i *Vidovdanski hram*, te su imaginacije po pravilu bile koncipirane kao nacionalna svetišta oblikovana u vidu arhitektonsko-



MIRKO RAČKI,  
KRALJEVIĆ MARKO  
PROGLAŠAVA  
PODELU CARSTVA, 1910

skulptorskih celina — počev od „Mađarskog panteona“ koji je trebalo da stoji na brdu sv. Gelerta u Budimpešti (1903),<sup>11</sup> preko planova za „Hram Češkog panteona“ na groblju i brdu Višehrad u Pragu (1904),<sup>12</sup> sve do *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* (Spomenika bitke naroda) kod Lajpciga koji su između 1898. i 1913. godine podigli arhitekta Bruno Šmic i kipar Franc Mecner,<sup>13</sup> a koji se često navodio kao neposredna inspiracija za Meštrovićev *Vidovdanski hram*.<sup>14</sup> Baš kao i ova nacionalna svetišta, i Meštrovićev *Kosovski hram* predstavljao je simboličan sažetak nacije shvaćene kao zajednica posvećenih. Ta činjenica dobro ilustruje suštinski karakter svakog nacionalizma shvaćenog kao sekularna religija. Bio je to, po rečima samog umetnika, hram jugoslovenske „religije krajnjeg požrtvovanja“<sup>15</sup> koja je transcendirala konfesionalnu podeljenost Jugoslavena i svojim mitskim narativom evocirala zlatno doba nacije „kada smo svi bili neznabošci i imali našu staru slovensku krv“.<sup>16</sup> Oko Meštrovićevih arhitektoničnih skulptura *Vidovdanski ciklusa* — od Miloša Obilića (1908), *Srđe Zlopoglede* (1908) i *Banovića Strahinje* (1908), preko nekoliko golemih *Udovica* (1908-1909), te *Sjećanja* (1908), *Majke Jugovića* (1908) i *Kosovke djevojke* (1909), do *Karijatida* i *Sfinge* (1909), te *Borca* i *Udovice s djetetom* (1911) uspostavljen je specifičan interpretativan ideološki mehanizam sa upadljivom političkom motivacijom. Kosovska epopeja dobila je značenje nasilnog prekida istorijski nužne fuzije Južnih Slovena u jednu nacionalnu celinu, a njena poetska evokacija, koja se podudarala sa političkim i vojnim akcijama za „oslobođenje“ Stare i Južne Srbije, značila je ponovno uspostavljanje izgubljenog ideala. Takva mobilizaciona interpretacija bila je koncipirana kako bi usmeravala podobna značenja i funkcije ne samo Meštrovićeve umetnosti, već i njegovih brojnih podražavalaca čiji se broj svake godine sve više umnožavao, a sproveden je sistematski od strane političkih elita Kraljevine Srbije i potpomognut aktivnostima srpskih i hrvatskih intelektualaca sa prostora Dvojne monarhije.

Transponovanje mita o Kosovu sa srpskog na jugoslovensko pitanje bio je odlučujući momenat u konstruisanju mitologije integralnog jugoslovenstva. U srži interpretacije *Vidovdanski ciklusa* i *Ciklusa Kraljevića Marka*, kao i brojnih dela umetnika koji su saradivali i izlagali sa Meštrovićem unutar „Jugoslovenske umetničke kolonije“ koja je imala integralno jugoslovensko ustrojstvo (prva izložba 1905, druga 1907)<sup>17</sup> ili društva umetnika „Medulić“ (1908-1916),<sup>18</sup> stajala je ideja o nužnosti kulturne, nacionalne i biološke zajednice Jugoslavena. Svaki relevantan govor

o Meštrovićevoj umetnosti prvih decenija 20. veka insistirao je na tome da su njegova dela predstavljala jedno od najsnažnijih oruđa za stvaranje Jugoslavije:<sup>19</sup> od prvih simboličkih radova sa nacionalnom tematikom — kao što je to, na primer, reljef *Zidanje Skadra* (1906),<sup>20</sup> do beogradskog spomenika *Pobednik* (1913)<sup>21</sup> ili bronzanog štita koji je sam umetnik, kao član Jugoslovenskog odbora, predao prestolonasledniku Aleksandru Karađorđeviću na Krfu 1916. godine.<sup>22</sup> Činjenica da su mnogi srpski, hrvatski i slovenački umetnici, predvođeni Ivanom Meštrovićem, iskoračili iz nacionalnih, „federalnih“ podružnica jugoslovenske umetničke grupe „Lada“,<sup>23</sup> obezbeđivala je njihovim delima dodatnu auru nacionalnog. Između 1905. i 1919. godine ti su umetnici predstavljali simboličnu zajednicu integralnih Jugoslovena u kojoj se, na pragmatičkoj ravni, anticipirala željena politička celina integralne Jugoslavije. Unutar diskursa integralnog jugoslovenstva, centralnu ulogu imali su Meštrovićevi skulptorski ciklusi, kao svojevrsna kulturna legitimacija političkih ciljeva za stvaranja zajedničke države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Kada je na jesen 1913. godine, nakon teritorijalne ekspanzije u Balkanskim ratovima i zaoštravanja odnosa sa Austro-Ugarskom jugoslovenska politička agenda Srbije postala sve više transparentna, osnovan je „Odbor za organizaciju umetničkih poslova Srbije i jugoslovenstva“ kome su, uz prestolonaslednika Aleksandra kao počasnog pokrovitelja, predsedavali Ivan Meštrović, Josif Plečnik i Jovan Cvijić.<sup>24</sup> Uz misiju formalnog ustrojstva buduće oficijelne kulture, Odbor je propagirao ideologiju integralnog jugoslovenstva nudeći jedan totalni, zaokruženi koncept centralno ustrojene kulturne politike, kao i kodifikaciju *Vidovdansko ciklusa* kao esencije nacionalne jugoslovenske umetnosti. Prvi svetski rat odložio je realizaciju ideja Odbora, ali je činjenica da je simultano sa održavanjem Mirovne konferencije u Versaju, početkom 1919. godine, postavljena velika Jugoslovenska izložba u Petit Paleu dovoljno svedočanstvo značaja Meštrovićeve i meštrovićevske umetnosti u diskursima integralnog jugoslovenstva. Tada su jugoslovenski umetnici, predvođeni Meštrovićem i Rosandićem, kao svojevrsni „delegati na Kongresu mira“,<sup>25</sup> i „najsnažnije preteče nove jugoslovenske umetnosti“<sup>26</sup> rečitom „simbolikom jugoslovenske kulturne tradicije i umetničke savremenosti“<sup>27</sup> manifestovali one ideje koje su u isto to vreme zagovarali Ante Trumbić i Nikola Pašić kao političari, ili Aleksandar Belić i Jovan Cvijić kao naučnici — pregovarači za versajskim stolom na kome je nastala Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

Posve ironično, uz sve razlike u tematskim, konceptualnim i stilskim nazorima umetnika koji su na njoj izlagali, Pariska izložba predstavljala je poslednju veliku internacionalnu instancu u kulturološkoj legitimaciji politike jugoslovenstva. Bio je to kraj ciklusa brojnih izložbi dela Ivana Meštrovića i drugih jugoslovenskih umetnika koje su se, tokom burnih godina rata, održavale širom Evrope simultano sa aktivnostima srpske vlade u egzilu i Jugoslovenskog odbora. Od Meštrovićeve velike izložbe u Muzeju Viktorije i Alberta 1915. godine,<sup>28</sup> preko nekoliko izložbi Meštrovićevih i Rosandićevih dela u Engleskoj tokom 1916, izložbe Paška Vučetića u Londonu 1916, do Jugoslovenske izložbe u Londonu krajem 1917. godine na kojoj su izlagali Meštrović, Rosandić, Rački, Kljaković i drugi,<sup>29</sup> postepeno se, u domenu likovne umetnosti, utvrđivala složena argumentacija za nužnost stvaranja jugoslovenske države. Pri tome je ikonografija Kosovske epopeje, koja je dominirala u tim izloženim radovima, označavala — kako je to povodom proslave Vidovdana u Engleskoj 1915. godine izjavio slavni engleski arheolog Ser Artur Evans — „zajedničko nasleđe koje je sačuvalo tradiciju nacionalnog jedinstva“.<sup>30</sup>

Semiotička dimenzija Meštrovićevih *Fragmenata*, kao i brojnih umetnika okupljenih oko ideje kulturnog i nacionalnog jedinstva Jugoslovena, počivala je na doktrinarnim interpretacijama o naciji ukotvljenoj u mitsku povest. Zlatno doba Jugoslovena locirano je u prošlost mnogo dalju nego što je to sugerisala ikonografija ovih monumentalnih dela — pre svega *Kosovskog ciklusa*

Ivana Meštrovića ili *Ciklusa Kraljevića Marka* Mirka Račkog. O tome najbolje govori kolosalna skulptura *Kraljević Marko na Šarcu*, koju je Meštrović izradio u Zagrebu 1910. godine, u kratkom vremenskom intervalu između retrospektivne izložbe „Meštrović-Rački“<sup>31</sup> i izložbe grupe „Medulić“, najavljene politički angažovanim nazivom „Nejunačkom vremenu uprkos“.<sup>32</sup> Govoreći o toj skulpturi, smeštenoj ispod kupole Umjetničkog paviljona, Anton Gustav Matoš dobro je ukazao na metaistorijski karakter jugoslovenstva kao poetsom vizijom četrdeset umetnika koji su participirali na izložbi: „Njegov Marko je gol. Gol i bez oružja kojemu je simbolom [...] Oduzevši mu sve historijske atribute (oružje, odijelo), on je od historijskog junaka načinio izvanhistorijskog heroja“.<sup>33</sup> Stoga ne iznenađuje što je Meštrovićev *Marko* predstavljao sâmo jezgro dvostrukog vremena integralne jugoslovenske nacije — kao simbol drevnog jedinstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i sudbinski znak nužnosti njegove regeneracije u sadašnjosti. Upravo je ta ideološka poruka bila posebno istaknuta i monumentalizovana od strane srpskih i hrvatskih umetnika i kritičara i na Međunarodnoj izložbi u Rimu 1911. godine, kada je Italija proslavljala jubilej pedesetogodišnjice ujedinjenja. Tada je grupa hrvatskih umetnika, na čelu sa Ivanom Meštrovićem, odbila da izloži svoje radove u paviljonu Austrije ili Ugarske i prezentovala ih javnosti u paviljonu Kraljevine Srbije<sup>34</sup> uz poziv i obilatu finansijsku potporu srpske političke elite na čelu sa predsednikom Ministarskog saveta Nikolom Pašićem.<sup>35</sup> Na taj način se Srbija, u kontekstu Rimske izložbe i paralela italijanskog i južnoslovenskog ujedinjenja, predstavila kao svojevrzni Pijemont jugoslovenstva. Sama zgrada srpskog paviljona arhitekta Petra Bajalovića — čija je arhitektonska sintaksa nimalo slučajno korespondirala sa oblicima *Vidovdanskog hrama* — bila je savršeno pogodna opna za sadržaj izložbe, sa *Kraljevićem Markom na Šarcu* kao formalnom, sadržajnom i ideološkom žižom čitave celine.<sup>36</sup> Meštrovićeva umetnost, kao i dela brojnih drugih njegovih istomišljenika ili sledbenika koji su izlagali na ovoj smotri, prikazivali su jugoslovensku naciju, rasu i kulturu kao istovremeno drevnu i arhajsku, i vitalno mladu, spremnu za istorijsku misiju preporoda evropske civilizacije. Slična retorika svojevrsnog „jugoslovenskog istorizma“<sup>37</sup> i njegovih mesijanističkih poruka nije bila neobična za kontekst toga vremena<sup>38</sup> — štaviše, ona će biti reinterpetirana sa avangardnim pokretom *Zenit* i idejom „barbarogenija“ jednu deceniju kasnije.<sup>39</sup> Međutim, Meštrovićeva i meštrovićevska poetika prve i druge decenije 20. veka, prepuna formalnih distorzija i otklona u odnosu na akademska pravila komponovanja, zadobiće posebno mesto u reprezentativnoj kulturi Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Kao „tvorac nacionalnog stila“,<sup>40</sup> Meštrović je svojim predratnim ciklusima koji su predstavljali nezaobilaznu instancu svakog govora o nacionalnom u umetnosti, utisnuo trajan žig u monumentalnu plastiku jednog Tome Rosandića<sup>41</sup> i mnogih drugih jugoslovenskih skulptora.<sup>42</sup> U isti mah, Meštrovićeva umetnost utisnula je pečat u reprezentativnu umetnost Jugoslavije na brojnim međunarodnim izložbama u međuratnom periodu.<sup>43</sup> S druge strane, i primenjena plastika brojnih jugoslovenskih stvaralaca u periodu između dva svetska rata bila je čvrsto vezana za ovaj diskurs. Dela Živojina Lukića, Dragomira Arambašića, Petra Palavičinića, Branka Krstića, Sretena Stojanovića, Vladimira Zagorodnjuka i drugih, postavljena u javnom prostoru srbijanskih gradova, oblikovala su vizuelni i rasni ideal jugoslovenstva,<sup>44</sup> koji je istovremeno bio fiksiran različitim naučnim narativima. O ideološkoj simbiozi nauke i umetnosti, kojoj nije nedostajala politička dimenzija, možda naj slikovitije govori Vladimir Dvorniković u *Karakterologiji Jugoslovena* (1939), navodeći da se rasna obeležja Jugoslovena, „čak i takva koja ni antropologija još nije dovoljno uočila“, mogu pronaći „u crtača i vajara, naročito u Meštrovića“.<sup>45</sup>

Za genealogiju umetnosti integralnog jugoslovenstva, kao i kontekst njenog razvoja, značajnu su ulogu odigrale Jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe koje su se u kontinuitetu održavale počev od 1904. godine.<sup>46</sup> Na inicijativu studentske organizacije „Pobratimstvo“ — koja je baštinila tra-



IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ  
SJEĆANJE  
(DETALJ), 1908

dicije jugoslovenstva 19. veka — potaknutu aktivnostima Mihajla Valtrovića, Jovana Skerlića i Miloja Vasića, u Beogradu je 1904. godine organizovana prva, od ukupno šest Jugoslovenskih izložbi.<sup>47</sup> Već sama činjenica da je povod održavanju ove manifestacije bila proslava jubileja stogodišnjice Prvog srpskog ustanka i da se dešavala simultano sa krunisanjem Petra Karađorđevića za novog vladara Kraljevine Srbije anticipirala je složenu funkciju umetnosti unutar kulturološke konstrukcije novog ideološkog i političkog kursa srbijanskih elita. Uz političku opreznost grupisanja umetnika po nacionalnim sekcijama — formalno ozvaničenu osnivanjem četiri podružnice grupe „Lada“ (srpska, hrvatska, slovenačka i bugarska),<sup>48</sup> najznačajniji srpski i hrvatski slikari izložili su svoja platna. Razvrstane po nacionalnim sekcijama Srbe, Hrvate i Slovence povezivao je kriptični, ali temeljni politički mit o zajedničkom austro-ugarskom (i osmanskom) neprijatelju i zajedničkim političkim interesima. Međutim, za razliku od slikara Đorđa Krstića, Paje Jovanovića, Stevana Todorovića ili Uroša Predića, koji su reprezentovali „patriotski uzlet srpskog slikarstva“<sup>49</sup> kroz monumentalne kompozicije pune patosa srpske etnogeneze (poput Jovanovićevog *Krunisanja cara Dušana* iz 1900. godine), u delima najznačajnijih hrvatskih umetnika — Vlaha Bukovca, Celestina Medovića, Branimira Šenoe ili Otona Ivekovića, nije bilo pompeznog istorizma. To svedoči da je već prva zvanična jugoslovenska smotra umetnosti bila obeležena onim što će opstati kao trajni trag kulture jugoslovenstva — međuetničkom konkurencijom, različitim vizijama nacionalnog identiteta i dominacijom jugoslovenstva sa srpskim etničkim predznakom iza koga su neretko stajale imperijalne ambicije srbijanske političke elite. Naredne jugoslovenske umetničke smotre održale su više konceptualnu nego sadržinsku dimenziju jugoslovenstva u izlagačkoj politici i umetničkim poetikama autora, ali je i ona evoluirala — pre svega u pravcu docnijih *Vidovdanskih fragmenata* i ciklusa *Kraljevića Marka*. Tako je već na Drugoj jugoslovenskoj izložbi, održanoj 1906. godine u Sofiji pod organizacijom „Lade“,<sup>50</sup> došlo do raskola u skupini hrvatskih umetnika kada se, na inicijativu Ivana Meštrovića, Emanuela Vidovića i Vlahe Bukovca, grupa umetnika iz Dalmacije izdvojila u zasebnu sekciju; dve godine docnije ta će konstelacija biti formalizovana osnivanjem „Medulića“. Otvoreno nacionalističke poruke izloženih dela srpske sekcije, uprkos dominaciji Krstićevog platna *Glava cara Lazara*, ovoga puta nisu bile toliko glasne zbog izostanka Paje Jovanovića i Uroša Predića, kao i Nadežde Petrović koja je istupila iz srpske sekcije „Lade“. Ta sekcija, inače, nije poštovala podela po politički nacionalnom, već po etničkom ključu budući da su sa Srbima iz Srbije izlagali njihovi sunarodnici iz Habzburške Monarhije i Crne Gore.<sup>51</sup>

Treća jugoslovenska izložba, održana u Zagrebu 1908. godine, nije donela mnogo novina, izuzev što su neki hrvatski umetnici, poput Otona Ivekovića, preuzeli i reinterpretirali etno mi-

tološku tematiku iz epske narodne poezije, u isto vreme kada je u svom pariskom ateljeu Ivan Meštrović radio na *Vidovdanskim fragmentima*. Godinu dana ranije (1907), kao suprotnost „Ladi“, osnovano je „Srpsko umetničko udruženje“ sa Đorđem Krstićem, Stevanom Todorovićem, Milanom Milovanovićem te Nadeždom Petrović kao protagonistima.<sup>52</sup> Njihova opsesija vernakularnom kulturom i predanost u konstrukciji nacionalnog pejzaža predstavljali su formalan antipod integralnom jugoslovenstvu „Medulića“. Na talasu plime trijumfa srpskog paviljona u Rimu, kao sledeća instanca u političkoj propagandi srpske vlade i krugova prestolonaslednika Aleksandra, u Beogradu je 1912. godine otvorena Četvrta jugoslovenska izložba.<sup>53</sup> Konceptijsko ustrojstvo, grupisanje, kao i tematska struktura izloženih 942 dela simptomatično su oslikavali ideološki pejzaž jugoslovenstva — od integralnog jugoslovenstva „Društva srpsko-hrvatskih umetnika Medulića“, preko „Saveza jugoslovenskih umetnika *Lada*“ sa četiri nacionalne sekcije, do etnocentričnog „Društva srpskih umetnika“. Uprkos vidnim žanrovskim i stilskim razlikama, slikari okupljeni oko „Medulića“ — Mirko Rački, Tomislav Krizman, Rihard Jakopič, Ivan Grohar, Matej Jama, Emanuel Vidović i drugi, ostali su „najuporniji tumači integralne jugoslovenske kulturne zajednice“.<sup>54</sup>

Sudbina jugoslovenskih umetničkih izložbi nakon Prvog svetskog rata dobro oslikava jedan istorijski paradoks. Od trenutka kada je jugoslovenska država konačno oformljena, započeo je proces defragmentacije i uklanjanja integralnog jugoslovenstva u diskursima umetnosti, istovremeno sa njegovom inauguracijom u političkom diskursu. Tako se integralno jugoslovenstvo — u vreme diktature kralja Aleksandra I Karađorđevića kada je doktrina o narodnom jedinstvu postala oficijelna ideološka matrica<sup>55</sup> — našlo gotovo sasvim izvan vizure umetničke produkcije i kritike u Srbiji, koncentrisanih na afirmaciju autonomije moderne umetnosti i ideološko pozicioniranje na levicu i desnicu.<sup>56</sup> Kao prva posleratna, Peta jugoslovenska umetnička izložba održana je 1922. godine gotovo neprimetno, kao skromna manifestacija u okviru proslave venčanja kralja Aleksandra i kraljice Marije. Bila je to svojevrсна evokacija Prve jugoslovenske izložbe<sup>57</sup> koja je, vezujući se za ideju i kontekst krunisanja kralja Petra I Karađorđevića, trebalo da simbolički potvrdi temeljnu doktrinu integralnog jugoslovenstva o nacionalnom unitarizmu. U međuvremenu, ta je doktrina sasvim nestala iz sfere umetnosti, utvrdivši se kao zvanična državna ideologija, nametnuta nedemokratski donesenim Vidovdanskim ustavom 1921. godine. Između deset umetničkih grupa koje su participirale na Petoj jugoslovenskoj izložbi nije bilo koherencije ni po ideološkim inklinacijama, niti po interesovanjima i poetici. Štaviše, ne samo da je „otrov političkog rasula, otrov otrovnog pitanja: centralizam — federalizam — decentralizacija“ učinio da je, u kontekstu realnosti života Kraljevine Jugoslavije, „priređivanje kakve jugoslovenske izložbe [postalo] gotovo nemoguće“,<sup>58</sup> već je ova manifestacija postala mesto na kome su se me-



IZLOŽBA RADOVA IVANA MEŠTROVIĆA  
U MUZEJU VIKTORIJE I ALBERTA  
U LONDONU, 1915

duetnički sukobi — najprepoznatljivije obeležje politike i kulture mlade južnoslovenske kraljevine — iskazivali upravo kroz govor o umetnosti.<sup>59</sup>

Poslednja, Šesta jugoslovenska izložba održana je 1927. godine u Novom Sadu gotovo sasvim slučajno.<sup>60</sup> Te godine Matica srpska proslavljala je jubilej stogodišnjice svog osnivanja i centralni deo manifestacije predstavljala je „Izložba starog srpskog slikarstva u Vojvodini“. Bila je to tek jedna u seriji akcija koje su, u periodu između 1918. i 1941. godine, permanentno i sistematski vršile zahvat preoznačavanja i nacionalizacije novoosvojenog prostora Vojvodine. Međutim, zbog potrebe da se balast ove prepoznatljive ideološke agende formalno amortizuje, izložbu je trebalo da prati prezentacija savremene srpske i hrvatske umetnosti. Neposredno pred otvaranje, prezentacija je formalno dobila jugoslovenski karakter i naziv „Šesta jugoslovenska umetnička izložba“.<sup>61</sup> Bila je to sasvim ogoljena predstava dezintegriranog integralnog jugoslovenstva koje se — po rečima Mihajla Petrova, jednog od organizatora izložbe — našlo utamničeno u „čor-sokacima usko-pokrajinskog“.<sup>62</sup> U ekskluzivističkom okruženju etno-nacionalizma, poslednja jugoslovenska umetnička izložba zadobila je ulogu epitafa na kovčegu integralnog jugoslovenstva. Tada se sasvim jasno mogla prepoznati do krajnosti razobličena obrazina te ideologije u kontekstu unitarne i centralističke države, iza koje se skrivao pritvoreni nacionalizam. O tome rečito govori osvrt na izložbu Todora Manojlovića, uticajnog voždanskog kritičara i istoričara umetnosti, koji oslikava atmosferu tih prolećnih dana 1927. godine:<sup>63</sup> kao jedna od „najkrupnijih i najotmenijih manifestacija našeg kulturnog života, velika smotra moderne jugoslovenske likovne umetnosti preduzima se u slavu naše najstarije i najplemenitije nacionalno-kulturne ustanove, među osveštalim zidovima ovoga grada, u kome je prvi put zarudila i zasvetlela novodopska srpska civilizacija“.<sup>64</sup>

Na istoj izložbi gupa hrvatskih umetnika, okupljena oko grupe „Nezavisni – Zagreb“ (predvođena slikarima Ljubom Babićem i Vladimirom Varlajem), izložila je svoja dela krajnje simptomatične sadržine, glorifikujući narodni život i vernakularnu hrvatsku kulturu i zračeci prepoznatljivom političkom austom koja je u isti mah oslikavala dominantan tok hrvatske političke scene. Jedan od osnivača grupe koji je izlagao na ovoj izložbi, Ivan Meštrović, tada je već bio svojevolejno izopšten iz kolopleta politike i oficijelne reprezentativne kulture. Iako značajna po svom dometu i koncepciji, njegova su monumentalna dela, koje je po narudžbi radio za državu, predstavljala tek slabašan eho nekadašnje prodorne retorike integralnog jugoslovenstva. Paralelno sa održavanjem izložbe, Meštrović je u pismu novosadskom *Letopisu Matice srpske* u tekstu naslovljenom „Misija Vojvodine“ sumirao sopstvene poglede na jugoslovenstvo koji su obuhvatali viđenja dobrog dela jugoslovenskih intelektualaca. Očit otpor plimi jugoslovenstva sa „srpskim etničkim predznakom“ koja je preplavila politiku i kulturu prve Jugoslavije, Meštrović je izrazio rečima da „Nema ni jednog ni najmanjeg delića našega naroda koji je manje važan od drugoga, pa je zato potrebno da svi njegovi delovi budu ravnopravni na kulturnom i na svakom polju“.<sup>65</sup> Tako njegov somenik neznanom junaku na Avali kraj Beograda (1934-1938) predstavlja upečatljiv primer sinteze integralnog jugoslovenstva i jedne druge, više pragmatične ideološke doktrine zasnovane na novim zahtevima komplikovane političke pozornice Kraljevine Jugoslavije, i na uverenju u nužnost razlika Južnih Slovena i njihovih pozitivnih vrednosti.<sup>66</sup> Istovremeno, njegovi *Vidovdanski fragmenti* iznova su, poput relikta arhajske prošlosti jugoslovenstva, zadobili epsku dimenziju smeštanjem u Muzej kneza Pavla koji je svečano otvoren 1936. godine, doduše bez prisutstva samog Meštrovića i hrvatske i slovenačke intelektualne i političke elite.<sup>67</sup> U pragmatičnoj viziji jugoslovenstva iz vremena namesništva, simultano sa odlučnim koracima ka decentralizaciji države, golemi ciklus Meštrovićevih skulptura zaokruživao je jednu drugačiju viziju jugoslovenskog nacionalnog identiteta. Kroz narative o zajedničkim evropskim korenima i savremenim civilizacijskim dometima Jugoslovena, ta vizija trebalo je da konačno ostvari nacionalnu koheziju. Međutim, već predugo je trajao *rigor*



mortis jugoslovenstva. Svaka pomisao na njegovu animaciju konačno je bila uklonjena kao mogućnost već prvih dana aprilskog rata 1941. godine.

*Napomene:*

<sup>1</sup> Videti: Stevan Pavlović, *Istorija Balkana*, Clio, Beograd 2001; David A. Norris, *In the Wake of Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity*, MacMillan Press, Houndmills, Basingstoke and London 1999; Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, Hurst & Company, London 2004; Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*, Viking, New York 2000; László Kürti and Juliet Langman, eds., *Beyond Borders: Remaking Cultural Identities in the New East and Central Europe*, Westview Press, Boulder 1997; Marco Dogo and Guido Franzinetti, *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-Building in the Balkans*, Longo Editore, Ravenna 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Milorad Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*, I-II, Prosveta, Beograd 1989; Dejan Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavlism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Diskurs jugoslovenske rase nastao je na temelju rasijalističkih teorija 19. veka i, posebno, na temelju dela Žozefa Denikera *Les races et les peuples de la terre. Elements d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie* (Paris, 1900). Najznačajniji zagovornici ideje jugoslovenkog rasnog tipa bili su Jovan Cvijić, Vladimir Dvorniković, Branimir Maleš i drugi. Videti: Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Jugoslovena*, Kosmos, Beograd 1939. Cf. Marius Turda, *The Idea of National Superiority in Central Europe, 1880-1918*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York 2004; Holm Sundhussen, *Istorija Srbije od 19. do 21. veka*, Clio, Beograd 2009, 261-273.

<sup>4</sup> Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenski identitet u arhitekturi između 1918. i 1941. godine*, rukopis doktorske disertacije, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2005, 32-103.

<sup>5</sup> Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Arhitektura Novog dvora i Muzej kneza Pavla*, u: Muzej kneza Pavla (Tatjana Cvjetićanin ur.), Narodni Muzej, Beograd 2009, 58-90.

<sup>6</sup> Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941*, I-III, Stubovi kulture, Beograd 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Videti: Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*, Građevinska knjiga, Beograd 2007, 43-60; Elizabeth Clegg, *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1920*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 2006, 177-180; Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Stvaranje nacije, razaranje nacije: književnost i kulturna politika u Jugoslaviji*, Stubovi kulture, Beograd 2001, 66-82.

<sup>8</sup> Ana Adamec, *Ivan Meštrović 1883-1962*, katalog izložbe, Galerija Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Beograd n. d., 5-42.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ignjatović, *op. cit.*, 50, 58-59.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh, eds., *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003; E. Clegg, *op. cit.* Videti: Aleksandar Ignjatović, *From Constructed Memory to Imagined National Tradition: Tomb of the Unknown Yugoslav Hero (1934-1938)*, *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 88, no. 4, London 2010, 624-651.

<sup>11</sup> János Gerle, Attila Kovács, Imre Makovecz, *A századforduló magyar építészet*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó-Bonex, Békéscaba 1990, 13, 139-140; János Gerle, *Hungarian Architecture from 1900 to 1918* u: *Architecture of Historic Hungary* (Dora Wiebenson, József Sisa, eds.), The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1998, 233; Potzner Ferenc, *Međgyaszay István*, Holnap Kiadó, Budapest 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Marco Pozzetto, *La Scuola di Wagner: 1894-1912. Idee-premi-concorsi*, Comune di Trieste, Trieste 1979, 110.

<sup>13</sup> George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from Napoleonic Wars to the Third Reich*, Howard Fertig, New York 1975, 53-66.

<sup>14</sup> O Meštrovićevoj inspiraciji ovim spomenikom, kao i rivalitetu naspram samog Mecnera videti: Elizabeth Clegg, *op. cit.*, 177-178; Aleksandar Ignjatović, *op. cit.*, 54-55. O suprotim mišljenjima videti: Ana Adamec, *Secesija i secesijsko u skulpturi Ivana Meštrovića*, katalog izložbe, Galerija Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Beograd n. d., 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ivan Meštrović, *Ideja 'Kosovskog hrama'*, u: Jadran. Glasilo jugoslovenskog društva, god. I, br. 3, Buenos

Aires, 25. 11. 1915, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Milivoj Savić, *Osnovi našeg narodnog jedinstva* u: Novi život, knj. V, Beograd 1922, 100.

<sup>17</sup> Katarina Ambrozić, *Prva jugoslovenska umetnička kolonija*, u: Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja, vol. I (1956-1957), Beograd 1958, 262.

<sup>18</sup> Vesna Novak-Oštrić, *Društvo hrvatskih umjetnika 'Medulić' (1908-1916)*, Moderna galerija, Zagreb 1962.

<sup>19</sup> A. Adamec, *op. cit.*; Željko Grum, *Ivan Meštrović*, Matica hrvatska i Grafički zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb 1969; Duško Kečkemet, *Ivan Meštrović*, Nolit, Beograd 1983.

<sup>20</sup> Izložen najpre na izložbi Hrvatskog društva umjetnosti u Zagrebu 1906. godine, a potom i na izložbi Jugoslovenske kolonije u Beogradu 1907. godine. Videti: Milan Ćurčin, *Ivan Meštrović*, Williams and Norgate, London 1919, kat. br. 50.

<sup>21</sup> *Meštrovićevo 'Pobednik'* u: Nova Evropa, vol. XVI, br. 1, Zagreb, 1927, 2-8. Cf. Danijela Vanušić, *Podizanje spomenika pobeđe na Terazijama*, u: *Nasleđe*, god. IX, Beograd, 2008, 193-210; Radina Vučetić-Mladenović, *Pobedni 'Pobednik': polemike uoči postavljanja Meštrovićevo spomenika*, u: *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, god. VI, br. 2, Beograd, 1999, 110-123.

<sup>22</sup> Milan Ćurčin, *Meštrović*, Nova Evropa, Zagreb 1933, kat. br. XXIV. Cf. Smiljana Đurović, *Jugoslovenstvo u svetlu polemike Meštrović-Dučić 1932. godine*, u: *Istorija 20. veka*, god. XII, br. 2, Beograd 1994, 75.

<sup>23</sup> Najpre kao "Društvo srpskih umetnika *Lada*", osnovano pred otvaranje Prve jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe 1904. godine, ovo umetničko udruženje naredne je godine zadobilo jugoslovenski karakter kada su, uz srpsku sekciju, osnovane hrvatska, slovenačka i bugarska sekcija "Saveza jugoslovenskih umetnika *Lada*". Vladimir Kondić, *Društvo srpskih umetnika Lada: 1904-1974*, katalog izložbe, Narodni muzej, Beograd 1974.

<sup>24</sup> Dejan Medaković, *Principi i program "Odbora za organizaciju umetničkih poslova Srbije i Jugoslovenstva" iz 1913. godine*, u: Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, knj. XI-1, Spomenica Jorja Tadića, Beograd 1970, 671-682.

<sup>25</sup> André Michel, *Exposition des artistes Yugoslaves*, Petit Palais de la Ville de Paris, Paris 1919.

<sup>26</sup> Boško Tokin, *Izložba jugoslavenskih umetnika u Parizu*, u: *Plamen*, god. I, br. 13, Zagreb 1919, 24-29.

<sup>27</sup> Dragutin Tošić, *Jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe*, Prosveta, Beograd 1983, 365.

<sup>28</sup> *Exhibition of the Works of Ivan Meštrović*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1915. Cf. Ubavka Ostojić-Fejić, *Obeležavanje Kosovskog dana u Velikoj Britaniji tokom Prvog svetskog rata*, u: *Istorija XX veka*, god. XII, br. 2, Beograd 1994, 19-29; Dragoslav Janković, *Srbija i jugoslovensko pitanje 1914-1915*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 1973, 484-485.

<sup>29</sup> *Exhibition of Serbo-Croatian Artists*, with an essay on Ivan Meštrović by R. W. Seton-Watson, Grafton Galleries, London 1917.

<sup>30</sup> *Kosovo Day*, *The Times*, June 28, 1916.

<sup>31</sup> *Izložba Meštrović-Rački*, sa predgovorom Andrije Milčinovića, Umjetnički paviljon, Zagreb 1910.

<sup>32</sup> *Katalog izložbe "Medulića" "Nejunačkom vremenu uprkos"*, Umjetnički paviljon, Zagreb 1910.

<sup>33</sup> Anton Gustav Matoš, *Povodom Izložbe 'Medulića'*, u: *Savremenik*, sv. XI, Zagreb 1910, 808.

<sup>34</sup> *Esposizione di Roma, Padiglione delle Belle arti del regno di Serbia*, Roma 1911. Cf. Katarina Ambrozić, *Paviljon Srbije na Međunarodnoj izložbi u Rimu 1911. godine* u: Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja, knj. 3 (Beograd: 1960-1961), 249-252.

<sup>35</sup> A. Ignjatović, *op. cit.*, 61-72. Cf. Dragutin Tošić, *Učesće Srbije na izložbi u Rimu 1911. u izveštaju arhivske građe*, u: Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske, br. 16, Novi Sad 1980, 341-385.

<sup>36</sup> Govoreći o izložbi srpskih i hrvatskih umetnika u okviru paviljona Kraljevine Srbije na izložbi, Dimitrije Mitrinović je, na primer, istakao: "[Jugoslovenska nacionalna duša] je unutra, i dršće; njeno tijelo stoji; ona je okamenjena u arhitekturi paviljona; Bajalovićeve arhitektura je spoljašnjost jedne unutrašnjosti; karakter tijela je identičan s karakterom duše. Naš paviljon je ispunjen našom dušom, našom rasnom [...]". Dimitrije Mitrinović, *Reprezentacija Srba i Hrvata na međunarodnoj izložbi u Rimu* u: *Savremenik*, god. VI, br. 10, Zagreb 1911, 564.

<sup>37</sup> D. Medaković, *op. cit.*, 674.

- <sup>38</sup> Videti: Simona Čupić, *Evropa i/ili nacionalni identitet: paviljon Kraljevine Srbije na Svetskoj izložbi 1900. i njegove posledice*, u: Zbornik Seminara za studije moderne umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, Topy, Beograd 2008, 107-117.
- <sup>39</sup> Vidosava Golubović i Irina Subotić, *Zenit: 1921-1926*, Narodna biblioteka Srbije i Institut za književnost i umetnost, Beograd 2008; Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Nemogući toposi: arhitektonske imaginacije nacionalne utopije* u: Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji: XX vek. Radikalne umetničke prakse 1913-2008, vol. 1 (Miško Šuvaković, ur.), Orion Art, Beograd 2010, 251-254.
- <sup>40</sup> Vladimir Rozić, *Likovna kritika u Beogradu između dva svetska rata (1918-1941)*, Jugoslavija, Beograd 1983, 58 ff.
- <sup>41</sup> Ksenija Šulović i Karanović Aleksandra, *Toma Rosandić (1875-1958)*, katalog izložbe, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 2003; Antić Radmila, *Toma Rosandić*, katalog izložbe, Muzej grada Beograda, Beograd 1963.
- <sup>42</sup> Miodrag B. Protić et al., *Jugoslovenska skulptura 1870-1950*, katalog izložbe, Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd 1975.
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Peripheral Empire, Internal Colony: Yugoslav National Pavilions at the Paris World Exhibitions in 1925 and 1937*, u: Centropa, vol. 8, no. 2, New York 2008, 186-197.
- <sup>44</sup> A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 266-272.
- <sup>45</sup> Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Jugoslovena*, Kosmos, Beograd 1939, 206 (naglasak u originalu).
- <sup>46</sup> Dragutin Tošić, *Jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe*, Prosveta, Beograd 1983.
- <sup>47</sup> Videti: *Katalog izloženih umetničkih dela na I Jugoslovenskoj izložbi u Beogradu*, Električna "Nova trgovačka štamparija", Beograd 1904.
- <sup>48</sup> Videti: n. 23.
- <sup>49</sup> D. Tošić, *op. cit.*, 80.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-202.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 188-189.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 335 f.
- <sup>53</sup> Videti: *Četvrta Jugoslovenska umetnička izložba: kulturnoj zajednici Južnih slovena*, katalog, Beograd 1912.
- <sup>54</sup> D. Tošić, *op. cit.*, 310.
- <sup>55</sup> Dejan Djokić, *op. cit.*; Jovo Bakić, *Ideologije jugoslovenstva između srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma: 1914-1941*, Gradska i narodna biblioteka „Žarko Zrenjanin“, Zrenjanin 2004; Branislav Gligorijević, *Jugoslovenstvo između dva rata: protivrečnosti nacionalne politike* u: Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis, god. XXI, sv. 1-4, Beograd 1986, 71-97; Ljubodrag Dimić, *Država, integralno jugoslovenstvo i kultura*, u: Književnost, br. 1-3, Beograd 1994, 171-207; Nikola Žutić, *Ideologija jugoslovenstva i njeno raspadanje (1929-1939)*, u: Istorijski glasnik, br. 1-2, Beograd 1988, 63-90.
- <sup>56</sup> V. Rozić, *op. cit.*
- <sup>57</sup> Svečano otvaranje izložbe bilo je praćeno rečima Svetozara Pribičevića, tadašnjeg ministra prosvete Kraljevine SHS, koji je istakao da su upravo umetnici "bili prvi vesnici narodne slobode i prvi duhovni borci za nju": *Pravda*, Beograd, 8. 6. 1922.
- <sup>58</sup> Moša Pijade, *Izložba zgrada za Beograd*, u: Slobodna reč, Beograd 1921. Preštampano u: Moša Pijade, *O umetnosti*, Srpska književna zadruka, Beograd 1963, 32.
- <sup>59</sup> Signifikativna je, na primer, bila opservacija kritičara beogradske Republike, dr Momčila Seleskovića. Govoreći o slikama Maksimilijana Vanke koji je na izložbi izlagao u okviru zagrebačke sekcije grupe "Lada", Selesković je isticao njihovu "katoličku stilizaciju". Videti: Dr. M. T. Selesković, *Povodom pete jugoslovenske izložbe*, u: Republika, god. VI, br. 51, Beograd 25. 6. 1922.
- <sup>60</sup> D. Tošić, *op. cit.*, 429-430.
- <sup>61</sup> K. Pavlović, *Šesta jugoslovenska umetnička izložba u Novom Sadu*, u: Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske, br. 10, Novi Sad 1974, 394-395.
- <sup>62</sup> To jest srpskog, slovenačkog ili hrvatskog: Mihailo Petrov, *Pred našu proslavu*, u: Letopis Matice srpske, vol. 312, Novi Sad 1927, 177.

<sup>63</sup> Mnogi srpski i hrvatski dnevni listovi (npr. novosadska *Zastava* i zagrebački *Obzor*) međusobno su se utrkivali u osporavanju značaja i smisla izložbe, pokušavajući da, "bez pravog razloga, ospore rad i delo priređivača ove značajne manifestacije". D. Tošić, *op. cit.*, 474.

<sup>64</sup> Todor Manojlović povodom otvaranja Šeste jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe, navedeno prema: D. Tošić, *op. cit.*, 436.

<sup>65</sup> Ivan Meštrović, *Misija Vojvodine*, u: Letopis Matice srpske, god. CI, knj. 313, Novi Sad 1927, 89-92, citat na str. 90.

<sup>66</sup> Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Od istorijskog sećanja do zamišljanja nacionalne tradicije: Spomenik Neznamom junaku na Avali*, u: Istorija i sećanje (Studije istorijske svesti) (Olga Manojlović Pintar, ur.), Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, Beograd 2006, 229-252.

<sup>67</sup> Videti: A. Ignjatović, *Arhitektura Novog dvora i Muzej kneza Pavla*, 58-90.

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BETWEEN POLITICS AND CULTURE:  
INTEGRAL YUGOSLAVISM AND VISUAL ARTS

*Summary:*

The ideology of Integral Yugoslavism was based on a set of principles related to the denial of the national individualities of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which were considered irrelevant to the common, Yugoslav identity. Integral Yugoslavism, however, was not an abstract political doctrine, but it was heavily dependent on culture and art in particular. Yugoslav art of the first decades of the twentieth century was marked by the idea that artwork had to represent both cultural and political, and historical and modern unity of the nation. Moreover, it was believed that art had to herald a new era in political and cultural life of South Slavs and to serve as the legitimation of the long-awaited political independence. Among a variety of artistic poetics of the time, that of the famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) was extremely prominent and politically engaged. Meštrović's monumental sculptures of the *Vidovdan* and *Prince Marko Cycle* argued most cogently for national independence and the unification of all South Slavs.

*Key words:* ideology, integral Yugoslavism, Yugoslav Art Exhibitions,  
national identity, high culture

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## PARAGRAF 218

### *Sažetak:*

Analiza slike *Paragraf 218* pokušava da razotkrije esencijalne i dinamičke ideje koje su stajale u pozadini piktoralnog rešenja Alis Leks Nerlinger. Pažljivo čitanje prethodnih istorizacija, poput onih Marše Meskimon i Atine Grosman, omogućava preciznu rekonstrukciju istorijske pozadine, uslovljavajuće po egzistenciju pomenutog artefakta. Za navedene istoričarke *Paragraf 218* stoji u znaku trijumfa dominantno ženskog pokreta tokom 1931. godine, motivisanog pokušajem preuzimanja kontrole nad njihovim vlastitim telima, uz pomoć slobodno i masovno iskazane volje, kroz različite medijske manifestacije, za ukidanjem restriktivnih i represivnih zakonskih odrednica onemogućavajućih po individualan izbor u oblastima seksualnosti i reproduktivnih prava. Da bi ovakvo tumačenje moglo da bude podvrgnuto propitivanju i potencijalnoj dekonstrukciji, analiza je morala da za svoje potrebe osposobi nekolicinu odgovarajućih propozicija – tezu Rozi Brajdotti o specifičnim, rodno kodifikovanim konfiguracijama, kao i razmišljanja Žila Deleza o neparalelnim evoluiranjima subjekatskih entiteta unutar procesa gradnje značenja. Rad tako poprima formu tekstualne mreže, kao jedinog mogućeg pristupa problemu značenjskog dešifrovanja slike Alis Leks Nerlinger.

*Ključne reči:* Paragraf 218, feminizam, tehnicizam, fotogram, Vajmar

## Istorija

Na samom početku neophodno je izvršiti kritičku korekciju naslovnog singulariteta, istorija. Naime, nije moguće posmatrati istorijsku pozadinu *Paragrafa 218* kao celovitu, dovršenu i ničim poremećenu formaciju. Naprotiv, vremenski odsečak (1928-1934) predstavlja složenu mapu različitih socio-političkih i ličnih angažmana, kao i njihovih dinamika. Ako bi, ipak, bilo neophodno pronaći nekakvu zajedničku i povezujuću vrednost, onda bi takvu konstantu bilo moguće prepoznati u nemilosrdnom i gotovo neprekidnom međusobnom sukobu monolitnih levih i desnih ideologija.<sup>1</sup> Ali, i to se može činiti značajnijim, prioritet u uticaju na formiranje šire kulturnih stavova u to vreme imala je borba za pravo prvog čitanja, svojevrsnu pravovernost, unutar ideologizovanog narativa pod dominacijom levih ideoloških normativa. Upravo bi deskripcija pomenutog sukoba ponudila adekvatan početak za prelistavanje diverzifikovane kartografske celine istorijskih posibiliteta.<sup>2</sup> Na definisanje osnovnog tona kontekstualne pozadine *Paragrafa 218* odlučujući uticaj imala je odluka Šestog kongresa Kominterne 1928. godine, kojom je pred evropske komunističke partije postavljen imperativan zadatak nemilosrdne borbe protiv „sociofašizma“, personifikovanog političkim ponašanjem aktuelne socijaldemokratije.<sup>3</sup> Na ovaj način bi mogla da bude uspostavljena jedna čvrsta linija socio-političkih uslovljavanja po liniji KPSS-KPD. Izvesno je da je strategija napada na „socio-fašizam“ upravo mogla da bude delotvorna gotovo isključivo u tadašnjoj Nemačkoj, koja je poslužila kao informacioni kanal za prenošenje već uobličenog modela socio-kulturnog ponašanja drugoj članici binarne partijske sponse, KPD-e. Ali, kreacija pomenutog modela nije bila neproblematična, naprotiv, on je nastao kao rezultat snažnog sukoba u centrali po pitanjima osnovnih prioriteta u definisanju smerova socijalnog i kulturnog evoluiranja, dovodeći do nekih veoma zanimljivih revitalizacija, poput obnove proleterske estetike u aktuelnoj umetnosti i na njoj zasnovanog okupljanja u okvirima grupe Oktobar, odnosno revitalizovanog LEF-a.<sup>4</sup> Naravno, novi zamah umetničke eksperimentacije i oslanjanja na tehnološke ekstenzije (fotografiju, film, svakovrsnu medijsku i tehničku montažu) došao je kao očekivana reakcija na sukob različitih socio-političkih koncepcija kojim je bila prožeta celina društvenog tkiva. Borba za primat imala je svoju unutrašnju istoriju, krajnje zatvorene i intimne relacije različitih učesnika zahtevale su specifična pozicioniranja, pri čemu je metod preuzimanja operativnih postupaka dominirao.

Već poljuljanom republikanskom poretku Vajmara odluke Šestog kongresa Kominterne namestile su fatalan završni udarac, ali je konceptualizovanje istog izvedeno preuzimanjem već upotrebljenog modela političkog ponašanja koje je narušavalo tvrde barijere između javnih i privatnih prostora. Da bi izašla iz političke senke postizanjem parlamentarne većine, SPD se u kampanji za izbore 1928. godine odlučila za suptilno pozicionirano stanovište kojim je ciljeve političke agitacije pomerila sa socijalnog na lično i intimno, pod motom, „Hrana za decu, a ne oklopni krstaši“.<sup>5</sup> Dakle, specifično definisana i na telesnom kapacitetu temeljena nova politika socijaldemokrata poslužila je kao paradigma, model za preuzimanje, koji će da upotrebi leva struja u KPD, okupljena oko Vili Mincenberga, rukovođena idejom suštinske demontaže socijalnog poretka. Umesto otvorenog, frontalnog i masovnog uličnog nasilja, po propozicijama Ernsta Telmana, promovisana je politika u znaku visceralnog, koja je svojom složenom značenjskom konstrukcijom omogućavala različite intervencionističke prakse, poput široko razvijenog otpora vajmarskih žena državnoj i

ideološkoj represiji spram prava da organizuju vlastitu seksualnost, lični život i reproduktivna prava, tokom prve polovine 1931. godine.<sup>6</sup> I dok je vrh KPD tananim dogmatskim variranjima dokazivao pad vlade kancelara Brininga u socio-fašizam, Mincenberg je u pogon stavio medijsku mašinu pod vlastitom kontrolom, koja je smišljeno pozajmljivala posežući za citatima i revitalizacijama prošlih situacija koje su mogle da posluže efikasnoj demontaži socijalne aktuelnosti.<sup>7</sup> Na taj način je, kroz oponašanje na visceralnom imperativu temeljene politike SPD-a iz 1928. godine, građeno probranim recikliranjem, uz oslon na vrlo elastičan metodski princip uključivanja i svakovrsne kontaminacije – deca, a ne oklopni krstaši, žene, a ne fiskalizam i papstvo.<sup>8</sup> Ovakva strategija videla je ulicu u formi beskrajnog polja mogućnosti, nasuprot ekskluzivnom viđenju vrha KPD koji je u njoj čitao samo potencijal konfliktne arene.<sup>9</sup> Takvoj metaforizaciji ulice i protesta neophodnu dopunu morala je da čini osvešćena i profilisana rodna politika i iz nje proistekla akcija, sa pripadajućom joj sposobnošću slobodne fluktuacije i prevazilaženja projektovanih okvira, uz neizbežno podrivanje utvrđene ideološke sheme.

### Istorija slike

*Paragraf 218* bi, kao socijalno angažovan rad, formalnim i značenjskim kapacitetima mogao da odgovori na situaciju društvene razućenosti, ali neusklađenost informacija proizvedenih u socijalnom polju, uključujući i njihov nestabilan identitet, onemogućavala je proizvodnju na principima mimezisa zasnovanog umetničkog odgovora.<sup>10</sup> Čini se da je artefakt, zapravo, kreiran u znaku otvorenog propitivanja i reformulacija svih po njega uslovljavajućih komponenti, socio-političkih, estetskih, ideoloških, postavljajući kao prioritet osposobljavanje adekvatnog pitanja ili niza istih. Na taj način autonomna istorija *Paragrafa 218* dobija odlučujuću ulogu, ali ne kao potvrda modernističke, na formalnim regulama zasnovane autonomnosti, već kao podrška analitičkom naporu kojim bi mogao da bude adekvatno pročitana umetnički status rada. Za istoričara problem predstavlja sinhronizovanje, dovođenje u međusobnu relaciju različitih istorijskih tokova, različitih dinamika koje su podrivale mogućnost uspostavljanja jednog celovitog i privilegovanog narativa. Zapravo, takvi pokušaji koji su za svoj cilj, služeći se metodologijom uglašavanja rubova disparatnih ravni postavljenih u temelje proizvodnja značenja, postavili kreiranje konačnih sudova o delu kao zatvorenom i dovršenom entitetu doveli su do nepreciznosti i neželjenog naglašavanja ideoloških kapaciteta slike.<sup>11</sup> Kao adekvatan metodološki pristup pri ikonografskoj analizi može da bude smatran onaj koji poštuje specifičnu generičku nit utkanu u sam proces stvaranja značenja. A taj kreativni kontinuum je mnogo više skup disparatnih identiteta i njihovih međusobnih preklapanja i preuzimanja, no što ga je moguće identifikovati sa nekom izvesnom i na preciznim postulatima zasnovanom celinom. Ako bi bio tražen adekvatan model deskripcije za istorizaciju *Paragrafa 218* prikladnim bi se činilo Delezovo operacionalizovanje pojma postajanja, ili, preciznije, paralelne evolucije, koja, u traganju za konačnim, ali uvek odgođenim finalitetom, produkuje onečišćenje narativnih situacija i njihovih temeljnih postavki. Naravno, neophodna je opaska o neizbežnoj medijskoj translaciji Delezovih premisa. Izvesno je da svi stavovi koji omogućavaju i uslovljavaju analizu fenomena „male književnosti“ ne mogu da budu u potpunosti presađeni unutar istoriografskog procesa rekontekstualizacije dela Leks Nerlinger. Ali, i to je od najvećeg značaja, opstaje konceptualna suština Delezove strategije čitanja, reprezentovana kroz egzistenciju istorijske svesti o različitim vremenskim dinamikama, te njima rukovodnim paralelnim tokovima i složenim i individualizovanim strategijama preuzimanja, privilegovanja i potiskivanja. Dakle, istoričarski imperativ spram *Paragrafa 218* može da bude predstavljen kao suptilno rekreiranje višeznačnih kontekstualnih situacija, koje su omogućavale značenja pomenutom artefaktu kroz pažljivu aplikaciju konceptualne suštine Delezovog viđenja „male književnosti“.<sup>12</sup>

Marša Meskimon i Atina Grosman su u svojim studijskim pristupima insistirale na konstruktivističkom zaleđu u aktuelnoj inspiraciji Leks Nerlinger, pri čemu su podršku mogle da nađu u prvom obimnijem istorizovanju dela umetnice u studijskoj monografiji Haralda Olbriha iz 1975. godine.<sup>13</sup> Za Olbriha „konstruktivističke eksperimente sa formom prati i proučavanje novih umetničkih tehnika. Nerlingerovi se bave i kolažiranom slikovnicom; odatle počinju od sredine dvadesetih godina da se razvijaju mogućnosti fotograma i slika urađenih tehnikom spreja [...] ono što je njih fasciniralo kada je ova tehnika u pitanju je njena objektivnost i oslobođenost od slučajnosti tehnike slikanja četkicom [...] ovi tehnički postupci su izašli u susret važnom interesovanju Nerlingerovih u procesu njihovog razvoja: s jedne strane njihovom poimanju stvarnosti velikog grada, razvoja tehnike i njenog dubokog prodiranja u ljudski život i delanje, a sa druge strane njihovoj opsednutosti jasnim oblicima, logikom i racionalnošću“.<sup>14</sup> Zapravo, navođenje konstruktivističke estetike kao



ALIS LEKS NERLINGER  
PARAGRAF 218, 1931

odlučujuće kreativne dominante pri organizaciji i formalizovanju *Paragrafa 218* ne prepoznaje unutrašnju dinamiku u opusu Leks Nerlinger. Ponovo Harald Olbrih, „u periodu od 1927. do 1929. kod Nerlingerovih ističe se zrelo ideološko i političko pročišćenje i sinteza, dok se različiti razvojni pravci prepliću, a definiše se njihov angažman: pristupaju KPD, a stupaju u kontakt sa ASSO-m. Alis kreira fotomontaže „Raditi, raditi, raditi“ i „Otrovni gas“ [...] ova i druga dela nastala do 1930. odlikuju se stvaralačkim ukidanjem konstruktivno usmerenih oblika i tehničkih eksperimenata koji su stečeni u prethodnoj fazi. Ona bivaju stavljena u službu dijalektičke i borbene perspektive savremene stvarnosti [...] deluju stimulatивно na razvoj agitatorske logike u fotomontažama, fotogramima i slikama urađenim sprejom; njihov propagandni patos proizlazi iz prosvetljujuće i kreativne racionalnosti [...] geometrijski pravilan kostur slike i posebna emocionalnost predstavljaju kreativno očuvanje i preinačenje emancipatorskog patosa konstruktivizma“.<sup>15</sup>

Zanimljivo je u narativ uvesti i istorijsko-teorijski osvrt same umetnice, načinjen 1959. godine, koji je već svojim naslovom „Fotomontaža- izraz revolucionarne volje“, kao i jasnim naglaskom na estetsko nasleđe LEF-a, otvorio mogućnost propitivanja naknadnih istorizacija *Paragrafa 218*. Ako je za Leks Nerlinger oštra represija vajmarskih reprezenata moći govorila o dokazu „koliko je protivnik ozbiljno shvatio efikasnost političke fotomontaže i koliko mu se ona učinila opasnom“, onda, iz današnje perspektive, može da bude pokrenut tok provokativnih propitivanja koja dovode do neumitnog destabilizovanja utvrđenih intervencionističkih relacija, po osovini moć/umetničko delo.<sup>16</sup> Na taj način, aktuelno poratno umetnicino odustajanje od svakog oblika formalnog i narativnog eksperimenta i pozicioniranja vlastitog opusa unutar doktrinarnog zabrana estetike bliske zvanično privilegovanoj produkciji sorealističke provenijencije, može da svedoči o trijumfu represivnih impulsa, a koje je već tokom ključnih godina po umetnicu (1928-1932) bilo moguće identifikovati u različitim pojavnim situacijama. Ono na šta je mogla da cilja Leks Nerlinger, u istorijskoj i teorijskoj mimikriji, opredmećeno je kao posledica estetskog sukoba na levisi tokom tridesetih godina, u kome su različito motivisane struje pokušavale steći primat unutar celovitog polja kulturnog stvaranja.<sup>17</sup>

Kao konceptualan osnov oko koga je artistska grupacija opozitna zahtevu za povratak u akademizovanu uređenost organizovala vlastito ponašanje može da posluži onaj preostali trag konstruk-



tivističke estetike, prepoznat od Džozefa Mejera u mašinski podržanom kreiranju dela, njegovom tehnicističkom karakteru, uz očuvanje zahteva za fizičkom aktivacijom recipijenta, radnika.<sup>18</sup> Tako postavljeno ono poprima karakter dijalektičke ikone, omogućavajući mehanicističkim aplikacijama aktivnu intervenciju unutar socio-političkog konteksta.<sup>19</sup> Leks Nerlinger je osvrtno na značaj fotomontaže prizvala istorijsku reminiscenciju avangardnog LEF-a, upućujući istoričare ka dramatičnom diskurzivitetu sovjetske situacije poznih dvadesetih godina. U orbitu postkonstruktivističkog LEF, pod znakom tehnicistički uslovljene estetike faktografije, ulazi 1928. godine, u formi grupe Oktobar, niz umetnika, od kojih su neki poput Aleksandra Dejneke, transformisali svoju pikturalnost u znaku figuracije i klasičnog komponovanja u novu slikovnu organizaciju oslonjenu na princip multifokalne percepcije, svojevrsnog fluksa perceptivnih senzacija, uz krajnje ekonomičan odnos spram tako dobijenih vizuelnih podataka.<sup>20</sup> Mehanicistički podržana faktografija postaje neizbežnim imperativom, značajnim sredstvom razvijanja adekvatnih narativa, a sve u svrhu pojačavanja vlastitih estetskih i ideoloških stanovišta u žestokoj borbi za konačno preuzimanje moći u SSSR-u sredinom dvadesetih. Tako Dejneka od 1924. godine izlazi u javnost serijom grafičkih ilustracija svrhovito namenjenih masovnoj novinskoj reprodukciji. Njihova operacionalizacija, rečnik i pravila sintakse zahtevala su, u skladu sa aktuelnošću faktografije, redukovanje podataka, svojevrsno utišavanje mimezisa, na mesto kojeg stupa minuciozno unošenje tačno određenih ikonografskih podataka – pažljiv izbor kostima prati proizvodnju dvodimenzionalnog porečka selekcijom i aplikacijom formalnih podataka u novu, neperspektivnu, elastičnu celinu, industrijski žanr narativ kao značenjsko jezgro. Ovaj izbor posedovao je svoj unutrašnji evolutivni tok, organizovan oko principa paralelnog evoluiranja rodno motivisanog sadržaja u kompozicionoj ravni. Radnice su u početnoj fazi Dejnekinih ilustracija, poput one pod nazivom *Preuzeli smo. Povećaj produkciju iz 1924.* godine svojim kostimom sugerisale pripadanje ruralnom svetu, pokazujući nekompatibilnost industrijskom pejzažu unutar koga je radnik/muškarac posedovao suverenost i identitet. U pokušaju da ispravi neravnotežan tretman u slici, snažeći i zalede vlastitoj estetici u kritičnim godinama, umetnik će tokom 1925. i 1926. intenzivno studirati i proveravati remodelaciju početnog stanovišta. Nađeno rešenje bilo je vrlo zanimljivo, gotovo neočekivano. Umesto jednostavnog „oblačenja“ radnica u odgovarajuće industrijske kostime Dejneka je promovisao suprotan postupak, minimalizovao je njihovu odeću, naglašavajući im, nasuprot, telesnost u vrlo erotizovanom maniru – slika *Na gradilištu postrojenja iz 1926.* godine ili zanimljiv varijetet sa magazinskom ilustracijom *Mlekarica iz 1929.* godine. Skrećući otvoreno u polje visceralnosti, rodno precizno određene, umetnik je načinio složenijim kontekstualne propozicije vlastite piktoralnosti, a da je tako organizovana estetika osvojila šire polje angažmana svedoče i primeri zasnivanja naracije na rodno motivisanoj telesnosti i unutar drugih medijskih disciplina, poput izuzetno uticajnog filma *Krevet i sofa* Abrama Roma iz 1927. godine.<sup>21</sup>

Dejneku nije moguće prepoznavati kao uslovno feminističkog tumača socijalističke stvarnosti i permanentne borbe za moć, već ga je neophodno odrediti kao karakterističnog reprezentu aktuelnog Oktobra, koji je prihvatao potencijal i uslove proizvodnje, istovremeno imajući uvek spreman materijal za procese naknadnih dorada. Prevedeno na situaciju Vajmara, tako postulirana ženska telesnost aktivirala je mogućnost nastavljanja evoluiranja/postajanja oslanjajući se na potencijal marginalnog, zatamnjenog područja pod kontrolom dominantnih ideologija, nagoveštavajući uvek prisutnu mogućnost drugačijih i subverzivnih ikoničkih pejzaža.

## Analiza

*Paragraf 218*, kao slikovni prikaz, može da bude u analitičkom pristupu tretiran poput dijalektičke ikone, omogućavajući slobodno pomeranje perceptivnog i značenjskog fokusa unutar kompozicione ravni. Mada je terminološko preuzimanje od Anet Mikelson korektno jer dodatno

otvara i konektivnu nit koju slika ima, u svojoj ikonografskoj uslovljenosti, sa recentnom teorijom filma, *Paragraf 218* je adekvatnije percipirati kao ekran, projektivno polje oponentno linearnoj logici pisma i produkovanja umetničkog dela kao dovršenog i zatvorenog entiteta.<sup>22</sup> Ovako postavljena ekranska dispozicija, izgrađena od dinamičnih i uvek premeštajućih fragmenata značenja i njihovih obrisa i aluzija, nije pretpostavljala privilegovanu tačku saznavanja, jedinstven i neporeciv raskurs. Istoričar, na taj način, mora da postupi gotovo svojevolsjno donoseći odluku o načinu i pravcima pristupa ekranu. U slučaju slike Leks Nerlinger može da bude prepoznato nekoliko žarišnih polja, potencijalno adekvatnih inicijalnih momenata za oblikovanje mogućeg narativnog rekonstruisanja ekranske situacije – 1) grupa aktivnih žena; 2) krst/vertikalna dominanta sa inskripcijom; 3) lik žene/radnice/trudnice izveden u transparentnom maniru; 4) inertna pozadina; 5) relacije unutar raznolikih kompozicionih odnosa.

Čini se da je za adekvatnu analizu *Paragrafa 218* neophodno prilaziti svakom od polja pojedinačno, uz uvažavanje metaforičke strukture teksta, krećući se u semantičkoj ravni od podloge ka „inskrpciji“. Dakle, prvo neizdiferencirana pozadina slike kao polje posibiliteta, montaži naklonjeno područje, osnovni gradivni faktor estetike ekrana. Menjajući konvencionalnu likovnost za montažnost, umetnica je svesno apelovala na istorijske primere koji su omogućavali gradnju alternativnih identiteta procesima preuzimanja i aparalelnog evoluiranja. Elizabet Oto u fotomontaži Leks Nerlinger *On, umnožen* iz 1929. godine nalazi kompoziciono opravdanje pozadinske beline u ikonografskom zahtevu za kritičkim tretmanom teme militarizma i uniformisanosti muškog tela.<sup>23</sup> Tako ekran poprima kvalitete zastrašujućeg, postaje „horror vacui“ u kojem su muškarci uhvaćeni unutar velike beline, poput insekata u laboratoriji.<sup>24</sup> Analizirajući postavku u formi anonimnih kopija, pri čemu multiplikacija drobi i razlaže subjekatski potencijal likova, Oto sugerise specifičan kvalitet estetike Leks Nerlinger, predstavljen potencijalom aktivacije sposobnosti alegorijske percepcije kod posmatrača. Naravno, moguće je postaviti primedbu da i alegorijska aktivacija, koju kao model promoviše istoričarka, nije u potpunosti adekvatna za tumačenje ekranske beline pozadine fotomontaže Leks Nerlinger, pa tako ni *Fotograma 218*. Alegoričnost, po tipu Elizabet Oto, pretpostavlja postojanje dovršenog i celovitog značenjskog bloka, skrivenog direktnoj percepciji ali dostupnog aktiviranom i socijalnom kritičnošću impregniranom posmatraču. Ovako projektovana binarna relacija stoji kao konceptualno opravdanje u analitičkom zahvatu, pokazujući izvesne nedorečenost i simplifikacije koje je neophodno dopuniti i korigovati. Operacionalizacija pozadine u piktoralnoj celini Leks Nerlinger egzistira u znaku subvertovanja i preuzimanja kroz precizno ukazivanje na istorijske modele, u ovom slučaju na primere kolažne produkcije tokom Prvog svetskog rata, koji su u sebi nosili izuzetno toksičan potencijal, degradirajući svojim prisustvom sve slikovne relacije rukovođene zahtevom proizvođenja dominantnog narativa.<sup>25</sup> Belina omogućava slobodnu aplikaciju onog što je Džozef Fineman podveo pod termin „petit recit“ sa pratećom sposobnošću punktiranja i razaranja linearnog narativa precizno pozicioniranim implikacijama realnosti.<sup>26</sup> Dakle, epistemološka ruptura u tkivu ideologizovanog „grand recit“ proizvedena je delovanjem periferije, na marginu potisnutih čestica oponentne realnosti. U slučaju umetnice dodir realnosti počiva na radu istorijskog suviška, datog u formi „kleberbuch-a“<sup>27</sup>, omogućavajući slobodno propitivanje i prateću degradaciju ideoloških pojmovnih konstanti privilegovanog narativa, poput nacije, funkcionalizovanog maskuliniteta, herojstva, uvek samo prateće uloge žene. *On, umnožen* tako reprezentuje dekontekstualizovanu konstantu maskuline funkcije kroz aluziju na femininu ratnu igru slikovnim materijalom i pratećom infantilizacijom pomoću „slikovnica“, odnosno neorganizovanim uvođenjem vizuelnih tragova realnosti – dekonstruišu različite identitetske slojeve, rodni, ideološki, tehnološki, alternirajući ih neizvesnim melanžom, blokovima sačinjenim od aparalelnih postajanja. U slučaju *Paragrafa 218* umetnica piktoralnim in-



ALIS LEKS NERLINGER  
RADNIK GURA KOLICA, 1930

formacijama postavljenim na takvu podlogu aktivira Delezovu propoziciju o poroznosti i efemerosti uređenog odnosa pitanja i odgovora, koje sada svoj identitet predaju ekranu/mreži, kartografiji složenih prepleta bekstava i deteritorijalizacija, kao temeljnom organizacionom principu.<sup>28</sup>

Nešto zakošena vertikalna tamno obojene poluge/krsta dominira svojom plastičnošću narativnim poljem slike, čineći gotovo neizbežnim vlastiti prioritet u odnosu na ostale elemente likovnog iskaza. Naravno, neophodno je primetiti napis u formi paragrafa 218 na horizontalnom delu, uz pomoć kojeg postaje moguća nominalna identifikacija slike. Ispis svedoči o funkcionalnom opravdanju dela Leks Nerlinger u formi vizuelizacije ataka na pravno kodifikovanu represiju mogućnosti da žene same i za sebe odlučuju o vlastitom telesnom statusu, seksualnosti i reprodukciji.<sup>29</sup> Oznaka predstavlja i reminiscenciju na snažne proteste protiv papske enciklike ali i oštrog odnosa koji je vlada kancelara Brininga imala prema nekim uglednim javnim ličnostima angažovanim u antiparagraf kampanji.<sup>30</sup> Ali smišljeno koncipirana memorijska relacija omogućavala je i nešto složenije ekstenzije u ikonografiji sećanja. Poluga kao komponenta koja u dvojno koncipiranoj vizuelizaciji slikovne dominantne, krst/poluga, upućuje na tehnicistički uslovljen poredak, odlučujuće oblikuje ikonosferu zahvaćenu njenim dejstvom. Breht, nimalo slučajno, u sukobu na levljici revitalizuje na mašinističkoj metaforizaciji temeljenu estetiku proizvodnje, promovišući specifičnu poetiku dinamičnih relacija između stvarnosti i umetničke kreacije.<sup>31</sup> Za Pitera Bruksa eksponenti pomenute estetike (Breht i Benjamin posebno) presađuju i rekontekstualizuju paradigmatički model minucioznih čitanja karakterističnih fenomena megalopolisa, odnosno, u novu socio-političku, estetsku i istorijsku situaciju prenose koncept realizmu naklonjenog narativa, poput Zolinog koji je svoje kvalitete organizovao oko određene mašinizovane situacije ili institucije funkcionalizovane u mašinskom smislu. Tehnicistički pejzaž, sa pratećim termodinamičkim proizvodnjama, posedovao je, u Zolinom slučaju, specifičnu sintetičku moć, objedinjujući mimetičke sadržaje sa otvoreno alegorijskim izglobljenjima. Interpolacija alegorijskih kapaciteta sprečavala je zatvaranje savršenih dokumentarističkih ciklusa a kao osnovni faktor disipacije poretka pojavljuje se seksualnost, odnosno, nemogućnost prilagođavanja, pripitomljavanja i društveno funkcionalnog konzumiranja iste.<sup>32</sup> Ovakvo koncipirana ona stoji u nesvodivom prelomu različitih polja koja grade moderni fenomen populacije, postajući, upravo u svojoj nesvodivosti, neiscrpnim rezervoarom invencije „malih naracija“.<sup>33</sup> Dakle, u osporavanju linearne istorije i dominantnog narativa, socijalnog, političkog ili umetničkog, problemi seksualnosti i reprodukcije, specifičnije, problem učešća žena u pomenutim fenomenima poseduje krajnje destruktivan potencijal.

Leks Nerlinger postavlja zanimljivo pitanje, u piktoralnoj ravni, koje će da posluži kao njen „petit recit“ pažljivo organizovan po principu aparalelnog evoluiranja. Traženje i narativizacija zatamnjene zone socijalnog ponašanja u slici, uvođenjem momenata neizvesnosti i dvosmislenosti, uočena je u analizi Atine Grosman, po kojoj je umetnica stajala pred dvostrukim i opozitnim kvalitetima potencijalne liberalizacije žena u aktuelnom Vajmaru.<sup>34</sup> Taj binarno kreiran identitet počivao je na nemogućnosti saglasja i sinteze između različitih identitetskih slojeva same Leks Nerlinger – istovremeno slobodoumna žena, privržena ideji telesne slobode i članica KPD, sa pratećim imperativom partijski kontrolisanog ponašanja u javnom prostoru.

Nije moguće prihvatiti simplifikaciju u čitanju slike koja ju je dovela u ravan ideologizovanog plakata, u funkciji slavljenja trijumfa skladne i idejno osvešćene grupe žena nad paragrafom 218, uz istovremeno i neumitno isčezavanje predstave trudnice diskutabilnog identiteta. Obratimo pažnju na poreklo ovih ikoničkih elemenata. U slučaju trudnice, pozicionirane u levom uglu vizuelne celine, moguće je prepoznati generičku nit kojom je vođena evolucija i sazrevanje ikonografskog potencijala predstave. Uvedena je u slikarkin opus u mediju fotograma pod identičnim naslovom *Paragraf 218*, kojim je, po Elizabet Oto, problematizovala odnos industrijski određenog ponašanja i rodnog identiteta. Žena/radnica metaforizuje paralelnost produkcije i reprodukcije, gotovo mašinizovanom prinudom da u pravilnim intervalima istupa izvan produkcione linije. Vizuelizovano dijagonalnom podelom piktoralnog polja fotograma, radnica/trudnica postaje autonoman mehanizam, svojevrсна nezavisna industrija, automaton nesposoban za bilo kakvu revolucionarnu aktivnost.<sup>35</sup> Ali, istoričarka kreira u svom deskriptivnom konstruktivnom specifičnu kontradikciju završnom konstatacijom da su žene/radnice u mogućnosti da izbegnu opresiju industrijske linije samo iskorakom u trudnoću. Leks Nerlinger, zapravo, uvodi restrikciju u evolutivni tok Dejnekine ikonografije roda i rada, dovršen slikom *Na gradilištu postrojenja iz 1926. godine*. U njoj je akcent postavljen na telesni kapacitet, njegovo ekspaniranje praćeno eksplicitnom erotizacijom. Umetnica zaustavlja i drugačije usmerava tako koncipiranu evolutivnu nit, dajući početnu stepenu telesne transformacije Dejnekineg modela negativan predznak – napor telesnog preuređenja rezultovao je ukinućem visceralne egzistencije, na mesto koje je stupio obris, sačinjen plošno nanesenom bojom na prostorni odsečak definisan konturom. Ukidanje atributa telesnosti, njihovo svođenje na ekranski podatak nastaje kao posledica organizovanja značenjskog sistema Leks Nerlinger, odnosno, pažljivog pozicioniranja i identifikovanja svih učestvujućih elemenata i pripadajuće im ikonografske situacije.<sup>36</sup> Žena/radnica/trudnica na slici *Paragraf 218* pojavljuje se kao osvešćeni komentar na Dejnekino proizvođenje izrazito visceralnog modela, koji je adekvatno pristajao uz estetski zahtev Oktobra o dinamičnom i neposredovanom beleženju stvarnosti.<sup>37</sup> Međutim, Dejnekino naglašavanje telesnosti na kraju je zatvoreno u okvire kanonizovanog čitanja estetike socijalističkog realizma, u kojoj je erotizovana visceralnost stajala kao znak ideološki korektno pozicionirane metafore snage centralne vlasti i ženskog tela kao konačnog izraza poslušnosti istoj.

Multiplikacija tela i njihovo omasovljeno prisustvo u vizuelno datom prostoru slike postaju temeljnim uslovom iznošenja ideološke poruke i njenog iskustvenog prihvatanja. Grupa aktivnih žena u dinamičnom odnosu spram poluge/krsta i napisa na njemu, u skladu sa zaključcima analiza Grosman i Meskimon, može da bude prepoznata kao rodno osvešćen, kolektivizovan subjektivitet koji pomoću precizno profilisanog ideološkog pokroviteljstva KPD ili leve politike, u širem smislu, funkcionalizuje u formu otpora vlastito egzistencijalno i telesno iskustvo proizvedeno u direktnoj relaciji sa situacijama inklinirajućim paragrafu 218. Džoan Skot problematizujući pojam iskustva i njegovog kreativnog potencijala u subjekatskoj proizvodnji citira pasaže iz dela koja su privilegovala pomenuti pojam i njegovu operacionalizaciju.<sup>38</sup> „Revolucija će nastupiti upravo zbog

infiltriranja jasnog i artikulisanog jezika u marginalna područja ljudskog seksualnog preispitivanja [...] prvi neposredan osećaj političke moći dolazi kroz opažanje omasovljenih tela“.<sup>39</sup> Dakle, vizuelizacija iskustvenog sadržaja stoji kao uslov promene, kroz obelodanjenje zahteva za učešćem u dominantnom narativu. Ali Džoan Skot analizom uspostavlja kritičko čitanje vizuelizacije iskustva, odnosno, onih primera istorijskih studija koje su za svoje epistemološko opravdanje uzele postavke fundirane unutar konstrukta visceralnog, neproblematizovanog, za multiplikaciju podjednog iskustva. Postojeće analize *Paragrafa 218* stoje u paralelnom odnosu sa ovako proizvedenim istorijama razlike, oslonjenim na omasovljen i telesno uslovljen iskustveni narativ, uz neizbežno insistiranje na vizuelnoj komponenti u percepciji pomenutih informacija. Neproblematizovano iskustvo, neproblematizovan subjekt, a „upravo je to pozivanje na iskustvo kao na neosporivo svedočanstvo i na izvornu tačku objašnjenja temelj na kojem je analiza zasnovana – ono što slabi kritički naboj istorija razlike [...] otpor lociraju van njegove diskurzivne konstrukcije, pretvarajući moć delovanja u inherentni atribut pojedinaca, čime ga ujedno dekontekstualizuju. Kada se iskustvo uzima kao izvor spoznaje, viđenje pojedinačnog subjekta postaje baza svedočanstva na kojem se potom gradi objašnjenje. Pitanja o konstruisanoj prirodi iskustva, o tome kako se subjekti pre svega konstituišu kao različiti, o strukturiranosti viđenja – o diskursu i istoriji – ostavljena su po strani“.<sup>40</sup> Ako prihvatimo kritički otklon Džoan Skot, onda za posledicu dobijamo promenu ikonografskih tumačenja centralne grupe aktivnih žena u analiziranoj slici. Njihov napor nije mimetički apsorbovan u piktoralno polje, dokumentujući rodno kodifikovano iskustvo nastalo direktnim i neposredovanim odnosom njihove telesnosti i represivnog društvenog narativa. Slika nije bila postavljena u funkciji informativnog plakata koji je izveštavao o trijumfu i posledičnoj degradaciji aktuelnog diskursa, pomoću ideološki upravljane telesnosti.<sup>41</sup> Umesto mimetičke Leks Nerlinger osposobljava ekransku situaciju u kojoj prikaz grupe svojim prisustvom aktivira celi niz mogućih značenja. U likovnom smislu ona je direktna naslednica radnice/trudnice pozicionirane u levom uglu, a ostvarena je plošno nanesenim bojama unutar sveobuhvatne konture. Slikarka dokumentaristički motivisanu punoću forme i prateće insistiranje na telesnom kvalitetu menja ponovljenim spuštanjem za jedan stepenik niže u formalnom evoluiranju – obrisi i konture na mestu namenjenom eksplicaciji punoće i snage. Upotrebljavajući preimućstvo medija umetnica subvertuje očekivanu reprezentaciju aktivnih ženskih likova pripremljenu ideološki motivisanim ikonografskim modelom. O tome ponajbolje može da posvedoči komparativna analiza tretmana kojeg, odvojeno, namenjuju izvođenju ženskog lika Leks Nerlinger i Elza Šulce Knabe. *Autoportret Šulce Knabe* iz 1929. godine verno ponavlja model, ikonografski uspostavlja tendenciju u kojoj fizička snaga i telesnost postaju gotovo brutalno potencirani.<sup>42</sup> Delovanje Šulce Knabe, na taj način, stoji u konfliktu sa Dejnekinim slobodnim transformisanjem lika radnice. Ona je primorana na dvostruko citiranje, androgine telesnosti obučene u odgovarajući kostim, kao konačnog i traženog rezultata nove političke askeze ali i kurbeovski motivisanog pristupa sa evidentnim asocijacijama na povlašćenu maskulinu kreativnost. Leks Nerlinger svesno unosi šum u tako osposobljen sistem, odbijajući da svoj rad upiše u kodove očekivanog ponašanja. Umetnica ispravnim citatima pretpostavlja samovoljna preuzimanja i ikonička evoluiranja ostavljajući jasno čitljivim tragove vlastite inspiracije.

Grupa aktivnih žena na *Paragrafu 218* poreklo vuče od fotograma *Radnik gura kolica* iz 1930. godine koji je telesnom dispozicijom radnika poslužio kao reprezentativni model. Preuzimajući i transformišući elemente vlastitog opusa umetnica je omogućila radnu autonomnost svojoj estetici odbacujući osnovne postulate ideologizovane piktoralnosti. Slikarka podvrgava kritici postavku binarnih relacija (umetnik – vizuelna percepcija; vizuelna percepcija – masovna telesnost; masovna telesnost – ideološki imperativ) koje su vodile ka uspostavi novog hegemonog narativa, sličnih

patrijarhalnih premisa. Osnovnu nit umetničkog delovanja možemo da rekonstruišemo praćenjem teorijskih postavki Rozi Brajdoti.<sup>43</sup> Oslanjajući se na Delezov koncept aparalelnog evoluiranja, Brajdoti razvija specifičnu argumentaciju kojom prati i analizira primere rodno motivisanog, femininog narušavanja estetskih i ideoloških paradigmi, promovišući pojam figuracije kao osnovnog oblika osvešćenog femininog kreiranja značenja u potpunosti oslobođenog zahteva za mimetičkim praćenjem dominantnog narativa. Od posebnog su značaja, za ikonografske varijetete *Paragrafa 218* i moguća značenjska proizvođenja u piktoralnom poretku slike, nastojanja Brajdoti da kao neizostavne elemente u građnji antinarativa uključi i faktor čitaoca/receptora, odnosno, istorijski fenomen ženskog ćutanja, kao specifične vrste protivgovora sa potpunom slobodom uplivisanja dominantnog diskursa. Umetnica je element posmatrača, njegove predrasude i strahove, već inkorporisala fotomontažom *On, umnožen* iz



ALIS LEKS NERLINGER, *POLITIČKA*, 1933

1929. godine, koja je, izuzetno prikladno, bila deo Grafove publikacije namenjene apologiji estetike fotografske autonomnosti i njoj pripadajuće forme materijalizovanja rada – kameru učiniti ekstenzijom, odbaciti mimetički imperativ i korigovati perspektivna traženja drugih medija.<sup>44</sup> Leks Nerlinger, fotomontirajući i podvrgavajući repetaciji figuralni sadržaj kompozicije, odlično pristaje uz Grafov zahtev, ali formalne elemente dopunjuje narativom proizvedenim ukazivanjem na slabost identitetske situacije maskulinih subjekata/vojnika. *On, umnožen*, za Oto, predstavlja nepojamni horor inherentan posmatračima, naravno, muškarcima, koji su neizbežno nasleđivali dramatičan balast ratnih trauma, praćenih telesnim mutilacijama i degradacijama.<sup>45</sup> Ovdje je potrebno načiniti kratak osvrt na teorijske propozicije Rozi Brajdoti. Analitičarka je pri rekonstrukciji specifičnih figuracija ženske egzistencije prihvatila situaciju diskurzivnog proizvođenja, uključivši u tekstualnu mrežu i faktor čitaoca/receptora. Tako su figurativne situacije mogle da budu zakretane posebnim, individualizovanim opterećenjima, očekivanjima ili predrasudama posmatrača. Prihvatajući navedeni postulat, u grupi aktivnih žena *Paragrafa 218* moguće je prepoznati smišljeno presađenu ideju iniciranu u *On, umnožen*. Na mesto multiplikovanog, izokefaliji podređenog muškarca/vojnika Leks Nerlinger postavlja amorfnu, ameboidnu konfiguraciju ženskih tela u pokretu bez preciznije uspostavljenih pravila anatomske pripadanja. Sačinjen hibrid egzistira kao neophodan primer femininog u funkciji metafore degradacije. Kao strukturalna neophodnost binarno formiranog sistema, feminini „petit recit“ može da bude rekreiran, unutar prostora vlastite kooperacije, poput specifičnog, dobro plasiranog sistemskog šuma. Umetnica odbacuje mimetički pristup, insistirajući, zauzvrat, na morfološkoj neizvesnosti kroz razbijanje čistih i prepoznatljivih okvira i telesnih kontura, naglašavajući degradaciju logocentrične ekonomije u kojoj je viđenje izvor epistemološke izvesnosti i znanja. Ona usmerava u drugom pravcu telesnu transformaciju ženske figure u recentnom Dejnekinom delu, provokativno postavljajući fotogram *Radnika sa kolicima* kao početni stepen promene. Tako je implicirana situacija višestrukih identitetskih neizve-

snosti, od kojih ona uslovljena rodno kodifikovanim pravilima imaju odlučujuću ulogu u dekonstruisanju postojećih vizura. Nesigurnost posmatrača, baziranu na potenciranju femininog telesnog ekspaniranja, Leks Nerlinger pojačava karakterističnim kostimom.<sup>46</sup> Mada je aktivna grupa ostvarena zapostavljanjem detalja aplikacijom širokih, monohromno bojenih površina, ne može da prođe nezapaženim pravljenje aluzije na funkcionalan odevni pristup tipičan za urbani fenomen „nove žene“. Logično pitanje, zašto umetnica insistira na modnim aktuelnostima? Osim što je modni imperativ pretendovao na oblikovanje ponašanja i telesnog statusa žena, bivajući još jednom propozicijom dominantnog narativa, Leks Nerlinger je uvođenjem u vlastiti propitivnački konstrukt aluzije na „novu ženu“ neizbežno uključila i levu vajmarsku inteligenciju blisku samom Mincenbergu a posebno Zigfrida Krakauera.<sup>47</sup> Krakauer je dopunjavao, na neobičan način, svojim teorijskim postavkama o distrakciji i nesposobnosti ženskog subjektiviteta da se odupre urbanim senzacijama tezu Rozi Brajdoti o femininom, socijalno marginalnom, kao neophodnom uslovu egzistencije normativnog diskursa. Ovakvom konfiguracijom umetnica destabilizuje i ideološku paradigmu koja je stajala kao inspirativna pozadina i organizaciona podrška protesta tokom 1931. godine, reprezentujući celokupan figuralni sadržaj *Paragrafa 218* u obliku efemernog obrisa i ekranskog titraja. Dvodimenzionalnost i transparentnost likova, posebno onih karakterističnih za „novu ženu“, metaforizuju, motivisani Krakauerovim premisama, pogrešnu inspirativnu osnovu u građenju femininog subjektiviteta – kao što su ženski likovi ostali samo kolažirane aplikacije nedovršene telesnosti u kompozicionoj ravni, tako je i ključni zahtev tokom protesta žena, 1931. godine, ostao nerealizovan i ispražnjen, napušten i zaboravljen od identitetski nesigurnog kruga leve inteligencije okupljenog oko Mincenberga.

### Mogući zaključak

Prvi rad Leks Nerlinger koji je nakon *Paragrafa 218* kao centralnu figuru u kompozicionoj i ikonografskoj celini imao ženski lik bila je slika *Politička* iz 1933. godine. Specifično je odstupala od prethodnice, delimično zadržavajući tehnički pristup – izvedena je kombinacijom grafitne olovke, akvarela i sprej slikanja. *Politička* je obnovila, u poređenju sa *Paragrafom 218*, pored klasičnih medijskih pristupa i akademizovanu kompozicionu strukturu, praćenu odgovarajućim narativom. Čini se da je umetnica, i sama u očajnom egzistencijalnom položaju, dopunila ili evoluirala ka konačnom zaključku postavke *Paragrafa 218*.<sup>48</sup> Žena je u *Političkoj* uhvaćena unutar zatvorske izolacije, ali i unutar izolacije vlastite, sada plastične, trodimenzionalne telesnosti. Stanovište da je iskustvo zasnovano na vizuelizaciji omasovljene telesnosti samo politička fikcija, Leks Nerlinger pojačava i anatomskom nekorektnošću glavnog lika u *Političkoj*. Zaključak je razumljiv, rekonstrukcija perspektivnog prostora i mimetičkog sadržaja (predmetnog i telesnog) u njemu svedoči o konstelaciji *Paragrafa 218* kao jedinom mogućem i krajnjem obliku feminine emancipacije. Direktno insistiranje na stvarnoj, perceptibilnoj telesnosti, stoji u znaku poraza, lake apsorpcije u zatvorene i zaboravljene odaje dominantnog narativa. Umesto iznošenja sebe, umetnica insistira na perpetuiranom izlaganju tamnog prostora, inherentnog „velikim naracijama“. Vizuelna strategija organizovana je oko specifičnog ćutanja, ovde i rodno precizno definisanog, koje pretpostavlja preuzimanje i selektivno razvijanje određenih eksplikativnih modaliteta dominantne prakse – političkih ambicija vajmarske ideološke levice, Dejnekine figuracije, visceralnosti Oktobra, Krakauerove socijalne predrasude... Tako se *Paragraf 218* efektno dovršava prihvatanjem paralelne i istovremene situacije adoracije i odbijanja u ekranskoj ravni kao neophodne komponente u maskulinom identitetskom konstrukturu bez obzira na ideološki predznak. Slika dopunjuje tezu Grizelde Polok o distanciranju i neidentifikovanju kao ključnim postulatima antimimetičke, antidogmatske prakse, vitalizovanjem „upotrebe montaže, prekida naracije, odbijanjem poistovećenja sa herojima i heroinama, me-

šanjem operativnih postupaka visoke i popularne kulture [...] kompleksno viđenje i kompleksni slojeviti tekstovi su ultimativni zahtev“.<sup>49</sup> U slučaju Leks Nerlinger odlučujuća je belina pozadine, ekranska situacija koja, kroz kolažan i nenarativan pristup, omogućava vizuelizovanje narušenih i modifikovanih kapaciteta dominantnih narativa, svojevrsnih identitetskih krhotina okupljenih oko piktoralnih aluzija na traumatske sadržaje i iskustva degradiranih subjekata percepcije. Posmatran iz ovog rakursa *Paragraf 218* prihvata neuspeh protesta 1931. godine kao neophodnu i obaveznu pozadinu vlastitog ikonografskog egzistenciji i naknadnim rekontekstualizacijama, sa uvek novim zahvatanjima nesigurnih perceptivnih identiteta. Leks Nerlinger je, u konačnom, dala za pravo Egonu Fridlu i njegovom razobručenju diskursa postavljenog pod simboličku kontrolu modernog i tehnicističkog.

*Napomene:*

<sup>1</sup> Opšta literatura o Vajmaru: W. Laqueur, *Weimar. A Critical History 1918-1933*, London 1974. ; P. Gej, *Vajmarska kultura*, Beograd 1998. ; T. Palmer, H. Neubauer, *The Weimar Republic. Through the Lens of the Press*, Cologne 2000.

<sup>2</sup> O sukobu na levičarima, kao i o problemu realizma u likovnoj umetnosti: P. Wood, *Realisms and Realities*, u: B. Fer, D. Batchelor, P. Wood, *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism Art between the Wars*, New Haven, London 1993.

<sup>3</sup> U umetničkom polju to je praćeno revitalizacijom proleterske estetike, kako u SSSR-u, tako i u ideološki bliskim umetničkim krugovima u Nemačkoj. Kao prateći fenomen usledilo je i čvršće organizovanje umetnika unutar zajedničke asocijacije umetnika, pod pokroviteljstvom KPD: ARBKD(Asso), „Manifesto“ and „Statutes“, u: C. Harrison, P. Wood, *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, Oxford, Blackwell 1992, 390-393.

<sup>4</sup> O grupi Oktobar: A. Lavrentiev, *Rodtchenko et le groupe Octobre*, Paris 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Sažeto u: T. Palmer, H. Neubauer, *nav. delo*, 292-293.

<sup>6</sup> O Mincenbergu i levim intelektualcima: H. Gruber, *Willi Munzenbergs German Communist Propaganda Empire 1921-1933*, *Journal of Modern History* 38, 3, London 1966, 278-297.

<sup>7</sup> Hajnrin Brining, predsednik katoličkog Centra i kancelar od marta 1930. do maja 1932. optužen od levičara i KPD da je prihvatio i sprovodio zaključke enciklike pape Pia XI, *Casti Conubii*, kojom su osnažene zakonske postavke paragrafa 218. Ukratkto u: T. Palmer, H. Neubauer, *nav. delo*, 298-299.

<sup>8</sup> Paragraf 218 kao zakonski akt Vajmar nasleđuje od Carstva, sa malim modifikacijama načinjenim 1926. godine. Primarno zabranjivao je prekid trudnoće, odnosno otežavao je uslove za pribavljanje kontraceptivnih sredstava, uglavnom siromašnijim slojevima društva. O problemu ženske telesnosti, paragrafu 218, kao i reakcijama na njega sveobuhvatno govori studija: A. Grossmann, *Reforming Sex. The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform 1920-1950*, Oxford 1995.

<sup>9</sup> U skladu sa odlukama Šestog kongresa vrh KPD obnavlja nasilne proteste protiv socijaldemokratske vlade kancelara Milera berlinskim demonstracijama 1. maja 1929. godine; O kongresu i njegovoj kontekstualizaciji: E. H. Carr, *Ruska revolucija. Od Lenjina do Staljina 1917- 1929*, Zagreb 1984.

<sup>10</sup> *Paragraf 218*, 76x55 cm, sprej tehnika na platnu; Slika je bila izložena na berlinskoj izložbi „Frauen in Not“ u oktobru 1931. godine kao ikonička predstava celokupnog protesta tokom godine.

<sup>11</sup> Najvažnija analitička tumačenja slike dale su Marša Meskimon i Atina Grosman, došavši do identičnog zaključka, da je *Paragraf 218* stajao u znaku trijumfa oslobođenih i ujedinjenih vajmarskih žena tokom protesta; M. Meskimmon, *We Werent Modern Enough. Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1999, 106-119; A. Grossmann, *nav. delo*, 78-107.

<sup>12</sup> O pojmu „male književnosti“: Ж. Делез, Ф. Гатари, *Кафка*, Сремски Карловци, Нови Сад 1998; Takođe i: Ž. Delez, K. Pame, *Dijalozi*, Beograd 2009.

<sup>13</sup> H. Olbrich, *Alice Lex-Nerlinger, Oskar Nerlinger*, Berlin 1975.

<sup>14</sup> Isto, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Isto, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Isto, 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> Dakle, prilično je diskutabilan identitet pomenutog protivnika iz istorijskog osvrta umetnice. Iz pozicije 1959. godine u Istočnoj Nemačkoj to je, svakako, bila aktuelna vajmarska vlast. Ali iz rakursa 1931. godine u Vajmaru to su bili različiti slojevi raznovrsnih homogenih narativa koji su stajali u oštroj opoziciji sa idejom neopozive feminine emancipacije. U ovom slučaju jedva da je postojala razlika između ideološke leve i desnice. Dovoljno je pogledati likovne priloge u radničkom kalendaru za 1931. godinu u izdanju AIZ ili pratiti strahovitu borbu Helene Overlah, poslanice KPD, za njeno



ravnopravno učešće u antiparagraf pokretu.

<sup>18</sup> J. Meyer, *Minimalism*, London 2000, 19.

<sup>19</sup> Tezu o dijalektičkoj ikoni promovisala je Anet Mikelson: A. Michelson, Čovek sa filmskom kamerom: Od mađioničara do epistemologa, u: *Filozofska igračka*, Beograd 2003, 221-246.

<sup>20</sup> Opšti pregled Dejnekino stvaralaštva u: A. Sysoyev, *Alexander Deineka. Paintings, Graphic Works, Sculptures, Mosaics, Excerpts from the Artists Writings*, Moscow 1982.

<sup>21</sup> Pomenuti film je svojim narativnim razrešenjem postavljen u poziciju svojevrzne prefiguracije *Paragrafa 218*. Čini se da je u krugovima vajmarske leve inteligencije doživio pogrešnu recepciju, skrećući posmatrački fokus na primere telesne slobode i reproduktivnog izbora, uključujući i prekid trudnoće, sa narativnog insistiranja na postepenom utišavanju junakinje i njenom konačnom disidentstvu, neosporno rodno motivisanom. Odlične analize filma u: J. Graffy, *Bed and Sofa*, London 2001; J. Mayne, *Bed and Sofa and the Edge of Domesticity*, u: *Kino and the Woman Question. Feminism and Soviet Silent Film*, Columbus 1989.

<sup>22</sup> Međuratnu intelektualnu klimu Vajmara značajno je obeležila i kino-debata. Kao jedan od njenih inspiratora može da bude smatran Egon Fridl koji je još svojim ranim postavkama definisao film kao ultimativno modernu estetsku disciplinu, sposobnu da razbije konstantnost prostorno vremenskih koordinata. *Paragraf 218*, strukturiran poput fotograma, otvoreno apeluje na Fridlove propozicije, noseći u svoj temeljni sloj situaciju nesputane transformabilnosti – fotogram je shvaćen kao osnovna jedinica filmske trake, najniži nivo događaja. O uticaju debate na likovnost Vajmara: A. Kaes, *The Debate About Cinema: Charting a Controversy 1909-1929*, *New German Critique*, 40, Durham 1987, 7-33; P. Petro, *Perceptions of Difference: Woman as Spectator and Spectacle*, u: K. von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis. Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1997.

<sup>23</sup> E. Otto, *Montage and Message: the Photography Based Works of Alice Lex-Nerlinger in Publications of the Weimar Republic*, u: B. Lange, ed., *Printed Matter: Fotografie im/und Buch*, Leipzig 2004, 57-76.

<sup>24</sup> Isto, 61-62.

<sup>25</sup> O specifičnim ratnim kolažima kojima su front opskrbjivale organizovane nemačke žene u: B. Doherty, Berlin, u: L. Dickerman, ed., *Dada*, Washington 2006, 94-95.

<sup>26</sup> Citirano i objašnjeno u: C. Gallagher, S. Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, Chicago 2000, 49-74.

<sup>27</sup> Kleberbuch = slikovnica

<sup>28</sup> Ž. Delez, K. Parne, *nav. delo*, 7-30.

<sup>29</sup> Ovdje je potrebno obratiti pažnju na stav koji je bio gotovo istovetan kod svih dominantnih ideoloških narativa koji su oni zauzeli u odnosu na zahtev pobunjenih žena 1931. godine. Eugenički podržano modifikovanje kvalitativnih uslova trudnoće i naknadnog majčinstva, umesto telesne liberalizacije. Kakva je zastrašujuća devijacija počivala u drastično radikalnim razvijanjima eugeničkih postavki svedoči studija Gizele Bok: G. Bock, *Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization and the State*, u: R. Bridenthal, A. Grossmann, M. Kaplan, ed., *When Biology Became Destiny. Women in Weimar Germany*, New York 1984, 271-296.

<sup>30</sup> Protest 1931. godine je formalno iniciralo februarsko hapšenje medijski već odlično predstavljenih aktivista Elze Kinle i Fridriha Volfa.

<sup>31</sup> Brecht je svoje protivnike, okupljene oko Lukačevih propozicija, nazivao protivnicima proizvodnje, jer ih je ona svojom nesvodivošću i neočekivanim posljedicama obespekijavala. Citat u: P. Wood, *nav. delo*, 324-326.

<sup>32</sup> P. Brooks, *Realist Vision*, New Haven, London 2005, 113-129.

<sup>33</sup> O fenomenu populacije: M. Фуко, *Треба бранити друштво*, Нови Сад 1998, 290-320.

<sup>34</sup> A. Grossmann, *Abortion and Economic Crisis: The 1931 Campaign Against Paragraph 218*, u: R. Bridenthal, *nav. delo*, 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> E. Otto, *nav. delo*, 67-68.; O problematičnom odnosu maskulinih subjekata sa femininim automatonima u vajmarskom estetizovanom pejzažu: J. Lungstrum, *Metropolis and the Technosexual Woman of German Modernity*, u: K. von Ankum, *nav. delo*, 128-144.

<sup>36</sup> O fenomenu ekrana: J. Čekić, *Incident*, u: *Presecanje haosa*, Beograd 1998, 47-56.

<sup>37</sup> Kanonski tekst: O. Brik, *Photography versus Painting*, u: C. Harrison, P. Wood, *nav. delo*, 454-457.

<sup>38</sup> Dž. Skot, *Iskustvo*, u: Dž. Batler, Dž. Skot, *Feministkinje teoretizuju političko*, Beograd 2006, 39-57.

<sup>39</sup> Citat Semjuela Dilejnija, preuzet od Džoan Skot.

<sup>40</sup> Dž. Skot, *nav. delo*, 41-42.

<sup>41</sup> Oktobar 1931. godine, kao termin izložbe, stajao je daleko izvan vremenskih koordinata protesta. U tom trenutku on je bio samo daleko sećanje a na njegovo mesto su došli agresivni ulični sukobi ideoloških protivnika, krajnje maskulini po svom karakteru. Dakle, nije moglo biti ni govora o trijumfu a njegovo pominjanje bi moglo da bude opravdano samo posredstvom ironičnog otklona.

<sup>42</sup> O autoportretu Šulce Knabe: M. Meskimmon, *The Art of Reflection*, New York 1996, 37-38.

<sup>43</sup> R. Braidotti, Mothers, Monsters and Machines, u: K. Conboy, N. Medina, S. Stanbury, ed., *Writing on the Body. Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*, New York 1997, 59-79.

<sup>44</sup> O Verneru Grafu preciznije u studiji Elizabet Oto.

<sup>45</sup> O pomenutom traumatskom balastu: H. Foster, Fatal Attraction, u: *Compulsive Beauty*, Cambridge 1993, 100-122; T. Lichtenstein, *Behind Closed Doors. The Art of Hans Bellmer*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 2001; A. Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and Wounds of War*, New Haven 2009.

<sup>46</sup> O fenomenu modnog imperativa: S. L. Bartky, Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power, u: K. Conboy, N. Medina, S. Stanbury, *nav. delo*, 129-154.

<sup>47</sup> P. Petro, *nav. delo*, 52-58.

<sup>48</sup> Po dolasku nacista na vlast, umetnica dobija zabranu javnog rada.

<sup>49</sup> Citirano prema: M. Schor, Backlash and Appropriation, u: N. Broude, M. Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*, New York 1994, 258.

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## PARAGRAPH 218

### Summary:

The analysis of the painting *Paragraph 218* tries to reveal the essential, inspirational ideas behind the picturesque realization of Alice Lex Nerlinger. A careful reading of previous historicizations of Marsha Meskimmon and Atina Grossmann helps to reconstruct the historic frame from which the painting came and exists, as well as the relation to the frame itself. For the above mentioned historians, *Paragraph 218* is the sign of triumphal appearance of birth revived women during 1931, on a massive, politically-motivated protests, organized to speak against the restriction and the imposition of free deciding on sexuality and the reproductive women's rights. In order to question and change this attitude, it was necessary to carry out thorough reconstruction of socio-political context. Having in mind the attitude of Rosi Braidotti on specified birth-coded configurations, as well as those of Gilles Deleuze on nonparallel evolving of subject entities and lasting process of creating the meaning, the analysis promoted a specific textual network, to be the only possible and correct approach to *Paragraph 218*. Accepting the attitude on non-parallel takings-over, the new historical based approach of analysis notices a series of conditioned, discursive situations, as those that emerged as the result of the strong conflict for ideological supremacy in political left wing, in Moscow, as well as in Berlin, i.e. accompanying aesthetical component in those conflicts. In Weimar case, the documentaristic poetics, being the privilege form of artistic creation, has its position inside the left-wing aesthetics (AIZ with the workers' photography), but during the year 1931, Willy Munzenberg shaped its course in his own way, trying to make a dominance inside KPD. A subversive potential of „petit recit“, women' issue is opposed to the dominant narrative; a repression caused by the consequences of *Paragraph 218*. The painting of Alice Lex Nerlinger, which was exhibited on the „Frauen in Not“ exhibition in October 1931, certifies on the specific autonomy of the artist, who was, however, close to the left-motivated artistic scene, whose specific compositional elements are organized as birth revived response to all the theoretical and practical propositions, that were crucial for the creativity on the mentioned exhibition.

*Key words:* Paragraph 218, feminism, technicism, photogram, Weimar

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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## **AMERIČKI KRITIČARI DRUGE GENERACIJE – KRAUS, KOZLOV, KASPIT DEKONSTRUISANJE GRINBERGIJANSKIH POSTULATA**

### *Sažetak:*

Američku umetničku scenu i njenu likovnu kritiku oko i nakon Drugog svetskog rata obeležila je pojava Klementa Grinberga. Međutim, u potonjim etapama u kojima su umetnost i kritika doživljavale novine, najbitnije promene vršene su upravo na liniji oslobađanja od uticaja njegovog autoriteta. Želja za metodološkim napuštanjem formalističkog obrasca, odvela je Rozalind Kraus ka poststrukturalističkim interpretacijama, dok je bunt Maksa Kozlova protiv jednostranosti tumačenja umetničkog dela kao isključivo estetskog fenomena urodio veoma značajnom analizom uticaja hladnoratovske politike na razvoj i interpretiranje američke moderne. Pozicija Donalda Kaspita je, sa druge strane, manje eksplicitno neprijateljska prema Grinbergu, ali njegov u osnovi filozofski pristup umetničkim fenomenima i insistiranje na društvenom kontekstu, čini da se i ovaj autor nađe na suprotnoj strani.

*Ključne reči:* umetnička kritika, američka kulturna scena, modernizam, modernistička paradigma

## Grinberg i jedinstveni kanon modernizma

Jedna od najzanimljivijih ličnosti na američkoj kulturnoj sceni u vreme i nakon Drugog svet-skog rata jeste Klement Grinberg. Birajući pozicije njegovih "naslednika" na američkoj sceni, probaćemo da, prezentujući strategije njihovih delovanja, ukažemo na dalji razvoj na liniji odnosa kritičara prema predmetu njegovog istraživanja, na sposobnosti kritičara da odgovori na zahteve i potrebe recentne umetničke produkcije kao i na limite prethodnih kritičarskih strate-gija u ovom slučaju Grinbergove. Bez potrebe da vršimo bilo kakve valorizacije u komparativnoj analizi teorijsko-kritičkog diskursa jednih naspram drugog, cilj je da ukažemo na celovitost ko-rpusa ideja koje su se javile posle Grinberga, dobrim delom inspirisane njegovim delom.

Premda kritičar-autodidakt Grinberg nam se ukazuje kao ličnost koja je na temeljima sop-stvenog velikog entuzijazma, energije i ljubavi prema umetnosti kao i nepokolebljivoj veri u sopstveni sud do granica rigidnosti i pristrasnosti, izgradila vrednosni i ideološki sistem koji će se u jednom trenutku shvatati kao poželjan i potreban na američkoj kulturnoj sceni. Pišući is-torijsko-teorijske osvrtre za časopise poput *Partisan Review* – u godinama snažnog širenja mark-sističkih ideja u osvit Drugog svetskog rata – Grinberg se formirao najpre kao pisac-teoretičar a vremenom i kao kritičar pišući za *The Nation*, vodeći se prevashodno sopstvenom intuicijom i gradeći sistem vrednosti. Od kulturnih tekstova kakvi su „Avangarda i Kič“, „Ka novom Laokonu“ i „Američki tip slikarstva“ do prikaza izložbi, kraćih osvrtre na dela umetnika itd, celokupno Grinbergovo delo vodilo je utemeljenju, konstituisanju i promovisanju onoga što danas zovemo američkom modernom. Dugo prateći, pomno ispitujući, učeći gledajući, kako je to više puta ponovio, američku umetnost koja je nastajala u međuratnim i poratnim godinama, u godinama njene spremnosti da iznedri apstraktni ekspresionizam kao veoma specifičnu pojavu, posle duže, uslovno rečeno, stagnacije u okvirima vizuelnog rečnika evropske moderne, Grinberg se ukazao i kao direktni promoter u definisanju postulata visokog modernizma a potom i defin-isanja, ustanovljenja i obrazloženja specifičnosti modernizma američkog tipa.

Jedna od najčešćih zamerki Grinbergovom radu je neodustajanje od upornog proklamovanja ideologije modernizma u osnovi koje je ideja da umetnosti pripada posebnost, samostalnost, pravo na apsolutnu slobodu iz čega proizlazi i pravo na tretman isključivo sa pozicija prirode njenog medija. Grinberg konstruiše kanon modernizma posmatrajući evropsku umetnost, gde uočava njen razvoj na liniji diferencijacije i osamostaljivanja svake posebne vrste umetnosti, koje su vekovima u izvesnoj korelaciji. Posledica takvog purifikatorskog procesa je upravo pojava modernizma, u kome se esteticizam kao cilj i vrhunski domet umetnosti postiže, konzervira i trajno čuva od svih pretećih i nepovoljnih uticaja. Cilj ovog procesa je osamostaljivanje svake vrste ponaosob i čišćenje od pozajmljenih elemenata i daljeg svođenja na konkretni medij svake od njih, bilo da je reč o slikarstvu, vajarstvu, muzici, književnosti. Slikarstvo, koje je glavna tema Grinbergovih analiza, u modernizmu doživljava svođenje na голу suštinu, baveći se isključivo problematikom svoga medija, elemenata koji ga konstituišu i zakonitostima njihovog postojanja. Iz tog razloga, fenomeni slikarskog medija poput dvodimenzionalnosti platna, njegove „flat-ness“ (plošnosti), boje, karakteristike pigmenta, postaju glavni principi slikarskog delovanja, sredstva kojim se postiže samodovoljnost, čistota, sloboda slikarstva kao takvog. Pojam čiste umetnosti, koji se konstituiše na ovaj način u Grinbergovoj teoriji, on će javno odbaciti kao svojo

ideju, tvrdeći da je samo posredovao prenoseći ubeđenja samih umetnika u svojim analizama.<sup>2</sup>

Grinberg se nije libio favorizovanja apstraktnog ekspresionizma, čiji je promoter bio, kao ni isticanja jednih a zanemarivanja nekih drugih umetnika, što će mu često biti sa pravom zamereno. Verujući u individuu ili nekolicinu istaknutih pojedinaca, gnušajući se tekovina masovne kulture, insistirajući na razlici između “visoke” i “niske” kulture i umetnosti, Grinberg će se pretvoriti u autoritarnog, rigidnog i u neku ruku nepopustljivog intelektualca, bez sluha za pojave koje danas shvatamo kao umetnost posle modernizma. Svom kritičkom polazištu – formalizmu ili formalističkoj metodi – ostaće dosledan do kraja slepo verujući u njegovu nužnost, što je i objasnio u tekstu „Neophodnost formalizma“.<sup>3</sup> Kako će tvrditi insistiranje na estetskim kvalitetima na prvom mestu nije bilo novina, već je oblik u kome se ta potreba javila bio sasvim nov kao i načini njenih manifestacija. U tom smislu, formalizam je prirodni odgovor na posebnost modernističke revizije estetskih vrednosti i zato “je svaki napad na „formalistički“ aspekt „modernističkog“ slikarstva i skulpture izveden kao napad na sam modernizam, jer se svaki takav napad u isto vreme razvio u jedan napad na više umetničke standarde“.<sup>4</sup>

### **Rozalind Kraus i promenjeni „pogled u konceptualnu prazninu“**

Grinbergijanski postulati su neprikosnoveno vladali na polju likovne kritike, nudeći upotrebljiv i kompaktan aparat za razumevanje i interpretiranje umetnosti kakav je bio formalistički. Na njemu su formirani kritičari druge generacije, među kojima je istoričarka umetnosti i kritičarka Rozalind Kraus. Njena pozicija na polju interpretacije umetnosti određena je pre svega doprinosom razvoju metodologije na liniji oslobađanja od preovlađujućih historiografskih elemenata ka zadiranju u polje kritičke istorije, novim interpretativnim metodama pod uticajem francuskog strukturalizma i poststrukturalizma. Premda Grinbergova učenica, koja je prihvatila i koristila njegov kritički instrumentarij, formirajući se na tekovinama visokog modernizma, ona ubrzo biva suočena sa nemogućnošću da tim jezikom odgovori na fenomen nove umetnosti koja ju je privlačila. Preuzimajući od strukturalista ideju o umetničkom delu kao strukturi i odbacujući idealističku viziju čiste umetnosti, koja je bila u osnovi Grinbergove modernističke paradigme, ona zadire u nove pojave umetnost postmodernizma, prirodno stvarajući specifičan rečnik za njihovo razumevanje.

Povod za definitivni raskid sa autoritetom kakav je bio Grinberg bilo je delo Ričarda Sera. Videvši da se njegovi radovi ne mogu objasniti Grinbergovim formalizmom, posegnula je alatkama koje je nudio strukturalizam. Na rad Rozalind Kraus najviše su uticale ideje dva francuska autora: Morisa Merlo-Pontija i Žorža Bataja. Pitanja koja je otvorila Merlo-Pontijeva “Fenomenologija percepcije” utiće na njenu interpretaciju Serinog dela i poslužiće joj kao sredstvo za oslobađenje od uticaja Grinbergovog formalističkog metoda. U kataloškom tekstu povodom izložbe u Centru Žorž Pompidu u Parizu 1983. godine na samom početku postavila pitanje: “How is one to begin, in France, to speak of the work of Richard Serra?”, izražavajući u kolevci evropske moderne svoju potrebu za menjanjem kritičarske pozicije kada je u pitanju delo postmodernizma koje razmatra a u isto vreme svoje oduševljenje istim. “How to explain the beauty of the work’s relentless aggressiveness, its acceptance of the technologically brut, to an audience whose ideas of beauty have been formed in other schools and are, quite simply, invested elsewhere?”<sup>5</sup> Suprotstavljajući u ovom tekstu delo Alberta Đakometija delu Ričarda Sere, daće zanimljivu elaboraciju načina na koji se odnos posmatrača i posmatranog umetničkog dela upisuje u strukturalno i stilski dva dijametralno različita umetnička opusa. Ovo objašnjenje biće umnogome prožeto idejama iz Merlo-Pontijeve “Fenomenologije percepcije”, pomenute u tekstu na više mesta. Uticaj ove knjige bio je velik, najpre na francuskom govornom

području a posle engleskog prevoda nju su mogli da čitaju i američki umetnici, što će među prvima uraditi minimalisti šezdesetih godina. Međutim, njihovo shvatanje nekih ideja bitno će se razlikovati od shvatanja francuskih umetnika četvrte decenije. Kraus smatra da će ih oni uvek prilagođavati svojim viđenjima apstraktne umetnosti.<sup>6</sup> U toj ravni pronaći će i interpretativni model koji najviše odgovara prirodi dela Ričarda Sere. Međutim, istaći će jasno da on sam nije ukazivao na direktne veze sa Merlo-Pontijeviom "Fenomenologijom percepcije", iako njegova dela problematizuju fenomen naše percepcije prostora kao i odnosa sa istim. U tom smislu značajni su njegovi komentari rada *Shift*: „What I wanted was a dialectic between one's perception of the place in totality and one's relation to the field as walked. The result is a way of measuring oneself against the indeterminacy of the land“.<sup>7</sup> Odnos posmatrača i onog što je posmatrano zaokupiće ga i postati glavna tema većine njegovih radova i osnovna konceptualna matrica njegovog opusa. Uvodeći u eksplikaciju *Shift*-a Đakometijevo delo, Rozalind Kraus problematizuje morfološku posebnost radova kakve Sera izvodi, određujući njihovu pripadnost jednom pojmu, koji je zahvaljujući upravo njoj postao bitan u istoriji / teoriji umetnosti 20. veka a to je „skulptura u proširenom polju“.<sup>8</sup> Dok se Đakometi bavi daljinom sa koje se nešto posmatra i gleda, koja je bitan faktor našeg percipiranja predmetnog sveta, Serinu pažnju privlači problem „pretpredmetnog iskustva“. U tom smislu Kraus uočava Serinu sklonost ka apstraktnom koja će dominirati njegovim opusom.

Za suštinsko razumevanje kritičarskog integriteta Rozalind Kraus najbolje će poslužiti iščitavanje njene knjige "The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths" objavljene 1985. godine koja predstavlja skup tekstova objavljenih u časopisu *October* čija je urednica bila. Sama sistematizacija tekstova u dva poglavlja – od kojih je prvo posvećeno tzv. "modernističkim mitovima", u kome problematizuje neke od najbitnijih tekovina modernizma, poput nadrealističke fotografije, Pikasovog stvaralaštva, Rodenove skulpture ili pak pojave grida u modernističkom slikarstvu, dok nam drugo poglavlje „ka postmodernizmu“ daje uvid u novije i samoj autorki vremenski bliže umetničke prakse – indikativna je i ukazuje na suštinske odrednice kritičarskog opusa Rozalind Kraus. Formativna uloga visokog modernizma, kao vremenskog i morfološkog okvira, prisutna je kao ravan u kojoj će "trenirati" nove interpretativne strategije nastale kao posledica njenog dodira sa jezikom novih umetničkih praksi kakve su bile konceptualna umetnost, land art, itd, a koje će biti glavni predmet njenog teorijskog interesovanja. U tom smislu, ova knjiga predstavlja dragocen korpus ideja i primera postupaka koje Kraus izvodi na liniji uvođenja novih interpretativnih metoda u akademsku disciplinu istorije umetnosti.

U tekstu „Skulptura u proširenom polju“ Kraus problematizuje rečnik skulptorskog izražavanja u trenutku morfološkog proširenje pojma od šezdesetih godina pa nadalje. Ukazujući na novine koje donose opusi umetnika kao što su Robert Moris, Robert Smitson, Ričard Sera, Valter de Marija, Robert Irvin, Sol Le Vit, Brus Nojman, Kraus daje jedinstveno objašnjenje širenja do tada aktuelnog pojma skulpture i njegovo neminovno usložnjavanje po principu uvođenja negacijskih odrednica, kao što su ne-predeo ili ne-arhitektura. Suočena sa heterogenošću umetničkih radova, koji se tipološki ne mogu svesti na tradicionalni medij skulpture ona pribegava rešavanju ovog jezičkog problema pomoću objašnjenja šta to ova dela nisu i ne mogu biti.

Sredinom 20. veka, uočiće Kraus, skulptura u potpunosti doživljava svoju negaciju i egzistira po načelu inverzije, tj. obrnute logike. Skulptura u proširenom polju jeste ono što zapravo nije u konvencionalnom sistemu poimanja, bivajući tako, u svojoj heterogenosti pojava koje treba da definiše, produkt jedne nove klime koja uveliko postaje simptom novog doba, doba postmodernizma ili pak doba koje dolazi nakon modernizma, čiji se tragovi osećaju u svim segmentima

kulture pa i u umetničkoj produkciji. Promene koje donose radovi umetnika šeste i sedme decenije Kraus objašnjava na liniji menjanja strukture umetničkog dela i u tom smislu se upisuje u šire postrukturalističke intervencije na polju interpretacije umetnosti. Prošireno polje u kome nastaju morfološki heterogeni umetnički radovi u okviru strukture sačinjene od pojmova kakvi su predeo/arhitektura i njihovi opoziti ne-predeo/ne-arhitektura, pomoću kojih se definiše u shemi pojam skulpture i novi pojam *site-construction*, nastaje, kako Kraus kaže, kao posledica određenog istorijskog trenutka, te je kao takva i specifičan istorijski događaj. Ukazujući na bitnost dublje analize uslova u kakvim ovakve promene nastaju, Kraus insistira na nužnosti posmatranja istorijskih procesa sa pozicije njihove logičke strukture.

Teorijski diskurs Rozalind Kraus donosi nekoliko bitnih stvari. Na prvome mestu to je shvatanje umetničkog dela kao posebne strukture. Kao posledica toga javlja se novo iščitavanje modernističkog kanona (na kome se i sama autorka formirala) i u tom smislu korigovanje grinbergijanskog formalističkog koncepta kao i uvođenje novog odgovarajućeg pogleda na novije umetničke prakse sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina. Kraus je jedan od autora sa čijim drugačijim i izmenjenim interpretativnim strategijama otpočinje novo poglavlje u istoriji istorije umetnosti kao discipline. S obzirom na to da je svoju profesionalnu karijeru gradila kao profesor na fakultetu, njen teorijski diskurs kao i njena kritička pozicija, ostaće označeni prevashodno kao akademski, dakle institucionalni. U tom smislu je njen trud na menjanju metodološkog instrumentarija kojim je istorija umetnosti raspolagala bio višeslojan i dalekosežan. Kada se ovome pridruže i njene aktivnosti oko časopisa *October*, čija je urednica bila, postaje jasno da je reč o osobi koja u potpunosti bila posvećena menjanju interpretativnih modela na polju umetničke kritike i istorije umetnosti kao i širenju pojma istorije umetnosti kao discipline. U tom smislu potrebno je spomenuti da je upravo časopis *October*, osnovan 1976. godine, imao za cilj bavljenje umetnošću u najširem smislu tog pojma, do njenog zadiranja u ono što se danas naziva vizuelnom kulturom, koja podrazumeva ne samo slikarstvo, skulpturu, fotografiju i film, već i performans, instalacije, eksperimentalnu muziku, nove medije. Oko ovog časopisa koji je u literaturi označen kao svojevrsni „projekat radikalne istorije umetnosti“<sup>9</sup> bili su okupljeni mnogi značajni autori kao što su Iv-Alen Boa, Daglas Krimp, Kreg Ovens, Benjamin Buhloh, Hal Foster i dr.

Rozalind Kraus je i knjigom „*Optical Unconscious*“ doprinela bogatijem i višeslojnijem tumačenju umetnosti. Uvodeći pojam *optički nesvesno* pokušala je da elaborira razlike koje su uticale na recepciju ali i prezentaciju modernizma. Sam pojam se javlja kao posledica kombinacije dva uticaja: Lakanove teorije nesvesnog i pojma politički nesvesno koji se nalazi kod Frederika Džejmsona.<sup>10</sup> U tom smislu *optički nesvesno* kod Rozalind Kraus označava vizuelne strukture koje postoje i funkcionišu na način na koji postoji, u svojoj svojoj složenosti, naše nesvesno, u psihoanalitičkom smislu lakanovskog tipa, kao jezik izvan našeg domašaja. U daljoj teorijskoj razradi, *optički nesvesno* poslužiće Rozalind Kraus kao princip pomoću koga će dekonstruisati tvrdokornu shemu modernističkog kanona u čijoj osnovi su strogo racionalni konstrukti poput kompaktnosti i neprobojnosti umetničkog dela kao nezavisnog entiteta izraženog estetskog kvaliteta, sa željom da ukaže na mnoge tekovine nesvesnog koje se javljaju u vizuelnom polju u kome se konstruiše modernizam.

Do još jednog koncepta Rozalind Kraus će doći posrednim putem – pomoću pojma koji pozajmljuje od Žorža Bataja. Po Bataju, transgresija kao proces bila je u osnovi umetničkog stvaralaštva, te je kao takva veoma bitna za pravilno shvatanje umetnosti. Međutim, često se dešavalo da su Batajeve ideje pogrešno tumačene, što je bio i slučaj sa idejom o transgresiji, koju je objasnio ne kao proces za oslobođenje od represivnih društvenih mera, već sasvim suprotno, kao proces jačanja tabua koji uslovljavaju kolektivno ponašanje i u osnovi su društvenih pravila.<sup>11</sup> Pojam

besformnog, koji je Bataj uveo u svoj Rečnik 1929. godine, poslužiće kao inspiracija Rozalind Kraus i Iv-Alen Boa, u osmišljavanju koncepta za izložbu „Besformnost/način upotrebe“, koju su organizovali 1996. godine u Centru Žorž Pompidu u Parizu. Ova izložba bila je još jedna zanimljiva manifestacija potrebe da se na drugačiji način prezentuju tekovine modernističke i postmodernističke umetničke produkcije, rukovodeći se fenomenom besformnog, pozajmljenog od Bataja, a u cilju prevazilaženja standardnih predstavljačkih strategija. Selektujući dela različitih autora nastala u periodu od 1920. do 1970. godine, obuhvatajući tako modernizam i postmodernizam, ne po istorijskom načelu već po principu višeznačnosti njihove materijalnosti, oni su ih sortirali u sledeće celine: horizontalnost, pulsacija, niski materijalizam i entropija, želeći tako da ukažu na neke bitne promene koje su se dešavale na samom umetničkom delu. Na ovaj način ukazaće na nužnost menjanja operativnih aparata same istorije umetnosti kao discipline koja više neće moći da tretira umetnost isključivo formalistički jer će mnogi njeni aspekti u tom slučaju ostati nedotaknuti. Izložba „Besformnost/način upotrebe“ shvaćena je i primljena na različite načine u stručnoj javnosti.<sup>12</sup> Međutim, ona ostaje zapamćena kao primer drugačije predstavljačke strategije, koja je imala za cilj ukazivanje na elemente umetničkog dela koji su, po mišljenju samih autora, ostali zamagljeni u pogledu modernističkih interpretativnih posmatračkih aparata.

Dakle, teorijsku i kritičku poziciju Rozalind Kraus pozicioniraćemo na mapi širenja ideja francuskog strukturalizma i poststrukturalizma šezdesetih godina od evropskog ka američkom produkcijskom polju a koje su zadrle duboko u sve pore zapadne kulture, bitno promenivši interpretativne strategije na ovome polju. Bivajući otvorena za uticaje koji su dolazili iz Evrope, pre svega iz francuskih intelektualnih sfera, Kraus je sva nova znanja upotrebila za menjanje toka razvoja likovne kritike u svojoj zemlji, želeći na taj način da doprinese njenom usmeravanju ka glavnim idejnim strujama u Evropi. U tom smislu može biti zanimljiv i njen položaj kao intelektualke u odnosu na položaj neprikosnovenog autoriteta kakav je američka kultura imala u liku Klementa Grinberga. Neki autori će u ovom preusmeravanju Rozalind Kraus od specifičnog formalističkog modela grinbergijanskog tipa, koji je bio tipično američki produkt, ka radikalno drugačijem metodološkom sistemu – ne formalističkom, već strukturalističkom i dekonstruktivističkom – francuskog porekla, videti njeno razračunavanje sa svojim učiteljem, mentorom, „duhovnim ocem“ ne samo na naučnoj osnovi, već u određenim interpretacijama i rodnoj.

### **Maks Kozlov i kontekstualizovanje mitova američke posleratne moderne**

Maks Kozlov je kritičar, istoričar umetnosti i fotograf koji je svojim delom doprineo daljem razvoju američke umetničke kritike na liniji njenog oslobađanja od posledica grinbergijanskih formalističkih postulata ka sveobuhvatnijem tretmanu. Radom ovog autora, američka umetnička kritika obogaćena je posmatranjem umetnosti kroz prizmu socio-političkog konteksta u kojem nastaje. Maks Kozlov se bavio kako naučnim radom – predavao je na Njujorškom univerzitetu u jednom periodu – tako i likovnom kritikom, pišući za časopise poput *Nation*, *Art International* i čuveni *Artforum*, u kome je jedno vreme bio i urednik. Dobio je brojne nagrade za likovnu kritiku, da bi se vremenom u potpunosti posvetio fotografiji. Njegov kritičarski rad, kao i fotografska produkcija, često su bili kritikovani, ali jasno je da je na polju umetničke kritike Kozlovova interpretacija urodila složenijem razumevanju američke posleratne umetnosti. U tom svetlu pomenućemo njegov čuveni tekst „Američka umetnost u vreme hladnog rata“, koji je svojevremeno ukazao na bitnost društvenog konteksta kao značajnog faktora za objašnjenje umetničkih pojava. Sam tekst nastaje kao potreba autora da odgovori na niz interpretacija poput „The triumph of American painting“ Irvinga Sandlera, „Readings in American art from 1900“



Barbare Rouz, "The New York School: Cultural reckoning" Dore Ešton, a koje su, u skladu sa probojem američke posleratne umetnosti na svetsku umetničku mapu, bile logičan sled događaja u okviru jednog šireg projekta američkog kulturalnog imperijalizma, kako će to Kozlov objasniti. Naspram ovakvih radova, čiji autori sa velikim oduševljenjem vrše promociju američkih umetničkih vrednosti, Kozlovov tekst pozicioniraće se kao pogled sa druge strane, od spolja ka unutra, u cilju raskrinkavanja mitova koji su postavljani pomenutim radovima.

Strogi ton koji se oseća u ovom radu potvrda je autorovog razočarenja nedoslednošću kritičkog aparata koji je propustio da sagleda neke bitne aspekte američke posleratne umetnosti, poput socijalno-političkog sistema u kome je nastala i u kome je doživela i svoju mitologizaciju. Razlog za ovo Kozlov vidi sa jedne strane u uverenju kritike da se na osnovu socijalnog, političkog, društveno-istorijskog konteksta, koji je „isuviše porozan i neekskluzivan ne može reći ništa značajno“, a sa druge u prihvaćenju ideji o avangardi kao trajno sukobljenoj sa svojim socijalnim kontekstom.<sup>13</sup> Nasuprot ovome, Kozlov će na samom početku teksta sebe odrediti kao kritičara koji insistira upravo na bitnosti socio-političkog konteksta, koji je, kada je reč o američkoj poratnoj umetnosti, možda od presudnog značaja. U tom smislu reći: "Estetsko prispeće se, pored mnogih unutrašnjih činilaca, ne može zamisliti bez političkog širenja" deluju krajnje ubedljivo i primereno situaciji kakva je bila posleratna, u kojoj se Amerika javlja kao sila koja otpočinje eru svoje vojne, ekonomske, političke i kulturne ekspanzije.<sup>14</sup> Raspravljajući o poreklu stavova apstraktnih ekspresionista – razvoju same pojave apstraktnog ekspresionizma u američkoj kulturi, od marginalne, *underground* pojave ka vodećoj – i razlozima za takvo njihovo pozicioniranje, daće sasvim drugačiju i novu interpretaciju koja će podstaći i druge autore, poput Eve Kokroft i Serža Žilboa, na dalju elaboraciju i možda čak radikalizaciju njegovih ideja prezentovanih u ovom tekstu.<sup>15</sup>

Kozlov daje sistematičnu elaboraciju istorijskih i političkih događaja, koji su karakterisali period nastanka apstraktnog ekspresionizma, umetnosti pomoću koje će američki državni aparat plasirati svoju kulturu na svetsko tržište, potvrđujući na taj način ne samo svoju političku i ekonomsku dominaciju već i kulturnu. Dakle, iznikla u atmosferi Trumanovih sistematskih napora ka podgrevanju američke militantnosti u poratnoj etapi njenog sazrevanja kao svetske sile, ona će ubrzo postati alatka upotrebljena za spretnu manipulaciju, koja je imala za cilj jačanje iluzije o nacionalnoj svemoći kao upotrebljivom psihološkom pokretaču u državi koja nije bila kulturalno osvešćena do pre rata, a čija se politička i ekonomska moć sada širila do najudaljenijih delova sveta. Na taj način osvetliće nam još jedan bitan aspekt američke modernističke umetnosti, koja se odnosi na njenu upotrebu kao jedne od oružja u hladnoratovskoj politici SAD-a.

Kroz priču o osnovnim idejama koje su stajale iza apstraktnog ekspresionizma, kao što su potreba za jedinstvenim svetom – svetom umetnosti koji postoji samo u okviru umetničkog platna – scene umetničkog delovanja, osećanje otuđenja blisko onom koje su opisivali francuski egzistencijalisti, shvatanje slobode kao balasta na koji je čovek osuđen, težnje za „uzvišenim“ – kategorijom čijom bi se problematizacijom u kontekstu američke umetnosti valjalo detaljnije pozabaviti – Kozlov nam sugeriše na koji je način ovakva umetnost sa takvim karakteristikama i interesovanjima poslužila kao višeznačna metafora za kretanje države u kojoj je nastala ka dominantnoj poziciji moći. Solipstičizam umetnikâ, njihova vera u stvarnost jedinstvenog sveta umetnosti, njihova inspirisanost praiskonskim vrednostima koje su otkrivali u "primitivnim" kulturama sveta, zagledanost u daleko i nepoznato „uzvišeno“ tek naznačeno u pokušajima na njihovim velikim platnima, iskorišćeni su u daljoj elaboraciji kao paralela veličanstvenosti i snazi zemlje i države. U takvom, na paradoksu postavljenom sistemu stvari, izvršiće se konstruisanje kulturalnog identiteta američke države u vreme njenog političkog osnaživanja najpre sa ap-

straktnim ekspresionizmom, koji će promovisati i proklamovati Klement Grinberg u zemlji, ali i u inostranstvu, na šta se na veoma sarkastičan način osvrće i Kozlov, njegov neistomišljenik i oponent, a zatim u petoj i šestoj deceniji sa pop-artom i njegovim korelatom – apstrakcijom bojenog polja. U tom smislu jasne su Kozlovove reči: “Ako je ova zemlja bez premca u industrijskim kapacitetima i vojnoj moći, onda mora da sledi da smo isto tako imali i vlastitu kulturu”.<sup>16</sup> Marginalna pojava u svojim počecima, apstraktni ekspresionizam pedesetih godina doživljava apsolutni uspeh i postaje glavni element u kreiranju umetničkog identiteta zemlje, bivajući prihvaćen od mnogih kritičara, zapažen od strane medija, institucija kulture, bogatih kolekcionara i dilera, koji će prvi početi sa izvozom dela apstraktnog ekspresionizma u svet. Presentaciju ove umetnosti će pod direktivom državnog aparata izvršiti najvažnije američke umetničke institucije.

Kozlov nam zatim daje uvid u okolnosti u kojem je nastala sledeća značajna umetnička pojava u Americi kakav je bio pop art: “Politika je postala pozorište harizmatične obmane. Nauka na univerzitetima je postala kolonija odbrambene industrije. Planovi za nepredviđene slučajeve, scenarij za sudnji dan, istraživački centri, meki underground, Cape Canaveral, kultura droge... smučkali su se u nesvarljivu papazjaniju”.<sup>17</sup> U ovim rečima osećamo izvesnu odbojnost prema situaciji šezdesetih godina, koja će biti i glavno obeležje Kozlovovog stava prema pop-artu. Njegova zapažanja o poreklu pop-arta, o promenjenom statusu umetnika u društvu, o prirodi same poetike pop-arta, o njenoj višeslojnosti, fascinantnoj agresivnosti i varljivoj jednostavnosti, o njegovoj recepciji u američkom društvu i u inostranstvu, ne mogu nikoga da ostave ravnodušnim jer je jasno da su posledica britkosti kritičarske misli, koja se nije ustezala da iznese na svetlost dana zaključke koji se nisu mogli upisati u ambiciozni projekat mitologizacije moderne američke umetnosti.

Pop umetnost je donela veliki komercijalni uspeh svojim tvorcima, koji je pak uslovio i njihov bolji položaj u društvu: oni, kako Kozlov ispravno primećuje, postaju medijske zvezde, koje istovremeno moraju i da se ponašaju kao poslovni ljudi saobrazno svom uspehu. Njihov uspeh je dalekosežan i poduprt je potrebom određenih slojeva za samoidentifikacijom i etikacijom, pa će tako odnos pop-umetnika i njihove publike, tj. konzumenata njihovih umetničkih produkata, biti okarakterisan od strane Kozlova kao odnos uzajamne manipulacije, što će pop art učiniti bitno drugačijim u odnosu na prethodni uticajni američki umetnički fenomen apstraktni ekspresionizam. Kozlov u ovom tekstu iznosi da je pop art, premda se bavi temama iz svakodnevnog života na jedan vizuelno agresivan i provokativan način, umetnost prepuna dvosmislenosti, koja je u inostranstvu, uostalom kao i apstraktni ekspresionizam, doživela veliki uspeh donoseći svojoj moćnoj državi slavu.

Treća pojava koju Kozlov razmatra u ovom tekstu je slikarstvo bojenog polja i sistemske apstrakcije, koje po njegovom mišljenju predstavljaju „institucionalizovani duplikat“ popa, koji, kao i pop, odgovara jednom segmentu američke stvarnosti šeste decenije dvadesetog veka: „Kao što se pop-umetnost najbolje obračala preduzumljivom kolekcionaru, tako je i apstrakcija bojenog polja, koja izgleda skupo, bila znamenje na zidovima banaka, prostorija upravnih odbora i onih korporacijskih feuda, muzeja”.<sup>18</sup> Pojavu slikarstva bojenog polja Kozlov objašnjava jednim širim kontekstom, a to je promena u društvenoj atmosferi Amerike koja je „postala ružna, opoganjena otpadnim vodama i pocepana razdornim silama“. U takvoj atmosferi potreba za redom i nekim čvrsto ustrojenim sistemom otelotvorena je, po njegovom mišljenju, u grandioznim slikarskim formatima, koji su nudili pravilne nanose jedne, dve ili tek par boja, izvedene na krajnje redukcionistički način, koji je sugerisao razum, red, postojanost i moć. Međutim, Kozlov ističe da sami umetnici koji su stvarali ovu vrstu apstrakcije nisu bili svesni njenih društvenih konotacija, jer

su pred njih stavljeni zahtevi bavljenja formom i svim njenim aspektima na prvom mestu, do te mere da bi se svaki iskorak iz ovakvog okvira protumačio kao znak opadanja kvaliteta rada. Ovo su bili nameti grinbergijanskih okoštalih i uveliko uvreženih postulata protiv kojih Kozlov jasno istupa, ne libeći se da pokaže svoju ironiju: „Clement Greenberg, penzionisani kritičar formalizma, bio je intelektualni hladni ratnik, koji je 60-tih godina, pod pokroviteljstvom države, putovao u insotranstvo sa dobrim vestima o dominaciji bojenog polja“.<sup>19</sup> U ovoj rečenici sabrano je više aspekata nezadovoljstava koje je Grinbergov metod, ali i njegov položaj u američkom društvu, izazvao kod mnogih kritičara.

Nezadovoljstvo stanjem u kojem se kritika nalazi Kozlov će ispoljiti u više svojih tekstova, pozivajući na promene. Ovim tonom odzvanjaće njegov rad „Kritička šizofrenija i intencionalistički metod“ u kome se bavi problemima sa kojim se kritičar kao ličnost susreće u svojim naporima da na pravi način interpretira delo. U dve struje koje identifikuje u američkoj kritici zapaža jednu zajedničku crtu, a to je nemogućnost da vide posebnost umetničkog dela kao fenomena koji egzistira van njihovih ideoloških sistema.<sup>20</sup>

Kao dobar put ka ispravnom kritičkom sudu Kozlov predlaže ispitivanje umetnikove intencije koje se ogleda u „većnim suprotnostima“ koje postoje u umetničkom delu, u spoznanju njegovog „organizujućeg koncepta“. Proučavanjem umetničke intencije dolazi se ne samo do prirode umetničkog dela već i do odnosa posmatrača/kritičara i tog dela, na čemu Kozlov posebno insistira. Ovakvu kritiku nazvaće intencionalističkom kritikom, dajući joj prednost u odnosu na formalističku i impresionističku kritiku a koja nastaje kao posledica kritičareve svesti o nužnosti odgovornosti tumačenja. Kozlov će se u svom drugom tekstu „Psihološka dinamika u umetničkoj kritici šezdesetih godina“ takođe pozabaviti rasvetljavanjem psiholoških aspekata čina pisanja o umetnosti. Na samom početku rada kaže da je njegovo nezadovoljstvo novijom kritičarskom aktivnošću u svim njenim vidovima izazvano činjenicom da je kritičar često lišen poverenja u sopstveni ego. Zbog ovoga, iz nemogućnosti da se „dublje ulože u delo“, kritičari zapadaju u iskušenje veličanja. Na ovaj način, on problematizuje sam čin pisanja kao psihološki akt u okviru koga se vrši projekcija kritičara u umetničko delo, s jedne strane, i, sa druge strane, ispoljavanje moći kritičara da u umetničkom delu prepozna sebe, time postavljajući pitanje manifestovanja „sopstva“ u nauci.<sup>21</sup> Stoga će zaključiti: „Opažanje sopstva posredstvom medija umetničkog dela i opažanje umetničkog dela posredstvom medija sopstva – to je dijalektička priroda kritike“.<sup>22</sup> Kozlov će na više mesta insistirati na uverenju da kritika poseduje sopstvenu moralnost, koja postoji nezavisno od drugih moralnosti, na primer od umetničke moralnosti, i u tome on vidi njen poseban kvalitet.

Kritički opus Maksa Kozlova nije obiman, međutim, novine koje on donosi – preispitivanje konteksta nastajanja i naglog uspona američke poratne avangarde, preispitivanje stanja američke umetničke kritike, analiza njenih mehanizama, osvetljavanje psiholoških sprega unutar njih – svrstavaju ovog autora u red najznačajnijih. Njegov teorijski diskurs u literaturi označen je kao revizionistički i u tom smislu predstavlja veoma značajnu sekvencu na liniji oslobađanja od grinbergijanskih formalističkih pozicija.

### **Donald Kaspit i „deconstructive criticism“**

Na liniji menjanja utvrđenog Grinbergovog formalističkog kritičkog sistema pristup Donalda Kaspita stoji kao veoma složen diskurs. Pošto je završio i filozofiju i istoriju umetnosti, doktoriravši na obema, njegovo shvatanje umetnosti obogaćeno je znanjima iz filozofije, kao i posebnim osećajem za umetnost kao duhovnu delatnost, proizašlim iz toga. Veliki uticaj na njegova teorijska stanovišta izvršio je Teodor Adorno, kod koga je i doktorirao, a čiji se uticaj oseća i u stilu

pisanja, kako je to u literaturi već primećeno.<sup>23</sup> Donald Kaspit je bio profesor na više univerziteta, predajući filozofiju najpre na Frankfurtskom univerzitetu, zatim na Univerzitetu Pensilvanija u SAD-u i Univerzitetu Vindzor u Kanadi, a istoriju umetnosti na dva američka univerziteta, Severna Karolina i Njujork. Bavio se likovnom kritikom, pišući za brojne značajne časopise poput: *Artforum*, *Art in America*, *Art Journal*, *Vanguard*, *Art Criticism*, koji je i osnovao zajedno sa Lorensom Alovejem 1979. godine. Iz njegovog bogatog opusa izdvajamo sledeće knjige: "Clement Greenberg: The Critic" (1979), "The Critic is Artist: The Intentionality of Art" (1989), "The New Subjectivism: the art of 80s" (1988), "The End of Art" (2004), "Leon Golub: Existentialist/ Activist Painter" (1983). Kao što se može zaključiti na osnovu naslova, predmet Kaspitovog interesovanja jeste moderna i savremena umetnička produkcija ali i samo pisanje o umetnosti, preciznije likovna kritika.

U knjizi "The Critic is Artist: The Intentionality of Art", Kaspit problematizuje odnos kritičara i umetnika, iznoseći uverenje da je kritičar podjednako bitan koliko i umetnik u stvaranju tzv. sveta umetnosti, koji čini, osim umetnika i njihovih dela i čitav skup ideja koje su oni podstakli. Imajući na umu ideju Oskara Vajlda "The Critic as artist", Kaspit će je preformulisati u „The Critic is artist“, podvlačeći na taj način ulogu i važnost kritičara u konstituisanju sveta umetnosti. Ovim problemom baviće se i u tekstu: "Građanski rat: umetnik protiv kritičara", te će tako pitanjem: „Kome verovati kada je u pitanju umetnost, umetniku ili kritičaru?“<sup>24</sup>, dati glavni smer rasprave, otvarajući jednu od osnovnih dilema kada je reč o razumevanju umetnosti i njenoj recepciji. Osim toga, objasniće antagonizam između umetnika i kritičara, navodeći konkretne primere iz istoriografije. U osnovi ovog antagonizma jesu predrasude, poduprte jakim narcizmom koji postoji i na jednoj i na drugoj strani. Kod pisaca, pesnika – konkretno kod Bodlera, koga citira na više mesta u tekstu – prisutna je ideja da pesnici i filozofi imaju prednost nad umetnicima u istoj meri u kojoj se u istoriji davala prednost rečima nad predstavama. S druge strane, kod umetnika, posebno modernih, kako nam to Kaspit sugeriše, imamo predrasudu o literaturi. Recimo primeri Sezana i Gogena, odnosno njihovo insistiranje na anti-intelektualizmu, tj. davanje prednosti konkretnom bavljenju umetnošću, a ne teoretisanju ili intelektualnom spekulisanju, u čemu su videli mogućnost zastranjivanja i skretanja sa stvaralačkog puta. Ovaj rivalitet između umetnika i kritičara Kaspit vidi kao rivalitet između predstave i reči kao dve različite mogućnosti iskazivanja ideja. Kao takav, on ima svoju istoriju: u prvoj etapi – srednjem veku – reč je imala prednost nad predstavom, u drugoj etapi – renesansi – doživele su izjednačenje u važnosti, da bi se u poslednjoj fazi – modernističkoj – taj odnos opet promenio, tako što je predstava izvojevala nadmoć nad rečima. Otud kod modernističkih umetnika jak otpor prema literarnosti, prema eksplikacijama umetničkog dela, prema tumačenju: "Modernistička predstava se razume kao ono što ima neposredno dejstvo na um, kao što to imaju reči. U stvari, modernizam se kreće ka nekoj vrsti obrnutog ikonoklazma, u kojem se reč odbacuje kao nedelatna ili bar manje delatna od predstave, tj. ne baš sposobna da artikuliše svetu ideju, već predstavu, pa otuda i kao pojmovno manje važna".<sup>25</sup>

Međutim, ovakav odnos umetnika i kritičara po Kaspitu nije prirodan, jer je prisustvo kritičara kao i umetnika neophodno za potpuno shvatanje umetnosti. Ono što kvari ovaj prirodni tok na polju umetničkog stvaralaštva jeste izraziti narcizam koji se javlja kod umetnika, sputavajući ga da kritičarevu ulogu shvati na pravi način i prizna mu bitnost. Nemoćan da izađe iz okvira jednostranog posmatranja stvari u koji ga je bacilo lično samoljublje i vera u sopstvenu samodovoljnost, kao i samodovoljnost umetnosti, umetnik odbacuje kritičara, odbacujući na taj način, po Kaspitovom uverenju, samoga sebe. Kaspit u kritičkom obraćanju umetničkom delu vidi sastavni deo sistema umetnosti, u okviru koga ona sama nastaju, te tako umetnikov bunt

prema kritičaru shvata kao manifestaciju umetnikovog nihilističkog i „samoubilačkog“ poriva. Shvatajući kritiku kao uslov za stvaranje umetnosti po sebi, Kaspit iznosi ideju o fenomenu samog umetničkog stvaranja. Za razliku od umetnikovog uverenja da se stvaranje vrši ni iz čega drugog do samog umetnikovog sopstva, Kaspit insistira da se stvaranje vrši „iz stvarnosti kritike“.<sup>26</sup> On takođe daje uvid u bitne razlike između pisanja umetnika o umetnosti i kritičkog pisanja o umetnosti, gde je prvo dobro jer „služi kao kontekst, kao kamen temeljac individualnosti“, dok drugo nudi jednu širu perspektivu – ukazujući na opštost ideja u samom delu, ono ga pozicionira u okviru složene mape istorijskih dešavanja.<sup>27</sup> Iz tog razloga kritičareva prisutnost je važna a njegova delatnost neizbežna i suštinski neodvojiva od samog fenomena umetnosti.

Kao što se pozabavio razlikama u pisanju umetnika i kritičara, tako je u tekstu „Umetnost, kritika i ideologija“ sugerisao razlike između različitih vrsta likovne kritike, izdvajajući dva glavna usmerenja: promocionalnu kritiku i ideološku kritiku. Na samome početku kaže da je ono što se javlja kao recentna kritika, zapravo po njegovom mišljenju „vešto baratanje informacijama“ koje je u cilju svojevršne promocije. Međutim, on uočava da nisu sve kritike promocijalne vrste: nasuprot njoj javlja se ideološka kritika, koja, za razliku od prethodne, promocijsko-informacione, ima za cilj da postavi delo u širi istorijski kontekst, uodnošavajući ga sa ostalim fenomenima koji postoje u takvom kontekstu. Cilj ideološke kritike nije samo posmatranje i analiziranje umetnosti unutar i spram konteksta, kao njegovog svojevršnog simptoma, već i proizvodnja osećaja odgovornosti prema tom istorijskom kontekstu: „Sa stanovišta ideologije, nijedna umetnost ne može biti vrednost po sebi – ne može postojati po sebi, sama, na osnovu svoga prava. Njena vrednost dolazi iz horizonta očekivanja – iz povesti želje u kojoj, bilo da je svesno ili ne, pokušava da nađe svoje mesto“.<sup>28</sup> U promocijalnoj kritici, uočiće Kaspit, uostalom kao i kod umetnika, često postoji otpor prema ideološkoj dimenziji umetničkog dela, koji je posledica njihovog tvrdokornog verovanja u samodovoljnost umetnosti, u njenu zaokruženost. U ovome Kaspit vidi njihovu nemogućnost da umetnost sagledaju u okvirima vremena, to jest kao posebnost određene istorijske sekvence ili pak kao jedan od konstituenata „strukture“ istorije sveta. Na ovaj način promocijski kritičari osiromašuju samo umetničko delo, oduzimajući mu njegovu upisanost u istorijski kontekst, koji je složeniji i širi od njegovog striktno omeđenog konteksta umetnosti. Za razliku od toga, ideološka kritika pruža trajnost umetničkom delu, insistirajući na njegovoj vezanosti za istorijski okvir. Kaspit dalje insistira na tome pokazujući na primerima recepcije umetnosti dva različita umetnika – Altdorfera i Van Goga – mehanizam prihvatanja umetnosti tek pošto se stvori ideološki okvir u kome se njena recepcija vrši da bi dalje zaključio: „da bi umetnost odolevala, ona najpre mora biti široko prihvaćena, zatim odbaćena od strane kritike i najposle ideološki potvrđena“.<sup>29</sup> Ovakav proces kroz koji umetnost mora da prođe da bi se u potpunosti etablirala u jednom društvu posebno je karakterističan za moderno doba, smatra Kaspit, i primer za njegovo jasno odvijanje vidi u kubizmu i apstraktnom ekspresionizmu, umetničkim fenomenima koji su poljuljali standarde poimanja umetnosti u vreme kada su se javili. Dakle, obe pojave su dočekane sa velikim iznenađenjem izazvanim novinama koje su donele i koje se u tom prvom naletu prihvataju sa pomešanim osećanjima, iza kojih stoji nemogućnost da budu shvaćene. One se zatim ocenjuju kao radikalno nove, šokantne i, u smislu interpretacije, problematične, dakle kao značajno manjkave upravo u novinama koje donose. Međutim, baš u ovom čvoru leži mogućnost njihovog ideološkog percepiranja, smatra Kaspit. Budući da stvara problem jer se ne može objasniti terminima kojima se objašnjavala ranija umetnost, dakle, pošto izlazi iz okvira utvrđenog i usvojenog jezika, ona podstiče uvođenje novih pojmovnih struktura i menjanje interpretativnih strategija, pa samim tim i stvaranje posebnog ideološkog okvira. Na taj se način umetnička pojava u poslednjoj fazi pomenutog procesa upisuje u širi istorijsko-umetnički i još širi istorijski kontekst.

Donald Kaspit će se i u drugim svojim tekstovima, kao i knjigama, baviti problemom kritike ali ovde ćemo se posebno osvrnuti na zalaganje za kritički mehanizam koji se ne uklapa, po njegovom mišljenju, u novije kritičke tokove. Kakav je to pristup koji Kaspit predlaže? Koji su to zahtevi koje taj pristup stavlja pred kritičara? U kojoj je meri sam Kaspit realizovao principe za koje se zalagao kao pisac? – samo su neka od pitanja koja se otvaraju a čije odgovore nalazimo u njegovim knjigama, na prvom mestu u “The Critic is Artist: The Intentionality of Art” (1984). Ona nam može poslužiti kao svojevrsni vodič kroz kritički diskurs Donalda Kaspita. Na samom početku on pravi distinkciju između pravog kritičara i onoga koji to nije, uvodeći pojam „True Critic“: pravi, istinski kritičar, onaj koji se bavi suštinskim pitanjima i problemima umetnosti, onaj koji nije lišen slobode sopstvenog viđenja i posmatranja stvari, onaj koji je svestan svoje konstitutivne uloge u takozvanom „svetu umetnosti“ čiji je bitan i neizostavan deo, i profesionalne odgovornosti koju takva uloga podrazumeva. Cilj pravog kritičara je analitička kritika, koja je lišena želja da stvara mitove i vrši proklamatorske, tj. promocijske zahvate za pojedine umetničke pojave ili pojedine umetnike. On ulaže sve svoje znanje, intelektualno umeće, duhovne snage radi stvaranja racionalnih mehanizama imunih pred naletima ostrašćenosti, egoizma, pristrasnosti a zarad postizanja kvalitetnih interpretativnih strategija u čijoj osnovi je fenomenološka, dijalektička, te stoga filozofska pozicija. Dakle, Kaspit želi kritiku koja nije senzacionalistička, dogmatska, ideološka, već je otvorena, slobodna i nesputana a istovremeno ozbiljna i temeljna. To je kritika koja se bavi specifičnostima unutar umetničkih fenomena, koja ih problematizuje na način koji ima za cilj otkrivanje njihove posebnosti i onog što ih je prouzrokovalo. To je kritika koja traži veze između specifičnosti umetničkih fenomena i specifičnosti konteksta u kome nastaju. Naposljetku, to je kritika koja nema nameru da stvara mitove o umetničkim fenomenima, već naprotiv ona se koncipira oko dekonstruisanje takvih mitova zarad sagledavanja umetničkih fenomena u njihovom ogoljenom, neprevedenom obliku. Zato će kritički model koji predlaže Kaspit nazvati dekonstruktivističkim. Ovakve intencije karakterisaće i njegov način problematizacije pozicije umetnosti u kulturi i društvu, kao i poziciji likovne kritike u odnosu na umetničku produkciju. U skladu sa tim on će se zalagati za nezavisnost likovne kritike, koja ne sme da, ni na koji način, bude u službi promocije određenih umetničkih pojava ili umetnika; iz toga dalje proizilazi da je kritičar na polju svoga delovanja, u okviru sveta umetnosti, autonomna ličnost, koja sa izvesne neophodne distance posmatra umetničke fenomene. Takva distanca je moguća jedino kod onih kritičara koji se neće dovesti u poziciju da budu glasnogovornici neke pojave ili propagatori pojedinih umetnika ili pak ljudi koji su u službi određene ideologije. Pošto kritici daje posebno mesto u svetu umetnosti, zbog značaja koji ima za stvaranje tog sveta, Kaspit kritičara vidi upravo kao svojevrsnog umetnika, onoga koji daje interpretaciju dela na isti način na koji umetnik ta dela stvara. Bitnost jednog i drugog je podjednaka a njihove uloge u konstituisanju sveta umetnosti su ravnopravne. U osnovi njih jeste raznolikost načina viđenja i shvatanja umetnosti, dakle različite vizure koje u kombinaciji proizvode potpunost sveta umetnosti. U ovoj činjenici da viđenja umetnika i kritičara ne mogu i ne treba da budu ista počiva poreklo nezavisnosti jednog od drugog, koja bi trebalo da bude glavna karakteristika njihovog odnosa. Kaspit se zalagao za kritiku koja ne idealizuje umetničke pojave niti same umetnike, već ih pomno i savesno analizira proizvodeći interpretacije koje u sebi poseduju mogućnost da, kako je to smatrao, budu čak i interesantnije od same umetnosti.

U tom smislu spomenućemo ovde i njegovu knjigu “The New Subjectivism: the art in the 1980s”, koja se čini posebno zanimljivom. U njoj Kaspit, služeći se psihoanalitičkim metodom, pokušava da ukaže na različite manifestacije subjektivizma koje uočava u delima umetnika različitih perioda, kao i u samom kritičkom aparatu, koji je neizostavni element njegove analize.

Prvi deo knjige, pod nazivom "European Self-Assertion", posvećuje analizi dela evropskih umetnika od Kurta Švitera, Maksa Bekmana, Georga Baselica do Zigmara Polke, Janisa Kunelisa, itd. U drugom delu se bavi detektovanjem manifestacija subjektivizma kod američkih umetnika, kao što su Aršil Gorki, Nensi Spero, Džejms Rosenkist, Julian Šnabel, Dejvid Sejls, Lukas Samaras, Robert Arneson, te neizostavne Sindi Šerman kao i Endija Vorhola. U trećem delu, kao što i naslov kaže "Toward a Subjectivist Criticism", kroz nekoliko veoma zanimljivih poglavlja problematizuje subjektivnost kao neizostavni element kritičarskog pisanja. U tom smislu ističu se poglavlja "The Narcissistic Justification of Art Criticism" i "The Subjective Aspect of Critical Evaluation", u kojima se trudi da objasni psihološke mehanizme u čijoj osnovi jeste narcistička potreba za samootkrivanjem, samopotvrđivanjem i samozadovoljenjem, koji stoje iza čina kako umetničkog stvaranja tako i kritičkog pisanja, tj. konzumiranja i interpretiranja umetnosti. Njegove reči su više nego sugestivne: "If art seems to satisfy the preoedipal need for an experience of identity or unity, then our relationship to art has to be described as ultimately narcissistic, that is, it satisfies the narcissistic need for an archaic sense of selfhood – a need not satisfied in the mundane world".<sup>30</sup> Pomoću psihonalitičkog pristupa on u temama/predmetima opusa pomenutih umetnika traži manifestacije prirode samih autora i njihove specifične karakteristike. Ovakav pristup zadržaće i prilikom interpretacije nekih širih fenomena, kakav je recimo postmodernizam; posebno će jedan od njegovih bitnih simptoma, pluralizam, kao često naglašavan kvalitet, pobuditi oštre kritike. Zbog svega ovoga, njegov kritički opus doživljen je kao osvežavajuća etapa u postgrinbergijanskoj fazi američke umetničke kritike. Ovome posebno doprinosi i ličnost Donalda Kaspita u kojoj se spojila evropska erudicija sa američkom pragmatičnošću i insistiranjem na individualnosti, filozofska percepcija i istoričarsko-umetnička strast ka sistematizaciji estetskih iskustava, kao i savesnost i predavačka glad univerzitetskog profesora i visoki moral, strogost i zaljubljeničko nadahnuće likovnog kritičara.

*Napomene:*

<sup>1</sup> C. Greenberg, *Ogledi o posleratnoj američkoj umetnosti*, Prometej, Novi Sad 1997, 140.

<sup>2</sup> Isto, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Isto, 109-116.

<sup>4</sup> Isto, 113.

<sup>5</sup> R. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, The Mit Press, Cambridge 1985, 261.

<sup>6</sup> Isto, 264.

<sup>7</sup> R. Serra, *Shift*, *Arts Magazine*, April 1973.

<sup>8</sup> R. Krauss, *nav. delo*, 284.

<sup>9</sup> Grupa autora, *Figure u pokretu*, Beograd 2009, 827.

<sup>10</sup> F. Džejmson, *Političko nesvesno – Priповedanje kao društveno-simbolički čin*, Rad, Beograd 1984, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Diarmuid Costello, Jonathan Vickery (ed), *Art: Key Contemporary Thinkers*, Berg, New York 2007, 154.

<sup>12</sup> J. Denegri, *Umetnička kritika u drugoj polovini 20.veka*, Svetovi, Novi Sad 2006, 176.

<sup>13</sup> Maks Kozloff, *Izbor tekstova*, MSU, Beograd 1986, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Isto, 15.

<sup>15</sup> J. Denegri, *nav. delo*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Maks Kozloff, *nav. delo*, 22.

<sup>17</sup> Isto, 24.

<sup>18</sup> Isto, 27.

<sup>19</sup> Isto, 31.

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<sup>20</sup> Isto, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Isto, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Isto, 46.

<sup>23</sup> J. Denegri, *nav. delo*, 180.

<sup>24</sup> Donald Kuspit, *Izbor tekstova*, MSU, Beograd 1985, 7.

<sup>25</sup> Isto, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Isto, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Isto, 13.

<sup>28</sup> Isto, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Isto, 26.

<sup>30</sup> Donald Kuspit, *The New Subjectivism: the art in the 1980s*, UMI Research Press, London 1988, 555.

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AMERICAN ART THEORY – KRAUSS, KOZLOFF, CUSPIT:  
DECONSTRUCTION OF GREENBERGIAN MANNER

*Summary:*

This text is dealing with development of the American art theory and criticism after the WWII. The main figure that marked this period in American culture was Cleement Greenberg. His elaboration of modernist theory is recognised in history of art history and theory as one of the most important that has ever been made. Also, his passionate effort to recognize the characteristics of a typical American in works of abstract expressionists led him to the role of the promoter of American art, culture and politics during the period of Cold War. The aim of the author of this text was to show the main ideas in the field of American art theory and criticism that were inspired by the ideas of Cleement Greenberg, but at the same time those that are confronted with his ideas. Because of that, we chose significant authors who were working during the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century – Rosalind Krauss, Max Kozloff and Donald Kuspit. With this choice of authors we wanted to mark the three different ways of thinking and writing about art: 1) Krauss – new approach to art influenced by French structuralistic and post-structuralistic theories, 2) Max Kozloff – revisionistic approach based on contextual analysis, and 3) Donald Cuspit – philosophical approach to art phenomena combined with psychological analysis. Despite of the differences in the theoretical discourse of these three critics, they share the same characteristics – the need to give some other kind of critical view of the modern and contemporary art that rejects rigid greenbergian manner.

*Key words:* art criticism, American art scene, modernism, modernistic paradigm

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)



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### THREE FEMINIST ANALYSES OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

*Abstract:*

This paper addresses the diversity of academic feminist analyses of the relations between sex/gender/ bodies and space/ place/ design. This is approached through categorizing feminist approaches into three main groupings, that have been named: 'liberal humanist feminist'; 'critical theory feminist' and 'postmodern feminist'. The paper outlines the main elements which constitute these three categories, and illustrates each one with examples of analysis, firstly, of certain issues of design and secondly, of problems that women encounter in the profession of architecture.

*Key words:* feminism, women's groups, environment, sexist design, phallocentrism, Sydney Opera House, Australian Institute of Architects

## Introduction

The mid-1990s in Australia has been the site of burgeoning interest and activity around the conjuncture of women with the built environment – both academically and within industry.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I address the diversity of academic feminist analyses of the relations between sex/gender/ bodies and space/place/design. This is approached through categorizing feminist approaches into three main groupings, that I have named: 'liberal humanist feminist'; 'critical theory feminist' and 'postmodern feminist.' The paper outlines what I consider to be the main elements of these three categories, and illustrates each one with examples of analysis firstly of certain issues of design and secondly of problems that women encounter in the profession of architecture.

I must emphasize that these three categories are presented only as a device for making sense of the vast array of feminist analyses currently available. They are somewhat arbitrary and completely debatable. In fact most feminists in their writings as in their everyday lives would pick and choose modes of analysis and strategies from all three categories. Nonetheless I think that to divide them up in this way can provide a useful framework for exploration and discussion.

## Liberal humanist feminism

Liberal humanist feminism is the longest established and widely accepted feminist approach to discussing women's issues, especially in the mass media. Characterizing what is now called 'first wave feminism,' it can be summarized as the attempt to reform institutions so that they extend all rights equally to women and men. The suffragette movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries is an example of liberal humanist feminism, in which women demanded that governments recognize women as citizens equal to men by giving them the right to vote. This right was not only symbolic and political but also led to economic improvements in women's social positioning, so that, for example, women came to be recognized as legal entities, capable of owning their own property and entering into contracts. As a result of the hard struggles of these early feminists, 20th century women in western countries have become legally capable of acting as professionals and operating businesses.<sup>2</sup>

This approach is 'liberal' in that it admits pluralism and seeks equality in the mode of the Enlightenment project<sup>3</sup>, and 'humanist' because it assumes a normative humanity common to all citizens, which becomes the basis for equal human rights.<sup>4</sup> Liberal humanism, however, is considered problematic by some commentators because, as Elizabeth Grosz has argued, it assumes that women "could only be regarded as variations of a basic humanity. The project of women's equal inclusion meant that only women's sameness to men, only women's humanity and not their womanliness could be discussed... In other words... women began to assume the role of surrogate men".<sup>5</sup>

The key terms used in the liberal humanist feminist approach are words like 'equality,' 'rights' and 'interests' and feminist activity here focuses on progressive changes to legislation, education and all types of social organization to ensure that discrimination against women is obstructed.

Liberal humanist feminism addresses social institutions as if they were rationally organized and well intentioned, but flawed in some details. It advocates skilled (and/or militant) lobbying of people in power to remedy such flaws, and implies that reform of a basically good system is desirable and possible. If this approach projects an image of society, it is one of a complex machine of many parts which is fundamentally sound, that requires vigilant maintenance, adjustments and improvements, but which is continually improving and progressing.

A major mode of analysis of liberal humanist feminism is the identification of 'sexism' or acts of discrimination against women. In relation to the built environment, the liberal humanist feminist approach would point out issues of sexist design and sexist discrimination in the professions and advocate for change and reform.<sup>6</sup>

To illustrate with examples, a liberal humanist feminist approach would criticize as sexist design the failure to provide women's toilets in a workplace – which is then used as a reason for not employing women. Leonie Matthews' study of women architects in Western Australia notes that as late as 1947 Vida Wright was discouraged from enrolling at the school of architecture at Perth Technical College because, as Wright explains, "they didn't have toilet provisions for women... When Margaret Pitt Morison became a teacher there of course they did put some facilities in... [The principal] let me know that he didn't think it was the right profession for a woman... That only made me more determined I'm afraid".<sup>7</sup>

The liberal humanist remedy for the lack of women's toilets is quite straightforward, if occasionally expensive: to build or designate women's toilets in all workspaces – this in fact has already been largely achieved in Australia. Liberal humanist feminism is also largely responsible for the anti-discrimination legislation which ensures that principals may no longer safely voice the opinion that women or any other sorts of people are not 'right' for a profession.

Looking at the architecture profession more generally, a liberal humanist analysis might examine questions of access and participation. For example, it has been repeatedly pointed out that the profession is male dominated numerically. Judith Brine's 1989 study noted that the Royal Australian Institute of Architects had a membership of only 7% women, and also that woman constituted only 7% of tenured academics (i.e., teachers in secure, permanent jobs) in Australian architecture schools.<sup>8</sup> There is room to hope that these figures are currently improving as the proportion of women architecture graduates has recently risen dramatically, from 9,3% in 1974; 19% in 1984; 31% in 1989 to nearly 50% today in some schools.<sup>9</sup> However there has been a marked tendency historically for many women trained as architects never to join the profession, and a further problem that many who have done so have progressed far more slowly than their male counterparts in terms of responsibilities, prestige and income levels.<sup>10</sup> Areas of possible discrimination include employers refusing to give women jobs, or if they do, not giving them equal types of work, or allowing sexual harassment to go unchecked. Liberal humanist feminists typically collect factual statistics to corroborate their claims of discrimination, and call for an end to practices which openly discriminate against women.

### **Critical theory feminism**

The group of analyses I am referring to as 'critical theory feminism' would include much of the work that has gone under the titles 'socialist feminism' and 'radical feminism,' developed in 'second Wave feminism' of the 1960s and 70s. 'Critical theory' usually refers to the Frankfurt School developments of Marxism by writers like Theodore Adorno, who introduced psychoanalysis and theories of mass media to help explain the ideological effects of twentieth century capitalism. I am co-opting the term because these feminist approaches also transpose many el-

ements from the Marxist framework – criticizing modern society as systematically or structurally exploitative, in an analysis also typically expanded by psychological and cultural theory.

Where Marxism focuses on 'class' as the main area of oppression within the social economic system called 'capitalism,' critical theory feminists address 'biological sex' and/or 'gender' as the main area of oppression within a system called 'patriarchy'<sup>11</sup>. Their image of society is not a complex machine but more like cold war, where different groups of people, be they workers



SYDNEY OPERA HOUSE, 1959-1975 (2005)

and owners, or women and men, are struggling in a relationship based on exploitation of one group by the other – but exploitation often covered up by social niceties. Critical theorists tend to present their sophisticated analyses as scientific in character, as allowing them to see through ideological false illusions to the social 'truth' or 'reality.' Marxism also posited the important notion of a historical dialectic, that the system of conflict must progress by collapsing and evolving into a higher state of evolution. The Marxists imagined this higher state to be socialism or communism, while the feminists in their way called for 'Women's Liberation.'

Critical theory feminists see the problem as being that men and women are born differently sexed (i.e., male and female) and that those sexes are socialized differently into genders (i.e., masculine and feminine) in a system where maleness and masculinity is empowered by patriarchy and femaleness and femininity is exploited. They argue that women are disadvantaged by their biology – relegated to reproduction and childrearing – and furthermore socialized to be docile and passive, confined to the private domain of the home, while men are socialized to be aggressive and active, and empowered by their dominance of the public world of work and politics.

Critical theory feminists tend to call for women to shed their 'false consciousness' and seek equality in the male dominated spheres of the public world. Shulamith Firestone, for example, suggested that one way of "freeing women from the tyranny of their biology" would be to arrange for childbearing to be "taken over by technology".<sup>12</sup> Such approaches, however, have been criticized for the rigidity of the 'patriarchy' model they espouse,<sup>13</sup> for the scientific assumption of an objective viewpoint that failed to take in account the social positioning of the critic (and thus tended towards ethnocentrism and 'classism'),<sup>14</sup> for the tendency towards 'essentialism,' and also, paradoxically, for sometimes derogating femininity. On the other hand, critical theory feminists have provided an array of astute critiques of contemporary society.<sup>15</sup>

Critical theory feminists see sexist acts of discrimination not as isolated flaws but as symptomatic of the wider structures of inequality and exploitation between the genders. They would make a call to change the patriarchy rather than reform individual quirks, calling for revolutionary change to the whole system, including our psychological make-up as well as social and economic norms. Examples of the critical theory feminist analysis of the built environment would include a critique of sexism that is wider than that of the liberal humanists, a critique of designs and institutions which ignore women's interests or needs as a distinct social group. By assuming that all users are men, such designs or organizations end up discriminating against women for their femininity.

An example of this expanded notion of sexist design would be the forecourt of the Sydney Opera House, where the pavement is made up of huge blocks of granite separated by 2 cm gaps to allow rain water to drain away. These gaps, however, also act as traps for women's high heeled shoes. In the one place in the city where a woman is likely to be wearing her most expensive and impractical shoes, she encounters a surface which endangers her health by catching and breaking off narrow heels and twisting ankles. This critique of sexist design calls for radical change: not just ripping up the pavement and replacing it, but replacing the all-male design team (as it apparently was) with a composite team of men and women designers all trained in gender-awareness, so that a feminine perspective would become part of the design process. Critical theory feminists might also attack this problem from the other end, and call for shifts in women's fashion, so that women didn't feel tempted to dress in 'sexy' but dangerous clothing like stilettos. This would involve radical change to the political economy of fashion and mass media representation of women's sexuality.

The example of the lack of women's toilets in the workplace might be given wider significance by critical theory feminists as symptomatic of the sexual division of labour under patriarchy. This division assumes that because women biologically bear babies they must also take responsibility for the rearing of children, and that this work is to be done separately from the waged labour of men, be unpaid and performed in the private domain of the home. Critical theory feminists might argue for the radical dissolution of this division of labour so that men and women have equal opportunity to work for wages and to bring up children, that both forms of work be equally economically valued, since caring for children and workers is central to the reproduction of labour power. Thus, to allow men and women such equal work opportunities would require not just the construction of toilets for women in the workplace, but also major structural changes to the legal and economic system, to the spatial design of our cities (so that home and work are not so separated) as well as major changes in our cultural understanding of the public and the private.

The critical theory feminist approach might argue that it is not enough simply to have more women practising in the profession, but that it is also important to re-educate the profession so that it becomes more aware of gender issues in all areas of design. Critical theory feminists would also note the systematic obstacles that women face in their career as architects, obstacles that can't be addressed in equal opportunity legislation: informal mechanisms that exclude women, like 'old boys' networks and mentor systems that favour men in professional development. One strategy for countering this is the practice of starting women's own societies for addressing women's issues, such as Constructive Women in Sydney, which has been very successful both in increasing the participating women's 'consciousness' and their networking.

Another structural problem for women in the profession who choose to be mothers is that having children interrupts careers not only at the time of pregnancy but also in the long-term

because of the division of priorities for women who often carry the principal child-care and housework burdens at home added to the demands of their paid work. Critical theory feminists might thus call for inexpensive and widely available childcare, for more flexible availability of part-timework without loss of professional status, for professional societies to meet at times which don't conflict with childcare responsibilities, and for husbands to share the domestic load more evenly. Moreover, critical theory feminists might argue that mothers have special skills to offer to the profession, for example, being more aware of the problems of a wider community than businessmen are, being able to juggle many responsibilities at once, etc. In a related strategy, some radical feminists have argued that in fact women are better designers than men because they are better listeners and communicators, more flexible and more prepared to compromise their design to meet a client's wishes, more inclined to be concerned with the complex functioning of a building than its appearance, and more likely to take ecological issues into account.<sup>16</sup> Such an analysis substitutes a masculine-favoured hierarchy with a feminine-favoured one, though leaving unquestioned the problems of gendered design attributes, competitiveness and hierarchies.

Critical theory feminism might address the question of women's low participation rate in the profession of architecture by suggesting that this is just evidence of women's good sense. Architecture, far from being a heroic artistic practice, more closely resembles accounting insofar as it operates primarily as a service industry to maximize profits for its clients. If many women are disappointed by their encounters with the profession and prefer to serve the wider community in more socially accountable ways, they may be seen to have quite reasonably voted with their feet in seeking other areas of work they find more fulfilling. An alternative model of work practice inspired by critical theory feminism was developed by Matrix, a cooperative firm of designers founded in London in the early 1980s to provide architectural services at inexpensive rates to poorer client groups.<sup>17</sup>



THE "HOME BUILDING SECTION"  
GRAPHIC DEPICTING FLORENCE  
TAYLOR, C. 1907

### Postmodern feminism

This most recent feminist approach has largely developed since the mid-1980s by academics informed by post-structuralism.<sup>18</sup> I would suggest that whereas liberal humanist feminism focused on sexist acts, and critical theory feminism focused on structural exploitation, postmodern feminism is more concerned with language and representation, with the ways that meanings about women and our culture are produced discursively.

Whereas the first two feminist categories of analysis discussed here could be characterized as 'feminism of equality,' this third approach should be characterized as 'feminism of difference.' Rather than trying to become more like men, this approach suggests that women should be recognized and appreciated for their differences, both as a group and amongst themselves. Rather than assume either sex or gender as givens, postmodern feminism tends to focus on the 'body' as a site of contestation, particularly in relation to subjectivity – addressed largely through psychoanalysis, but also as related to the complexities of race and multiculturalism, sexual orientation, disability and age.

A key term used in this approach is 'phallogentrism,' which Elizabeth Grosz explains as „a form of logocentrism in which the phallus takes on the function of the logos. The term refers to the ways in which patriarchal systems of representation always submit women to models and images defined by and for men. There are three forms phallogentrism generally takes: whenever

women are represented as the opposites or negatives of men; whenever they are represented in terms the same as or similar to men; and whenever they are represented as men's complements".<sup>19</sup>

Elizabeth Wilson's definition of 'phallocentrism' emphasizes its characteristics as "production, property, order, form, unity, visibility, erection... [It] operates through the domination of stability and solidity, at the expense of difference, reciprocity, exchange, permeability or fluidity".<sup>20</sup> Rather than visualizing power as oppressing women from above, this approach is more likely to draw on Foucault's notion of power as operating in a 'capillary' fashion, to emphasise "the more fluid and local contexts in which power and gender operate", and to embrace "ambiguity, complexity and partiality".<sup>21</sup> Postmodern feminism suggests that women are not innocent victims, but are complicit in power relationships in all directions of our lives, and this is particularly so for feminist academics, who have become painfully aware of the problems and pitfalls in attempting to speak for 'the other,' including other women.<sup>22</sup> Thus a postmodern feminist image of society is not that of a machine or cold war but might rather resemble an image of blood circulating through a body, always moving through resistances, in complex and ever-changing if often limited ways.

A major criticism of postmodern feminism is that it seems to have lost its political way. It has become so sophisticated that its basic categories of analysis, like the word 'woman'<sup>23</sup>, have become confused, and has thus lost its ability to direct action.<sup>24</sup> My understanding is that the politics of postmodern feminist analysis is about diversity and the tactics to be employed in very particular historical



FLORENCE TAYLOR AS PART OF A TOWN PLANNING DELEGATION TO THE PREMIER OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1929

times and places. It is no longer a strategy thought to be led by a 'vanguard,' but a matter of tactics practised by everyone as they struggle through the complexities of their everyday lives.

In relation to the examples of sexist design in the built environment, a postmodern feminist analysis would admit that while it was sexist to design the Sydney Opera House pavement with gaps that trip up women, it is phallogentric to ignore women's criticism of the pavement or to suggest that women shouldn't be wearing high heels anyway. The fact that the pavement is still there, even after a recent major refurbishing of the forecourt, is evidence of phallogentric trivialization of women's concerns.

A postmodern feminist analysis might approach the issue of toilets in the workplace as a question of attribution of meaning rather than one of physical provision. Why are toilets designated for men considered so 'sacred'? Why can't some be designated unisex or switched over for women's use? There may be the obvious considerations of modesty, especially around the urinals, but these could be shielded from view. The postmodern feminist might further speculate about the toilets as a 'special place' in the workplace which is linked to bodily functions, a place where people may examine their appearance, seek 'time out' from work pressure, smoke a cigarette, even a place for the exchange of informal information. These activities probably operate in quite different ways for women and men. The 'men-only' toilet is surely a metonym for the entire workplace as 'men-only': the problem to be addressed is not merely physical but symbolic.

In examining women's participation in the profession, postmodern feminism is less likely to seek new statistics on discrimination and more likely to analyse discourses like journals and history books, to examine the ways that value and meaning are attributed in architecture, often in ways shown to be highly problematic. Denise Scott Brown has written impressively about what she calls the 'star system' in architecture, the system that creates male 'gurus' like her partner Robert Venturi, and in the process disregards the complexities of their actual practice and the shared authorship of their work.<sup>25</sup> My research on Australia's first woman architect, Florence Taylor, has shown that contemporary commentators consistently failed to discuss her design work but emphasized her feminine appearance and frivolous hats.<sup>26</sup> An excellent recent study by Joan Eveline suggests that in our current era of antidiscrimination legislation and affirmative action, women are still discouraged from entering traditionally defined male areas of work by discursive means, by stories of the "heavy, dirty and limp".<sup>27</sup> Such analyses suggest that improvements for women workers may be dependent on challenging the very nature of the profession's discourse.

## Conclusion

All three of these feminist approaches have useful analyses to offer us. I consider it appropriate to use whatever tools come to hand; that it is worth learning from, respecting and helping each other's efforts and tactics; and that there is no one feminism that is 'correct,' but rather a great diversity of strategies and feminisms.

### Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> There are currently numerous PhDs being researched and completed in this topic area around Australia, including, for example: Sue Best, University of Sydney; Bronwyn Hanna, University of NSW; Cathy Keyes, University of Queensland; Marijana Lozanovska, Deakin University; Bette O'Brien, ANU; Susan O'Grady, Monash University; Susan Shannon, University of Adelaide; Susan Thompson, University of NSW; Deborah White, University of Adelaide; Julie Willis, University of Melbourne. In Sydney alone there are four active women's groups: the National Association of Women in Construction; Constructive Women; the Women's Issues Committee of the RAJA; and the Women's Forum of the Master Builder's Association.

<sup>2</sup> For a useful summary of improvements to British legislation concerning women during the 19th and 20th centuries, see Hannah Gavron, "Legal and political changes," *The Captive Wife*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> This useful point was made by Adrian Snodgrass in paraphrasing this paper. A. Bullock and O. Stallybrass (eds), *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, London: Fontana, 1977, p. 327, s.v., 'Liberalism,' explains that „liberalism in its most characteristic expression emphasizes the importance of conscience and justice in politics, advocates the rights of racial and religious minorities, and supports civil liberties and the right of the ordinary individual to be more effectively consulted in decisions which affect him”.

<sup>4</sup> Bullock and Stallybrass, *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, p. 291, s.v., 'Human Rights', say: "Natural or human rights are those which men (sic) are conceived to have in virtue of their humanity and not in virtue of human fiat or law or convention. Such rights have therefore been frequently invoked in the criticism of laws and social arrangements”.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Conclusion: What is Feminist Theory?" in C. Pateman and E. Grosz (eds), *Feminist Challenges*, Sydney, London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986, pp. 191-2. These issues are discussed at greater length in another article in this excellent collection by Merle Thornton, "Sex Equality is not Enough for Feminism."

<sup>6</sup> For examples of this approach see Deborah White, "Women in Architecture: A Personal Observation," *Meanjin*, 34, 4, (Summer 1975): 399-404; Susanna Torre, (ed), *Women in American Architecture*, New York, Whitney Library of Design, 1979; S. Allan, A. Darvall and S. van Klaveren, *Women in Architecture: Missed Opportunities*, Occasional Student Research Paper No.92/1, Melbourne: Dept of Planning Policy and Landscape, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Leonie Matthews, "An Exploratory Study of Women in Western Australian Architecture 1920-1960," unpublished B.Arch. Dissertation, Perth, Curtin University, 1991.



<sup>8</sup> Judith Brine, "Survey of Women Working in the Field of the Built Environment in Australia," unpublished paper given at the "Claiming Space: Gender and the Built Environment" Conference, Canberra, October 1989.

<sup>9</sup> Royal Australian Institute of Architects Committee on the Status of Women, "Towards a More Egalitarian Profession," unpublished report, 1991.

<sup>10</sup> My analysis of the Sydney University Calendar, in its reports on the first twenty years of graduates of the Architecture Faculty between 1922 and 1942, indicates that out of a total of 128 graduates, there were 38 women, or 30% of all early graduates. While only a minority of these women sought a full-time career in architecture, many did practise part-time over many years, but few gained prominence within the profession within their own time and none have yet been given historical credit for their contributions.

<sup>11</sup> Socialist feminists tried to combine their critique of patriarchy with the Marxist critique of capitalism, largely unsuccessfully. See Michelle Barrett, "Introduction," *Women's Oppression Today*, 1988 (second edition of her classic text of 1980).

<sup>12</sup> Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, London: Bantam & Morrow, 1971, p. 238. This radical feminist text transposes Marxist analysis to construct a theory of women's oppression under patriarchy, understood to be largely caused by their biological status as reproducers.

<sup>13</sup> For an excellent discussion of the history of the term 'patriarchy' and its critics, see Rosemary Pringle, "Destabilising Patriarchy," in R. Pringle and B. Caine (eds), *Transitions*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995, pp. 198-211.

<sup>14</sup> Feminists of colour have provided many serious critiques along these lines. See, for example: Patricia Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*, London: Routledge, 1990; Angela Davis, *Women Race and Class*, New York: Vintage, 1983; bell hooks, *Yearning: Race Gender and Cultural Politics*, Toronto: Between the Lines, 1990; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 271-313.

<sup>15</sup> Further examples of this feminist approach to critiquing the built environment may be found in: Leslie Weisman, *Discrimination by Design*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992; Deborah White, "Half the Sky But No Room of Her Own: Women in the Built Environment," *Transition*, 25, (Winter 1988): 23-32. White suggests the following examples of sexist discrimination in the built environment: mothers with strollers who are effectively barred from certain places; domestic design which burdens housewives with high expectations of comfort; public housing which socially segregates single mothers and other low income women; zoning which institutionalises the separation of home from childcare and other economic functions; the stereotyping of men's and women's roles in the workplace and around the house.

<sup>16</sup> The classic statement of this argument is made by Margrit Kennedy, "Towards a Rediscovery of 'Feminine' Principles in Architecture and Planning," *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 4, 1 (1981): 75-81. It is the type of argument forwarded by Eve Laron, "Designing From the Inside Out," *Artlink*, 11, 4 (1991): 33-35.

<sup>17</sup> They also put out an excellent edited collection of articles on "women and space": *Matrix, Making Space: Women and the Man Made Environment*, London: Pluto, 1984.

<sup>18</sup> Two brilliant and generous introductions to this most recently developing strand of feminism are: Rosalind Deutsche, "Boys Town", *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space*, 9, 1 (1991): 5-30; and Vicky Kirby, "Viral Identities: Feminisms and Postmodernisms", in N. Grieve and A. Bums (eds), *Australian Women, Contemporary Feminist Thought*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994. A useful collection of essays may be found in L. J. Nicholson (ed), *Feminism/Postmodernism*, New York: London, Routledge, 1990. An excellent collection attuned more specifically to issues of space is Beatrix Colomina (ed), *Sexuality and Space*, New Jersey: Princeton Papers on Architecture, 1992.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Glossary: Phallogentrism," *Sexual Subversions, Three French Feminists*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989, p. xx. In this glossary, Grosz defines 'logos' and 'logocentrism': "These terms designate the dominant form of metaphysics in Western thought. The logos, logic, reason, knowledge, represent a singular and unified conceptual order, one which seems to grasp the presence or immediacy of things. Logocentrism is a system of thought centred around the dominance of this singular logic of presence. It is a system which seeks... an access to concepts and things in their pure, unmediated form. Logocentric systems rely heavily on a logic of identity which is founded on the exclusion and binary polarisation of difference".

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Wilson, "Knowing Women: The Limits of Feminist Psychology" in Pringle and Caine, *Transitions*, p. 37, quoting Luce Irigaray, "Is the subject of science sexed?" *Cultural Critique* 1, 1.

<sup>21</sup> For example see Vicky Kirby, 'Feminisms, Reading, Postmodernisms': Rethinking Complicity, in S. Gunew and A. Yeatman (eds), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993.

<sup>22</sup> Pringle, "Destabilising Patriarchy," p. 199, quoting geographer Geraldine Pratt, "Reflections on Poststructuralism and Feminist Empirics, Theory and Practice," *Antipode*, 25, 1 (1993): 51-63.

<sup>23</sup> Denise Riley, *Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of 'Woman' in History*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs*, 13, (1988): 405-436.

<sup>25</sup> Denise Scott Brown, "Room At the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture," in E. P. Berkeley (ed), *Architecture, A Place for Women*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Bronwyn Hanna, "Florence Taylor's Hats," *Architecture Bulletin* (journal of the NSW Chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architect), October 1994, pp. 4-5.

<sup>27</sup> Joan Eveline, "Stories of the Heavy, Dirty and limp: Protecting the Institution of Men's Work," *Administration Compliance and Governability Program Working Paper 27*, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, December 1995.

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### TRI FEMINISTIČKE ANALIZE IZGRADNJE ŽIVOTNE SREDINE

#### *Sažetak:*

Tekst se bavi osnovnim razlikama u interpretaciji odnosa pola/roda/tela i prostora/mesta/dizajna u metodologiji nekoliko akademskih feminističkih pristupa, kroz njihovu kategorizaciju u tri vodeće grupe, definisane kao: "liberalno-humanistički feminizam", "kritičko-teorijski feminizam" i "postmoderni feminizam". Cilj rada je uočavanje glavnih elementa oko kojih su konstituisane navedene kategorije i njihovo pojašnjenje primerima, kako vezanim za konačna rešenja tako i za probleme sa kojima se žene u Australiji susreću baveći se arhitekturom.

*Cljučne reči:* feminizam, ženske organizacije, životna sredina, falocentrizam, Opera u Sidneju, Australijski arhitektonski institut

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALAN NAUČNI RAD)

*POLEMIKE*  
*POLEMICS*



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**THE CONTEMPORARY MUSEUM/THE MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART:  
THE CONTEMPORARINESS DEBATE (WHAT IS CONTEMPORARY?)  
FROM A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE**

*Abstract:*

Contemporary art is a situation or, rather, a plurality of situations, whose definition/naming involves irreconcilable differences. If what was contemporary fifty years ago is no longer contemporary, what name shall we give it? Does it automatically fall into the category of the “modern”? If so, will what is “contemporary” today become “modern” in the museum of tomorrow? Or will it be “after-modern”? Or will it, perhaps, directly be transformed into a “classic”? The article discusses the possible functions of a museum of contemporary art today. The lack of venues for contemporary art in Sofia, as well as of museums for both modern art and contemporary art, has been the subject of heated debate in recent years. What is contemporary and rightfully could belong in a museum of contemporary art is a central question in these discussions. “Contemporary art” cannot serve as a concept that is defined once and for all. Every time the term is used, it is used from within a particular situation and needs to be negotiated. This text contends that contemporariness is plural. To be legitimate, its presentation can/must also be plural.

*Key words:* Contemporary Art Museum, Museum of Contemporary Art, Contemporary Art, the Contemporariness Debate, Contemporariness in Plural

The art museum, the reformulation of its underlying ideology, and its role in the historical presentation of art constitute an issue whose relevance has remained undiminished for more than twenty years now. In Bulgaria, this issue is a painful one and discussions of it are inevitably polemical, due to the lack of any national art museums, and of any national contemporary art museums in particular, that are organized and run on up-to-date principles. This lack is felt particularly keenly – and is particularly astounding for an outsider – in Sofia, the country’s capital city. Sofia is conspicuously absent from the general European map, as well as from the regional Balkan one, of art museum networks that mount major international exhibitions.

### **A Contemporary Museum**

What is our idea of a contemporary art museum? What examples do we have of such museums? Today, with increasing opportunities for travel, for many people from all walks of life and regardless of their knowledge of or interest in the visual arts, visits to art museums are a staple of the tourist itinerary. In this manner, a broad and to a certain extent unpredictable public acquires its own experience and its own ideas of the art museum as an institution. Depending on the particular museums visited, these ideas are more or less varied. The types of museums vary: there are the mega-museums, the urban museums, museums dedicated to a particular epoch or region, university museums, and so on (it is not our purpose here to draw a comprehensive list of all the various types of museums or of their different policies).

In her essay “Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship”, Carol Duncan<sup>1</sup> discusses the role of art museums in the constitution of communities. She points out that contemporary art museums are important and necessary attributes of a well-furnished state. Thus, art museums – and museums of modern and contemporary art in particular – are also founded in so-called Third-World countries governed by authoritarian and despotic regimes, as a way to signal that the country shares the values of the highly developed West, that it is a reliable partner. Duncan offers the examples of the Museum of Modern Art opened in Manila by Imelda Marcos in 1975, and the Museum of Contemporary Art that opened in Tehran in 1977. Art museums transform the values of material wealth and social status crucial to rulers’ and patrons’ private collections into public “spiritual wealth”.

In each particular case, however, whenever we examine the public meaning that art museums create and the means that they use to convey it, we need to consider the specific political context.

Duncan concludes her essay by posing two questions crucial to museum practices: Who constitutes the community at which a museum narrative is targeted? And who can /should exercise the authority to define its identity?

According to the contemporary idea of the art museum – once we allow for the variety of types of museums, – any permanent exhibition needs to reveal not only the specificity of the collection on display, but also its own manner of presentation, its own ideology and scenography. It is precisely *scenography* that is increasingly used to describe the design of a museum’s space, expressing as the word does the idea of this activity’s integral part in the overall “spectacle” of the exhibition. The availability of (at least three) different types of lighting; an air-conditioning system that ensures the comfort of both artifacts and people; a good sound system; facilities for the laying out / staging of the museum space; a variety of exhibition furniture – these are all a must for any contemporary exhibition. The similarities with the performing arts are obvious.



YANKO  
APOSTOLOV,  
PROJECT OF A NEW  
ART MUSEUM  
RECONSTRUCTED  
BUILDING) IN SOFIA,  
2010



The ratio between the exhibition space and the rest of the museum space can vary, but for newly designed, up-to-date museums it is believed that it should be about 1:2. Setting aside space for temporary exhibitions is also a must. The rest of the space – double that of the exhibition space – accommodates suitably equipped storerooms (in Sofia’s museums, these typically look like and function as boxrooms for an assortment of humble objects); restoration studios and laboratories; photo studios; rooms for receiving visitors and preparing travelling exhibitions; a library; an archive room; the director’s office; the offices of curators, guards, the staff dealing with the museum’s public relations and educational programs, etc. Nor should we forget the obligatory bookshop and the gift shop selling museum-related gifts (rather than just any kind of souvenir), or, finally, the attractive café.

The polemics about contemporary art’s entry into museums started as early as the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One famous example is that of Manet’s *Olympia* (1863), which was mocked by the public and caricatured by the press in 1865, but in 1907, after years of campaigning by Manet’s admirers, entered the Louvre’s collection. The knowledge offered by art museums and the effects sought through the spectacle of an exhibition have been the subject of vigorous debate.

The first major museum dedicated entirely to contemporary art, New York’s MoMA, opened in 1929. Alan Wallach’s book on art museums in the USA includes a chapter on MoMA, entitled “The Museum of Modern Art: The Past’s Future”.<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, Wallach discusses the different stages of the Museum’s history and the strategies the Museum developed to resolve the contradiction between its contemporary art programme (the “Modern Art” in MoMA stands for art of the present day) and its accumulation of a museum collection.

In Europe, an example of such a museum is the Museum of Art in Łódź, founded in the early 1930s, on Władysław Strzemiński’s initiative, as an avant-garde art museum with an international collection.

Since the 1970s, there has been a lively debate on the methodological principles of art research, of historicizing, and of critical writing. Presentations of art organized on a firm national basis, or on racist or sexist distinction, are unacceptable. Normative hierarchies and the positing of boundaries, such as that between “high” and “low” art, have been dismissed. Exhibition narratives that claim uniqueness or indisputable veracity are unwelcome. Basic concepts that were once used unproblematically have come to be questioned.

### **Art – Modern Art – Contemporary Art**

Today, the idea of art is an uncertain one. The notion of art established in the Enlightenment era – with the emergence and the recognition of the role of the institutions of art: academies, museums, art salons, art criticism and art history itself – is now considered inefficient with re-

gard to contemporary art practices. In her book *L'Art contemporain en France* (*Contemporary Art in France*), Catherine Millet discusses the rejection of the idea of the art work in some art practices of the 1960s. The Group for Research in Visual Art (GRAV), for example, proposed in one of its manifestoes the abolishment of the category "work of art"; Ben Vautier declared art useless; and in a 1968 interview Daniel Buren proclaimed that art was no longer justifiable.<sup>3</sup> The numerous examples are symptomatic of the change taking place.

Since the 1970s, the "end of art" debate has also gained impetus, joined, from different standpoints, by philosophers and theoreticians of the visual image such as Heidegger, Baudrillard, Danto, and Belting. The reverberations of this debate reached Bulgaria much later, with the publication of the first Bulgarian translations of Belting<sup>4</sup> and Danto<sup>5</sup>, and the first essays on the issue by Bulgarian authors such as Angel Angelov<sup>6</sup>, Chavdar Popov<sup>7</sup>, and others.

I will not dwell here on that point in critical thinking and writing when the "end" of other/of all humanities formed in the modern era (the end of history, of philosophy, of literature, and so on) was the subject of lively debate. The debate about the end of modernity goes beyond the field of knowledge production to focus on the implications of a globalization that affects the very conditions of human existence.

Today, we can no longer talk of "art" unproblematically, as if nothing has happened. At the same time, the "end of art" debate seems to have exhausted its possibilities, and, after consensus has been reached in critical circles on what kind of art history is no longer necessary (or possible), the lasting question has re-emerged of how to write in the present day and what, if not "art", to call the thing we need to discuss. The second part of this question is particularly hard to answer.

If we look up the word "art" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, we will find examples of dozens of uses in various fields of knowledge and activity. Broadly speaking, these ultimately describe skills resulting from knowledge or practice ("the art of management", "the art of love", etc.). Virtually all adjective-noun collocations containing "art" are related to the establishment and operation of the art institutions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when these phrases first came into use: "art auction", "art collecting/ collection/ collector", "art connoisseur", "art dealer", "art exhibition", "art life", "art-lover", "art magazine", "art market", "art world", etc. – to mention but a few. This is the language in which the narratives of modern art have been told in Europe and the USA from the 1850s onwards.

"Art" and the various collocations with "art" are still being used in the historical narratives produced today, which adhere to a modernist paradigm (though an admittedly broader one): a paradigm characterized by the clear sequence of various *-isms*, a paradigm linked to the idea of "progress" and excluding anything happening synchronically but outside the "line of progress" in form and style. In critical writing which steps beyond this paradigm, the words "art" and "artistic" are also used, but not in an essentialist way, as if these concepts were beyond all doubt: rather, they are used as concepts that emerged in and are related to particular circumstances and practices.

The phrase "modern art" originally came into being in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a way to describe the art of the present day. Baudelaire proposed his ideas of "present-day" art in his study *Le peintre de la vie moderne* (*The Painter of Modern Life*) (published in 1863). Using the word "modernité" / "modernity" as a term, Baudelaire insisted on ephemerality and transience as modernity's key characteristics.

Today, there is consensus on the beginning of "modern art": it is believed to have emerged in the industrialization era. There is also agreement on certain of its characteristics, which ensures its continued existence and use as a term. But while it is possible to achieve consensus on



the use of “modern art” in the European paradigm, the notion of “contemporary art” is still the subject of heated debate.

### A Necessary Digression

It is interesting to note that in Bulgaria it was “modern” rather than “contemporary” that was perceived as problematic as a reference to art. The art society that was founded in 1903 called itself “Contemporary Art”, and the art forms and practices it developed were analogous to those typical of modern art societies elsewhere in Europe around 1900. During the communist rule, it was not before the 1980s that modern art started to be written about – and this is true of both pre- and post- WWII modern art. Art in the new political situation was referred to as “contemporary”. The art of the other communist countries, too, was “contemporary” art. One remarkable event in these circumstances is Dimitar Avramov’s book *Aesthetics of Modern Art*,<sup>8</sup>



IVAN KIRKOV,  
COMPOSITION,  
C. 1980

NEDKO  
SOLAKOV,  
THE YELLOW  
BLOB STORY,  
1997



which was published in 1969 and offered an erudite account of “modern art” in the West European cultural paradigm. But at that time the cultural gap was unbridgeable: “modern art” was by definition “western”, while Bulgarian art was divided into art “of the bourgeois era” and “contemporary art”.

The characteristics attributed to “contemporary art” vary, according to environment. The term’s uses are often vague: “contemporary art” can be defined as the art of the present day; or as a variety of (neo-)conceptual art – as the staging of a situation with a certain underlying idea rather than as an aesthetic artifact; or else as works of art of indisputable value, although that value is never made explicit – and so on.

In her Introduction to *Petit dictionnaire des artistes contemporains (Small Dictionary of Contemporary Artists)*, Pascale Le Thorel-Daviot explains that the dictionary covers artists born after 1900. The principle of selection is that of chronology. Some of the artists who feature in the dictionary are no longer among the living. The selection was the result of a survey conducted among 34 experts – museum curators and critics from France and elsewhere – each of whom suggested a list of about 400 artists.<sup>9</sup> In this way, the subjective factor was eliminated. (A question – which we will not discuss here – is that of the criteria according to which the experts themselves were selected.)

In Millet’s *L’Art contemporain en France*, which we have already referred to, the chronological boundaries of the study are explicitly defined: from 1965 to the time Millet completed her text, 1987. A subsequent edition of the book contains an extra chapter covering the period after 1987. Millet’s main argument for setting the beginning of her narrative in 1965 is the substantial change that was taking place at that time in relations between art and society. Millet is, however, insistent that her narrative is a historical one and, “being a history, this book also tells about facts and events, highlights certain links between different trends, and focuses on connections with foreign schools of art”.<sup>10</sup> Despite the change described, Millet very often uses the terms

“modern” and “contemporary” interchangeably – suggesting that there is no unbridgeable divide between the two terms.

Contemporary art is a situation or, rather, a plurality of situations, whose definition/naming-involves irreconcilable differences.

### **A Museum of Modern Art/A Museum of Contemporary Art**

“Modern” and “contemporary”, we have seen, have often changed places; and the shifts and confusion that result, are only to be expected. When, for example, Baudelaire used the word “moderne” / “modern”, he meant “of the present day”. In her Bulgarian translation of Baudelaire, on the other hand, Lilia Staleva chose to use the word “savremeneni”: that is, “contemporary”.

The earlier of the museums of present-day art typically choose the term “modern art” for their name – New York’s MoMA is one of these. Wallach tells us of MoMA’s efforts to resolve the contradiction between its contemporary art programme and its growing collection by selling to other museums works acquired more than fifty years previously. Thus, in 1947 MoMA sold the Metropolitan Museum of Art paintings by Cézanne and Picasso, among other works. Shortly afterwards, however, this practice was abandoned and the building housing the museum underwent several considerable extensions.<sup>11</sup> Today, when the idea of “modern art” seems to be more clearly defined, MoMA’s substantial collections mostly present a memory of the artifacts and art practices that precede the present day.

Enrico Lunghi, director of Luxembourg’s Museum of Modern Art (MUDAM)<sup>12</sup> once said in conversation that the mass public finds it easier to imagine what should be in a museum of modern art than what should be in a future museum of contemporary art. “When you say ‘museum of contemporary art’, everybody starts asking, “All right, but what shall we put in it?’ and so on and so forth. When you say ‘museum of modern art’, people say, “Oh, modern art. OK, we know what that’s about.”<sup>13</sup>

That does not, of course, mean that the presentation of “modern art” in museums is unproblematic. In the last two decades, modern art exhibitions have been the subject of lively discussions which have led to fundamental changes.

In local environments and cultural situations such as Bulgaria’s – environments and situations which do not in the modern time give rise to massive influence and whose cultural development involves political division, – the use of “modern art” as a term demands that a number of questions be asked and answered. Here is just one of those questions: Would we be justified to display in a conceivable museum of modern art in Sofia some of the work dating from Bulgaria’s communist rule, from the 1960s to the 1980s (such as, for example, the work of Ivan Kirkov, Ivan Vukadinov, Georgi Bozhilov – Slona), or the work of the next generation (Nikolay Maystorov, Andrey Daniel, Stanislav Pamukchiev, etc.)?

The museum which opened in Belgrade in 1965 is called a Museum of Contemporary Art. Today, it is still undergoing long-term reconstruction and when, fully renovated, it opens again, it will offer an overhauled vision of contemporariness. Museum collections, however, remain and – as we saw with MoMA – pose an insoluble problem. If what was contemporary in 1965 is no longer contemporary, what name shall we give it? Does it automatically fall into the category of the “modern”? If so, will what is “contemporary” today become “modern” in the museum of tomorrow? Or will it be “after-modern”? Or will it, perhaps, directly be transformed into a “classic”? The art practices and artifacts which become part of permanent museum exhibitions and acquire museum authority cease to be contemporary in the sense of involving the taking of artistic risk today. A museum of the classic type gives works of visual art an indisputable value,

it places them outside space and time. A museum's contemporariness is different from the contemporariness of artistic practice.

The terminological difficulties in the use of "modern" and "contemporary" reveal irreconcilable fundamental differences. The names we use cannot serve as concepts that are defined once and for all. Every time they are used, they are used from within a particular situation and need to be negotiated.

In the last fifteen years or so, we have been witnesses to a boom in contemporary art museums. In the Balkans, we have seen the opening of such public museums in Skopje, Bucharest and Istanbul. Belgrade's museum of contemporary art is, as we have said, under reconstruction. A few private museums have also appeared.

Many of the so-called museums of contemporary art are very flexible as institutions. After-modern critical ideology precludes the possibility of defining and fixing strict boundaries. Some art museums dismiss even the idea of the obligatory collection and their activities come close to those of such centres for contemporary art as the *kunsthalle*, or Warsaw's Ujazdowski Castle, or New York's P.S.1 (a public school converted into a centre for contemporary art). Is the appeal of visual images and situations created by different means today the result of their presumed "museum" qualities such as uniqueness, significant authorship, and a place in the hierarchy of historical narrative, or is it a matter of the value of our common present-day experience, of the sense of time they give us, of the transient moment shared? It is impossible to answer this question conclusively. Sofia simply lacks such venues – as well as museums – which could serve as a site for the ephemeral to happen, a place for what both vanishes and remains.

It seems important to me to problematize the venues of our encounters with contemporary art practices. The idea of contemporary art is related to the idea of the continual formulation and reformulation of the present-day situation, rather than with the traditional idea of the museum.

### **The Contemporariness Debate**

The right to contemporariness is the subject of dispute – today more so than ever because of the global information network. As far as "contemporariness" in art is concerned, the differences are irreconcilable.

In a conversation about Sofia's prospective museum of contemporary art, Angel Angelov opposed the understanding of contemporary art in the singular. "Contemporariness is not unitary and it is impossible to construct it as unitary". Contemporariness, in other words, does not lend itself to museification.<sup>14</sup>

A museum is a machine for (the production and management of) memories. It is not a place for the arrangement of contemporariness. Where contemporary art is concerned, a "museum" is only the tentative name of an institution, of a public venue for art's encounter with people. This name points not so much to a traditional museum's chief function as memory depository as to a desire for the institution of contemporary art to evoke in public consciousness the idea of already established authority, of reliability. For the same purpose, Millet calls her book a "history". Histories today, however, are perceived as plural, according to different views on historicization. This plurality also underlies concepts of museums as institutions involved in the process of historicization. Contemporariness is plural. To be legitimate, its presentation can/must also be plural.

Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> C. Duncan, Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship, in: *Exhibiting Cultures*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London 1991, 88-103.
- <sup>2</sup> A. Wallach, The Museum of Modern Art: The Past's Future, in: *Exhibiting Contradiction. Essays on the Art Museum in the United States*, The university of Massachusetts Press, 1998, 73-87.
- <sup>3</sup> C. Millet, *L'Art contemporain en France*, ed. Flammarion, Paris 1987, 23.
- <sup>4</sup> X. Белтинг, Епилози на изкуството или на историята на изкуството, в: *Следистории на изкуството*, съст. Ирина Генова, Ангел Ангелов, превод Гертана Фъркова, изд. Фондация Сфрагида, София 2001, 49-64.
- <sup>5</sup> А. Данто, Приближавайки края на изкуството, в: *Следистории на изкуството*, съст. Ирина Генова, Ангел Ангелов, превод Милена Попова, изд. Фондация Сфрагида, София 2001, 11-26; А. Данто, Три десетилетия след края на изкуството, в: *Следистории на изкуството*, съст. Ирина Генова, Ангел Ангелов, превод Биляна Курташева, изд. Фондация Сфрагида, София 2001, 29-47.
- <sup>6</sup> А. Ангелов, Коментар върху „краят на историята на изкуството“: мнения и полемики”, от Чавдар Попов, сп. *Критика и хуманизъм*, кн. 20, бр. 1, 2005, 315-330.
- <sup>7</sup> Ч. Попов, Изкуствознание и постмодернизъм. Тезата за „края на историята на изкуството“: мнения и полемики, сп. *Проблеми на изкуството*, бр. 1, 2005, 15-24.
- <sup>8</sup> Д. Аврамов, *Естетика на модерното изкуство*, изд. “Наука и изкуство”, София 1969.
- <sup>9</sup> P. Le Thorel-Daviot, *Petit dictionnaire des artistes contemporains*, ed. Larousse- Bordas, Paris 1996, 5-9.
- <sup>10</sup> C. Millet, *L'Art contemporain en France*, ed. Flammarion, Paris 1987, 5.
- <sup>11</sup> A. Wallach, The Museum of Modern Art: The Past's Future, in: *Exhibiting Contradiction. Essays on the Art Museum in the United States*, The university of Massachusetts Press, 1998, 80-82.
- <sup>12</sup> Lunghi became director of MUDAM in 2009. He had previously been artistic director of Casino Luxembourg – a forum for contemporary art forms and practices; and has also curated a number of major exhibitions of contemporary art. In 2009, he was a visiting lecturer at the “Visual Image” seminar at New Bulgarian University.
- <sup>13</sup> Е. Лунги, Съвременното изкуство днес – преформулиране на местата, в: *Модерно и съвременно – за изкуството и неговите истории*, съст. Ирина Генова, изд. на Нов български университет, София 2010, 82.
- <sup>14</sup> Conversation published in *Kritika i humanizam*, vol. 24, 2007.

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SAVREMENI MUZEJ / MUZEJ SAVREMENE UMETNOSTI: DEBATA O SAVREMENOSTI  
(ŠTA JE SAVREMENO?) IZ LOKALNE PERSPEKTIVE

Sažetak:

Pojam savremene umetnosti izaziva danas brojne nedoumice. Ako je nešto nazvano savremenim pre pedeset godina kako treba danas da ga zovemo? Da li ono automatski prelazi u kategoriju “modernog”? Ako je tako da li će onda svako “savremeno” postati “moderno” u muzeju sutrašnjice? Ili će biti “nakon-modernog”? Ili će možda postati “klasično”? Članak se bavi odgovorima na ova pitanja, mogućim smernicama delovanja “savremenih” muzeja danas, kao i problemom odsustva muzejskog prostora za savremenu ali i modernu umetnost u Sofiji.

*Ključne reči:* muzej savremene umetnosti, savremeni muzej, savremena umetnost, polemike o savremenosti, savremenost u množini

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – POLEMIKA)

*KRITIKE*  
*REVIEWS*



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## STRAINING THE LIMITS OF INTERPRETATION: BRAM STOKER'S *DRACULA* AND ITS EASTERN EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

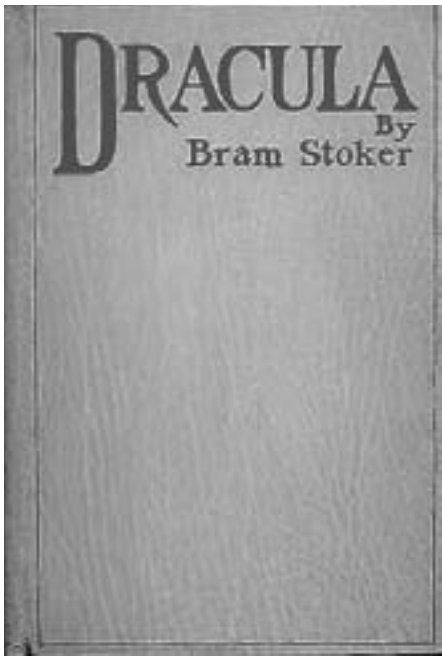
As the indisputably “canonical” text of late Victorian (and later) vampire fiction, Bram Stoker’s novel *Dracula* has decidedly benefited from the collapse of traditional standards of “literariness” and the opening up of literary criticism to wider domains of critical writing. The novel, as a consequence, has generated a phenomenal number of readings. This has been attributed to, among other things, “the uncanny ability of its central figure to call forth a diverse and even mutually contradictory set of symbolic associations”.<sup>1</sup> Behind *Dracula*’s “uncanny” versatility, we can detect the “aggregate” nature of his monstrosity, which thriftily “condense[s] many [negative] traits into one [Gothic] body”.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, the book’s interpreters have tended to “consume” that monstrosity through hermeneutic models evoking wide and symbolically resonant areas such as sexuality. Writing in the early 1990s, Ken Gelder singled out the sexual theme as the central topic of the novel’s critical readings.<sup>3</sup>

Significantly, during the twentieth century’s closing decade, politics became a prominent element in interpretations of *Dracula*, without, however, completely replacing sexuality. By and large, political “concretizations” of Stoker’s text tend to engage with three major themes: Ireland, the British Empire, and Eastern Europe as perceived by the western gaze. Needless to say, there are numerous thematic overlaps in/between individual critical readings. This essay will examine some interpretations belonging to the third category before presenting a reading that similarly foregrounds the text’s engagement with Eastern Europe.

### **Recent critical gazes on *Dracula*: from reading to re-writing**

Interpretations highlighting *Dracula*’s Eastern European identity and the significance of the novel’s Transylvanian setting exemplify a well-established tendency in postmodern critical writing to problematize the legitimacy and “naturalness” of traditional conceptual frameworks by recovering forgotten or repressed contexts, (re)discovering intertextual links, and thus accounting for the cultural work that texts do. The majority of those readings are likewise linked, in varying degrees, to the tremendous political changes that occurred in Eastern and Central Europe in 1989 and in the 1990s: the collapse of repressive communist regimes, the dismantlement of the “Eastern bloc,” and the disintegration of Yugoslavia. One of the consequences of the po-

litical shifts has been the re-invention of the cultural-symbolic map of Europe through the revival of pre-WWII patterns of perception of the “old” continent’s regions. Thus, military conflicts in Yugoslavia and general economic instability in post-communist South Eastern Europe led to the reemergence of the Balkans as a geopolitical metaphor for backwardness, barbarism, and tribalism.<sup>4</sup> In the process, Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* was repeatedly invoked both in western commentaries on the region and in work by local intellectuals. It is my intention here to examine some of the key aspects of the Gothic text’s extensive application to South Eastern Europe and its discontents.<sup>5</sup> To my mind, this critical practice poses methodological questions about the limits (and limitations) of the interpretation of literary *oeuvres* and of their contextualization in historical and geographical terms. Things are further complicated by the symptomatic presence of factual errors and inaccurate statements in some of the readings under consideration, which later interpreters have carelessly reproduced in their own work.



DRACULA, THE COVER PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION, 1897

perasive narrative of decline, a narrative of reverse colonization”.<sup>8</sup> He distinguishes between stories of “reverse colonization,” which involve infiltration by “primitive forces [...] originat[ing] outside the civilized world,” such as in H. Rider Haggard’s *She* (1887), and “invasion scare” or “dynamite novels” premised on the rivalry between Britain and other “Great Powers” or on “articulat[ing] a middle-class fear [...] of foreign revolutionaries [...] and of [the] industrial underclass”.<sup>9</sup> In both cases, privileged imperial space is threatened and/or polluted by the plans and/or actual presence of undesirable aliens.

The critic perceptively links Stoker’s novel to the genre of travel writing, itself a vehicle for cultural and political commentary. However, he does not, I feel, base his interpretation of the text’s Transylvanian setting on sound historical research. For example, Arata claims that the setting was “part of the vexed ‘Eastern Question’ that so obsessed British foreign policy in the

My examination starts with Stephen Arata’s 1990 essay “The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization”.<sup>6</sup> This text does not explicitly identify the novel’s setting as Balkan, but it may be said to have paved the way for later *Balkanizing* readings. I also look at Vesna Goldsworthy’s section on *Dracula* in *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (1998), two articles from the journal *Connotations* (1999–2001) by Eleni Condouriotis and Carol A. Senf respectively, and Tomislav Z. Longinović’s highly symptomatic application of the book to the Balkan condition.

Stephen D. Arata’s essay exemplifies the thematic overlap I mentioned earlier. It is as much concerned with issues of Empire and imperialism as with the novel’s Eastern European (anti)hero and setting. The author begins by stressing the importance of situating late nineteenth-century Gothic narratives such as *Dracula* in “the historical context in which these works were written and originally read”.<sup>7</sup> Stoker’s text, in his opinion, “enacts the period’s most important and per-



1880s and '90s"<sup>10</sup> but fails to explain how Transylvania as an eastern province of the Habsburg Empire is related to a series of events that primarily had to do with the political destiny of Ottoman Turkey and its successor states.<sup>11</sup> As it happens, there *was* a connection: the Habsburg government feared that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and its replacement by smaller nation states might provide a stimulus for nationalism in its own multiethnic provinces and thus bring about the demise of Austria-Hungary. Transylvania was one of those provinces, and its "polyracial character"<sup>12</sup> is foregrounded in Stoker's novel, as is the fact that German, the Empire's official language, is the main vehicle of communication between the local people and Jonathan Harker.<sup>13</sup> There is no indication in *Dracula*, though, that any particular ethnic group in the province is contemplating secession from Austria-Hungary. To be sure, Arata's vague reference to the "Eastern Question" only serves to stress Transylvania's vaguely *Oriental* location, and this is a point to which I will return in my commentary on Senf's article.

Moreover, Arata's argument that Transylvania is an appropriate setting for Stoker's vampiric fantasy because of its multiethnic diversity is supported by a passage from Charles Boner's 1865 travelogue *Transylvania; Its Products and Its People*, which refers to the Habsburg capital of Vienna rather than to the Empire's eastern province.<sup>14</sup> While the point about the lack of ethnic uniformity in the region is valid, and Stoker's text certainly verifies the connection between vampiric transgression and "polyracial" chaos, Arata's questionable accuracy and his offhand treatment of a source, which he himself identifies as "the standard Victorian work on [Transylvania],"<sup>15</sup> are serious flaws that detract from the value of his arguments. Significantly, in his 1994 commentary on the cultural symbolism of vampiric fiction and film, Ken Gelder negligently reproduced Arata's misreading of Boner's *Transylvania*.<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding its inaccuracies, "The Occidental Tourist" is full of insights, such as Arata's observation on *Dracula*'s Occidentalism, which is of paramount importance as a hermeneutic element that alerts us to the Count's cultural hybridity.<sup>17</sup> Most of the author's critical apparatus comes from postcolonial theory, which he successfully applies to a *part* of the ambiguous terrain of South Eastern Europe. As was remarked above, Arata does not attempt to extend his reasoning to the rest of the region. Vesna Goldsworthy, however, has aptly reminded us that South Eastern Europe did not experience "conventional" colonial domination by the West but was nonetheless subjected to "the imperialism of [its] imagination," which turned parts of it into "exotic backdrop[s] in travelogues and tales of romance, adventure and political intrigue".<sup>18</sup> The 1990s witnessed the trend to theorize South Eastern Europe via postcolonial studies. In the process, *Dracula* turned into a "crucial Balkan metaphor"<sup>19</sup> epitomizing western exclusion of the region and its denizens from Europe "proper".

Goldsworthy's reading, which reiterates Arata's emphasis on the Count's Occidentalism, has greatly contributed to the establishment of this tendency. In all fairness, however, it should be stressed that she herself meticulously qualifies *Dracula*'s (and *Dracula*'s) "Balkanness" in her *Inventing Ruritania*. Goldsworthy relates Stoker's novel to "a gradual [...] move [within European Gothic writing] towards a Balkan setting" as "places in Italy and Spain [became] too familiar to function as successful Gothic locales".<sup>20</sup> The critic emphasizes the "imaginary" quality of *Dracula*'s Transylvanian setting<sup>21</sup> and its author's syncretistic labor in "piec[ing] together an exotic historical amalgam" of a variety of textual sources.<sup>22</sup> Goldsworthy admits that not all of Stoker's sources "deal[t] with the Balkans".<sup>23</sup> On the basis of this, one may well ask if the novel's setting really stands in a relation of symbolic synonymy to the Balkans, as is suggested by the title of Goldsworthy's chapter, "The Balkans in Popular Fiction" (my emphasis). In the manner of the *Ruritania* of her book's title, *Dracula*'s setting appears to fit other, notably *Central European*, localities as well.<sup>24</sup>

Events in former Yugoslavia led to a deepening of the sense of crisis in Europe. What was at stake was the conventional sense of *Europeanness* itself. As violence escalated, references were repeatedly made to the Ottoman past of Yugoslavia and, indeed, the whole of South Eastern Europe, thus problematizing the myth of the “old” continent’s tradition of dominant Christianity. Bram Stoker’s text was drawn into the ongoing debates, and scholars from South Eastern Europe especially tended to equate its resident demon with the historical figure of Vlad Țepeș.<sup>2</sup> Eleni Condouriotis’s “*Dracula* and the Idea of Europe” exemplifies this problematic historicizing. She draws attention to a “preoccupation in the novel with [the] repressing [of] historical discourse” and goes on to argue that the repression is “selective” and “target[s] the Ottoman history of Eastern Europe”.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in her view, the “delegitimation” of that area of European history happened at a time “when the nations newly emerging from Ottoman rule challenged the idea of Europe that had been defined through the Concert of Europe”<sup>27</sup> in the early nineteenth century. Condouriotis’s reading is thus closely linked to the Eastern Question. She does not merely mention this tangled network of historical events but attempts to examine its political implications for the British Empire and the “old” continent as a whole.

Condouriotis is at her most perceptive when she alerts us to the absence from Stoker’s novel of specific references to what must have been recent European history for the author and his contemporaries, such as the 1876 Bosnian and Bulgarian atrocities and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 and its political aftermath. In this respect, *Dracula* markedly differs from Stoker’s later Balkan fantasy, *The Lady of the Shroud* (1908), which is by far more sensitive to current history and politics. However, it is difficult to accept Condouriotis’s claim that “Stoker’s reinvention of the historical figure [of Vlad Țepeș] [was] driven by his desire to disclaim [. . .] medieval, Christian Europe, reemerging into modernity, monstrously out of date”.<sup>28</sup> Further on, she maintains that since it had become “politically untenable” for Eastern Europe to be left to “linger behind the ‘Iron Curtain’ of the Ottoman Empire,” it had to be “refigured” and “brought under the cultural influence of Western Europe [. . .] without the traces of Ottomanization”.<sup>29</sup> While such a scenario may appear plausible within the context of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Balkan cultural history, there is little in Stoker’s novel to support it.<sup>30</sup> *Dracula* does refer to his epic battles with the Turks but mostly represents them as evidence of his superior strength and courage. He does not portray himself as a champion of Christianity so much, despite a brief reference to “the shame of Cassova”, i.e. Kosovo, but rather as a powerful warrior matching his might against that of the Turks. For Condouriotis, he is “an Ottomanized European” and “a blasphemous Christian hero”.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, both South Eastern European history and folklore preserve the memory of such “impure” figures, and the historical Vlad Țepeș may well have been one of them.<sup>3</sup> Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*, though, is not cast in such a role. Nor is there any ground for linking him to the Ottoman reformer Abdul Aziz, who was the Empire’s 32<sup>nd</sup> *Sultan* (not its *Grand Vizier*, as Condouriotis claims<sup>3</sup>) and ruled between 1861 and 1876.<sup>34</sup>

Condouriotis’s thoughts on *Dracula* (and *Dracula*) are characterized by ingenuity and originality. All the same, one wonders whether what she presents is not, after all, a *re-writing* of the novel to fit the standards of latter-day historiography of the Balkans rather than a critical *reading* of it. Bram Stoker’s text does relate to “the idea of Europe” in significant ways, but to uncover some of those, we need to adopt a more precise historicizing approach to it and its literary contexts, as well as to take into account *Dracula*’s “aggregate” monstrosity. As was pointed out above, the text’s monster calls up a wide range of associations, and anchoring him firmly in a particular historical area invariably produces an impoverishing effect.

In her response to "Dracula and the Idea of Europe," Carol A. Senf commends Condouriotis for drawing attention to "the East" as "a region [sic] that the West continues to ignore at its peril".<sup>35</sup> She identifies Arata as the first critic to refer to the Eastern Question but offers no comment on the absence of proper historical contextualization in his reading. Senf is right in stressing the "mysteriousness" of the Eastern Europe that Stoker presents in *Dracula* and the fact that it is "more mythic than real".<sup>36</sup> What she fails to take into account, however, is that the mythologizing that went into producing the novel's Transylvania is meaningful and needs to be analyzed further. In fact, "the Idea of Europe" of Condouriotis's title has a lot to do with that transformation of observed and represented reality into myth.

Senf does not accept the parallel Condouriotis makes between *Dracula* and Abdul Aziz but is not bothered by the historical figure's faulty identification as *Grand Vizier*.<sup>37</sup> I find this transference of unverified references troubling (cf. Gelder's reproduction of Arata's mistake). In my view, it indicates that despite the enduring critical favor for (new) historicism, learned commentators do not always pay sufficient attention to sources and facts. Moreover, Senf's elision of differences between Transylvania and the larger geographical terrain of Eastern Europe (or "the East," as she terms it) implies that such differences for her are negligible. The implication may not be intentional, but that is likewise culturally meaningful.

Tomislav Longinović's "Vampires Like Us: Gothic Imaginary and 'the serbs' [sic]" identifies *Dracula* as a "narrative elaboration of past European traumas".<sup>3</sup> Like Condouriotis, the author assumes that the novel's vampire is identical with "Vlad Dracul Tzepesh [sic]" and that Stoker's text is part of an attempt to "erase" the area of Europe's past marked by "the arbitrariness of Islamic rule".<sup>39</sup> Overall, the article is an extended meditation on South Eastern Europe's historically determined victimization, by the West no less than by the Ottoman Orient. In the process, Longinović transforms memorable episodes from *Dracula* into allegories of the West's incomprehension of the Balkan condition or of Balkan intellectuals' willful suppression of ultra-nationalism and other morally unacceptable aspects of their native legacy. The allegorizing strategy is illustrated by passages such as the following: "Not unlike the vampire, the West cannot see its own reflection in the mirror of Balkan temporality, and it buries its fears of intrusion from the East in the dark chambers of Dracula's castle. Intellectuals in "Other" Europe, meanwhile, were always torn between the mirror of the West and their own "nativist" tendencies. Also like the reflection of the Transylvanian count, the "nativist" drives of the nationalist elites were better obscured and buried deep in the cellars of medieval castles".<sup>4</sup>

Longinović thus re-writes Bram Stoker's text to make it accommodate his own ideas on global (in)justice. Significantly, he tries to wring compassion for "the unfortunate count, who is formed by the colonial gaze of the West which senses the presence of its own bloodthirsty past reflected in [ . . . ] the vampiric imagination".<sup>41</sup> This interpretive manoeuvre brings the author fairly close to Prince Vlad's representation in Coppola's 1992 film, which similarly stresses the Eastern European (anti)hero's victimization and aims at invoking empathy—if not sympathy—for him.<sup>42</sup> From Longinović's perspective, empathy for the Count should help the international critical audience, for whom his essay is intended, to gain a historically informed understanding of the Balkan situation and the ideological uses of vampirism and thus overcome its media-induced anti-Serb prejudices.

"Balkanizing" re-writings of Bram Stoker's novel and its central character, such as Longinović's, tend to repeat a conflationist interpretive manoeuvre, which is to be found in some of the region's western representations as well. The manoeuvre in question has to do with "the issue of adjacency by which the neighboring lands of [South] Eastern Europe [are] associated"

and which is “dramatized to suggest a sort of [shared] geographical destiny”.<sup>43</sup> As a result, territories in the region are assumed to be largely interchangeable and turn into “Balkan everycountries”.<sup>44</sup> While later popular fiction and film were to make use of Dracula (and of *Dracula*) in just this way, Bram Stoker did not. Therefore, critical representations of “the king vampire” as an all-Balkan (anti)hero do not so much as unmask western denigration of the region as they do perpetuate the tendency to erase distinctions and facilitate overgeneralizations about its different parts.

On the other hand, “Balkanizing” interpretations attempt to fill in certain “gaps” in Stoker’s text. Thus, a representation of Dracula as a champion of the Christian cause might well explain his desire to “sate his lust for blood” among London’s “teeming millions” as a reaction to Britain’s betrayal of that cause at, for instance, the 1878 Congress of Berlin.<sup>45</sup> The British delegation at the Congress favored the continued Ottoman presence in Europe and thwarted Russia’s plans for the establishment of a larger Bulgarian state in the Balkans. However, it is also possible to account for Dracula’s apparently unmotivated desire for “revenge” on his western opponents by concentrating on his literary antecedents as a Gothic villain of extraordinary malignancy. Apart from being based on presumptions about political views that Bram Stoker never expressed, interpretations that seek to read specific historical references into a text that is reticent about recent history and politics in South Eastern Europe invariably limit its suggestiveness.

Overall, *Dracula* focuses on the diagnosis and eradication of a highly objectionable form of Eastern European monstrosity by a group of westerners ironically identified by Christopher Craft as “the Crew of Light”.<sup>46</sup> As we saw, contextualizing the clash between the Crew and their supernatural opponent can be a tricky proposition insofar as some of the frameworks provided by recovered/uncovered contexts can reduce the text’s ideological complexity to a cluster of privileged meanings congruent with the critic’s own political and/or ethical agenda. Despite those and other perils of interpretation, I propose to recover yet another Eastern European context for Stoker’s novel.

### Viewing *Dracula* through terrorist spectacles

The context in question is provided by what may be termed late nineteenth-century British and American *terrorist fiction*. The term was not used at the time but seems nonetheless an appropriate descriptor for a popular literary subgenre, which represented transgressive figures from Eastern Europe that successfully infiltrated key areas of western life.<sup>47</sup> The three novels I have selected for comparison with *Dracula* are Joseph Hatton’s *By Order of the Czar. The Tragic Story of Anna Klostock, Queen of the Ghetto* (1890), Richard Henry Savage’s *My Official Wife* (1891), and L. T. Meade’s *The Siren* (1898). In singling them out for discussion, I am following Arata’s advice of situating *Dracula* in “the historical context in which it was written and originally read.” Unlike the text’s “Balkanizing” interpreters, I am positioning my reading from within a predominantly *literary* context, albeit one with distinct *political* implications.

The political implications in question are closely bound up with “a distinct constellation of [. . .] fears”<sup>48</sup> and anxieties in the fin-de-siècle Anglo-American public sphere.<sup>49</sup> Despite British and U.S. traditions of isolationism, readers on both sides of the Atlantic could no longer feel safe from political violence that appeared to be ubiquitous. The British directly experienced the Fenian bombing campaign of 1884–85 that was known to have been planned and financed in America. More to the point, both Britons and Americans were aware of acts of terrorism taking place in continental Europe, such as the 1880 assassination of the Russian Tsar Alexander II. Moreover, fears and anxieties were fueled by the rapidity with which political violence was cov-

ered by the international media. Throughout the nineteenth century, communications had developed at an amazing speed. Apart from the "wide network of railways, steamers and telegraph lines"<sup>50</sup> binding all Europe together, the "old" and "new" worlds were finally joined in 1866 via a telegraph cable that was laid across the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. The existing state of affairs tended to produce an incipient *global consciousness* as traditional contrasts between *home* and *abroad*, relative safety and unavoidable danger, were increasingly problematized.

Both Stoker's novel and these three works of terrorist fiction are preoccupied with boundaries and their transgression. This may be related, *inter alia*, to what was perceived, in the 1880s and 1890s, as an *influx* of Eastern Europeans into the West and, specifically, into the industrial cities of Great Britain and of the United States. A considerable number of those immigrants were Jewish, who had to leave the Russian Empire on account of pogroms and discriminationist legislation following the assassination of Alexander II. However, there was also an exodus of Jews from Romania and Austria-Hungary.<sup>51</sup> Not all immigrants were politically committed enemies of tsarism or any of the other repressive political regimes in continental Europe. One suspects that economic motives played a major role in the process of migration. While the press and popular fiction writers tended to be above all resentful of the crowds of economic migrants to Britain and the United States, they were fascinated by educated, upper-class political émigrés from Eastern Europe. Even a cursory look at the *Brooklyn Times*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, *The North American Review*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *The New Englander and Yale Review* reveals a focus on Russian Nihilism and "Cosmopolitan Anarchism",<sup>52</sup> as well as on the role played in them by upper-crust rebels. Some of the articles that appeared in those American editions had previously been printed in the British press or were intended for a mixed Anglo-American readership.<sup>53</sup>

Anxieties over the destiny of upper-class political émigrés and, generally speaking, the destiny of a world in which tyrannical foreign empires persecuted well-educated, cultured, and enlightened individuals found expression in fin-de-siècle works of terrorist fiction such as the three novels listed above. *By Order of the Czar* was inspired by an article that appeared in the *Brooklyn Times* in 1887 (see note 52), whereas *My Official Wife* was produced by a best-selling American author, but enjoyed considerable success in Europe.<sup>54</sup> *The Siren* was published a year after *Dracula*, thus proving that the preoccupation with the Eastern European presence in the West did not wane as the 1890s drew to a close.

All three novels focus on glamorous female terrorists who issue out of Eastern Europe, are filled with strong hatred of Russian autocracy and other forms of political repression, and introduce elements of chaos into the otherwise orderly lives of the westerners that they come into contact with. These politically committed *femmes fatales* are made particularly dangerous by the exceptional qualities they are portrayed as possessing: they are "excellent linguists",<sup>55</sup> are quite above average in intelligence, and manage to exercise self-control in the most stressful situations. The worldly American narrator of Richard Henry Savage's *My Official Wife* envies the poise of "the Nihilist who could write philosophy while handling a dynamite bomb".<sup>56</sup> Like the Occidental Count, the female "revolutionists" are represented as culturally hybrid figures insofar as they come from European regions assumed to be backward and primitive and are related "by blood" to their indigenes but have acquired the superior knowledge and accomplishments of the West. They are thus borderline characters positioned between Eastern Europe and the West. A major part of their power lies in their "mirroring back" of some of the West's key cultural and political practices.<sup>57</sup>

Whether or not Stoker was familiar with terrorist fiction remains conjecture. However, he could not have avoided the numerous articles about Eastern European émigrés and immigrants

that the press poured out. That he disapproved of Nihilism and anarchism is borne out by the negative references to them in *The Lady of the Shroud*, whose Nordic superhero Rupert Sent Leger places them, together with the New Woman, among the incurable ills of modern civilization.<sup>58</sup> While I do not intend to impose a purely “revolutionist” identity on Dracula, I believe that there are meaningful parallels between him and the central figures of terrorist fiction. As I pointed out above, the novels’ terrorist (anti)heroines embodied anxieties about the destiny of the modern world. Physically attractive, highly talented, and well educated (though victimized by a tyrannical system), the female “revolutionists” invoked sympathy in the West, which, however, did not completely occlude their potential for sexual trouble and manipulation. These glamorous women were portrayed as both victims and victimizers insofar as they ruthlessly exploited the western men who fell under their spell. Western attitudes to them were therefore marked by strong ambivalence. Viewed within this context, Bram Stoker’s vampiric Count represents the dark side of those attitudes. He stands for the dangers posed by Eastern Europeans without any of the fascinating characteristics of the terrorist *femmes fatales*. A comparison between Dracula and the (anti)heroines of the novels listed above, along the lines of gender, sexuality and power, should bear out my inferences.

Commenting on ideologically determined social and racial hierarchies, William Ian Miller recognizes the facile tendency, in critical writing, to equate states of subordination with feminization.<sup>59</sup> He claims that this “gender model is better at explaining certain styles of hierarchy than others” and draws attention to the “threatening style[s] of masculinity” characteristic of some traditionally “low” groups whose “manner [. . .] reveal[s] the feminization of the men above them”.<sup>60</sup> Miller’s reasoning is partially relevant to the representations of gender relations in the four novels under discussion. However, those representations have little to do with some “threatening” form of masculinity but are instead characterized by a disruption of the conventional masculine/feminine binary. One of the consequences of the disruption is the effective humiliation of the novels’ upper-class western male characters. In some cases, their degradation takes the form of feminization but, as will be shown, in *Dracula*, it even goes beyond that, as the pillars of patriarchy are first likened to dead animals and then threatened with the imposition of a menial, animal-like identity in the future.

The central female characters of the three terrorist novels problematize conventional distinctions between femininity and masculinity. Anna Klostock of the eponymous novel, Marie Helene (*My Official Wife*) and Vera Nugent (*The Siren*) are all portrayed as glamorously beautiful women, whose femininity is irreparably flawed. Anna starts her career as a Nihilist by killing the Russian general who raped her and had her brutally flogged. The traces of the flogging are literally *written* on her body, which is disfigured by “deep ridges and welts, [. . .] angry patches of red, and weird daubs of gray”.<sup>61</sup> Marie Helene, who is motivated by both hatred of Russian autocracy and a desire to revenge her Jewish mother’s humiliation and death at the hands of the Russians, always carries a “little bulldog revolver” which she threatens to use even upon the American narrator.<sup>62</sup> Vera Nugent is exhorted by her Nihilist mentor, Countess Fedora, to follow the example of historically renowned “phallic” women such as Joan of Arc and Charlotte Corday.<sup>63</sup> Besides, as a “siren” she appeals sexually to both men and women.<sup>64</sup> An attractiveness that cuts across masculine/feminine gender lines is also characteristic of Marie Helene.<sup>65</sup>

The gender indeterminacy of the three terrorists is represented as a function of their political involvement. They are contrasted with a number of “ordinary” British, American, and Russian women, whose femininity is not in any way problematic. What makes the terrorists particularly dangerous is the *feminizing* effect they have on the western men with whom they come into con-

tact. As a result, the westerners either perform acts that are conventionally gendered "feminine" or fail to assert their masculinity in situations that call for such an assertion. Thus, Anna Klostok's British admirer, Philip Forsyth, faints when she reveals her disfigured back to him and to her fellow-conspirators.<sup>66</sup> Colonel Lenox, the American narrator of *My Official Wife*, is incapable of making love to Marie Helene when she offers herself to him.<sup>67</sup> His impotence is glossed over as a sign of his unswerving adherence to the gentlemanly code.<sup>68</sup> Vera Nugent openly admits that she possesses a fatal "power of fascination" which causes "victims to fall along the way".<sup>69</sup> Her British cousin Frank, an officer in the elite Coldstream Guards, is one of the "victims" that she reduces to a state of quasi-feminine passivity. It is important to bear in mind that the three (anti)heroines do not merely embody the male fear of the feminine on which psychologists and psychoanalysts have so often commented.<sup>70</sup> Rather, they have an enervating, *feminizing* effect on upper-class western men because of their own gender indeterminacy, that is, because they are definitely not *feminine* women in the conventional sense.

Stoker's vampire defies traditional cultural oppositions and hierarchies, but critics have been particularly attentive to his disruption of the masculine/feminine dichotomy. Despite the assumption that the novel's villain is of the masculine gender, there are traits that link him to femininity and female power. His name, as Christopher Craft has reminded us, is as seductively misleading as Honoré de Balzac's (and Roland Barthes's) Sarrasine.<sup>71</sup> It has been suggested that Dracula shares some of the attributes of Kali, the blood-drinking Mother Goddess of the Hindu pantheon.<sup>72</sup> Anne Williams has further linked the monster to other terrible feminine figures, such as Circe and Hecate.<sup>73</sup> His resemblance to the savage goddesses of classical paganism should also account for his fear of garlic, a phallic, "spear-leek" plant that was considered to be displeasing to them.<sup>74</sup> However, an identification of the monster as a Terrible Mother is bound to be almost as problematic as his identification as a Terrible Father who must be killed by his sons (in this case, his western opponents led by Van Helsing) in accordance with the Freudian model of tribal survival. It should be noted that Dracula is demonic precisely because the gender polarities through which human civilization (really or supposedly) operates cannot be used to describe his "personality." This lack of fixity is also signalled by his sexuality, which is non-phallic but penetrative, and thus definitely goes beyond the masculine/feminine binary.

Moreover, the Count possesses seemingly irrepressible barbaric vigor, which manifests itself in his ability to reproduce his monstrous self through the bodies of countless number of women. Significantly, his vampiric progeny inherits his gender indeterminacy, as is borne out by his three Transylvanian daughters/brides whose soft, red lips conceal sharp, penetrating teeth. In the context of the novel, Dracula's unholy fecundity contrasts with the sexual lassitude of his western opponents. Only one of them, the Briton Jonathan Harker, proves capable of fathering a child. The other members of the Crew of Light are portrayed as childless.

Despite his paternity, Harker's conduct is marked by numerous signs of feminization. Thus, in the course of his encounter with Dracula's "voracious harem",<sup>75</sup> he assumes an attitude of passive expectancy, which is conventionally stereotyped as "feminine." After Harker's return from Transylvania, Mina finds that "the very essence of [his] strength is gone" and remarks upon his "nervous fit[s]" and "lapse[s] into forgetfulness". She comments also on his reaction to the rejuvenated Count in the following "emasculating" terms: "[t]he *poor dear* was evidently terrified at something—very greatly terrified; I do believe that if he had not had me to lean on and to support him he would have *sunk down*" (my emphasis). To an age obsessed with "race," degeneration, and the fall of empires to the extent that the late Victorian period was, such "emas-culation" could appear as very disconcerting. While Dracula's ability to prey upon British

women is an oblique comment on the growth of degenerative tendencies in Britain, Harker's feminization directly signals the decline of the nineteenth century's most powerful empire.

By contrast, Dracula's sexual voracity is closely bound up with his ambition for absolute conquest. The ambition is expressed in a speech addressed to the Crew of Light in which he taunts his opponents with their weakness: "You think to baffle me, you—with your pale faces all in a row, like sheep at a butcher's. You shall be sorry yet, each one of you! [. . .] My revenge is just begun! I spread it over centuries, and time is on my side. Your girls that you love so much are mine already; and through them you and others shall yet be mine— my creatures, to do my bidding and to be my jackals when I want to feed".

The Count first humiliates the Crew of Light by denying them a human status. He claims that they are "like sheep at a butcher's", that is, not even live animals but slaughtered ones hanging from the meat hooks and therefore reduced to mere "thingness." The comparison implies that Dracula himself is in a position of power: he is active, whereas the pale-faced westerners are passive and helpless. Through his superior sexual power, the Count has already deprived them of their "girls," but this is only the beginning of his domination over their world. Dracula does not aim at merely appropriating their territory or material wealth. He is determined on transforming everyone, irrespective of his/her gender, into a subservient "jackal" that would do his "bidding" and provide "food" for his boundless appetite(s). The vampire's "jackal" is the absolute antithesis of the sovereign individual of the liberal tradition. Whereas the self, envisioned by the liberal imagination, operates through free choice, Dracula's creatures would be incapable of proper action.<sup>76</sup> Their chief "virtue" would be absolute obedience. Their existence would be a function of the master's will. This is a terrifying vision of absolute unfreedom, which clearly anticipates Orwell's dystopias.

The manipulative *femmes fatales* of the terrorist novels already live in a world of unfreedom. They are opposed to Russian autocracy and its corrupt menials, on the one hand, but, on the other, together with their associates, enact scenarios that emphatically deny the value of human life and free choice. Marie Helene proclaims that her "life is [her] country's" and so is her "honor if need be".<sup>77</sup> When Vera Nugent questions the tasks that her Nihilist cell imposes upon her, she is cynically told that she is completely dispensable and her life is worthless: "[w]hat is one girl's life when we consider the millions who suffer?"<sup>78</sup> Total dedication to the cause motivates the female "revolutionists" in everything they do. Their condition is marked by a paradox: on the one hand, they appear to be "liberated" from the constraints of conventional femininity while, on the other, they enjoy fairly little freedom insofar as they are under the total control of the secret societies they belong to. These societies compel them to restrict the freedom of others through sexual seduction and manipulation, thus hoping to extend their own power over governments, empires, and the world at large. As a result, the female terrorists are fully comparable to Dracula's "jackals". They are the agents of a future dystopian state.

Both the vampiric Count and the female "revolutionists" pose grave dangers to British society's political and moral foundations. The four novels carry an unequivocally conservative message: to ward off further trouble, the Supermonster and the unruly women are to be incapacitated. Curiously, their incapacitation takes the form of gender fixing. Dracula is submitted to what Christopher Craft has ironically called "corrective penetration",<sup>79</sup> which involves the puncturing of the monster's heart with a sharp object such as a stake. The sexual implication of the act is obvious: it aims at fixing the vampire's gender as *feminine* and thus resolving the category crisis caused by his dangerous bending of the masculine/feminine binary. This is also a way for the members of the Crew of Light to reassert their repeatedly problematized masculinity and proclaim their dominant position.



The terrorist women are not staked through the heart, but they, too, are reduced to passivity or inaction, which are symbolically synonymous with “proper” femininity. Anna Klostock is arrested by the tsarist police and permanently exiled to Siberia. Marie Helene is drugged into unconsciousness to prevent her from shooting the Tsar. Vera Nugent commits suicide as she finds it impossible to murder her own father and assassinate the Tsar with bouquets of poisoned roses. Through the incapacitation of the female terrorists, patriarchal society re-establishes the masculine/feminine binary as the norm and, to all intents and purposes, precludes its further disruption.

## Conclusion

The similarity in conflict resolution in all four novels does not signal transference of narrative elements from one text to another. Rather, it is indicative of “the constellation of fears” and anxieties I mentioned earlier. It does not matter much whether those fears and anxieties were caused by an exaggerated image of “reverse colonization” or by an equally exaggerated impression of the influx of Eastern Europeans into Great Britain and America. As Horkheimer and Adorno have demonstrated for anti-Semitism, hatred and resentment of the Other (unfortunately) provide fuel for the “ritual[s] of civilization”.<sup>80</sup> However, texts such as *Dracula* and the three terrorist novels discussed here do not simply enact civilizational rituals of hate and resentment, nor separate “native” from “foreign” once and for all. As Judith Halberstam has demonstrated, such texts are also concerned with their unavoidable proximity and with the consequent disappearance of the “purity of [national] heritage and lineage”.<sup>81</sup> The disturbing Other may be removed or destroyed, but the trace of his/her presence remains. It is tempting to judge critical readings by the number of traces they have managed to recover/uncover by situating texts in different contexts and straining the limits of interpretation.

### Endnotes:

This essay first appeared in *Post/modern Dracula: From Victorian Themes to Postmodern Praxis*, edited by John S. Bak (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007).

<sup>1</sup> Michael Valdez Moses, “The Irish Vampire: *Dracula*, Parnell, and the Troubled Dreams of Nationhood”, *Journal x* 2.1 (1997), 68.

<sup>2</sup> Judith Halberstam, “Technologies of Monstrosity: Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*”, *Victorian Studies* 36.3 (Spring 1993), 334. I owe the idea of the novel’s “consumption” by its critics to Halberstam’s article.

<sup>3</sup> Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire* (London: Routledge, 1994), 66.

<sup>4</sup> On the “disappearance” of the Balkans from Europe’s mental map during the Cold War era, see Michael Haynes, “The Rhetoric of Economics: Cold War Representation of Development in the Balkans,” *The Balkans and the West: Constructing the European Other, 1945–2003*, ed. Andrew Hammond (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 26–30.

<sup>5</sup> There is an ongoing controversy over the use of the terms “South Eastern Europe” and “Balkans.” For a lucid commentary on the terms and some of their contextual implications, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). In this chapter, I am going to use both terms interchangeably.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen D. Arata, “The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization,” *Victorian Studies* 33 (1990), 621–45. The essay was subsequently included in Arata’s book *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siecle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). All my references are to the earlier version of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Arata 621.

<sup>8</sup> Stephen Arata 623.

<sup>9</sup> Stephen Arata 623-24.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Arata 627.

<sup>11</sup> For commentary on the "Eastern Question", see Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). By the 1890s, the "Eastern Question" had gained new complexity as the Ottoman Empire's successor states laid claims to territories that either remained under Turkish rule or were governed by Austria-Hungary.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Arata 628.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. "I found my smattering of German very useful here; indeed, I don't know how I should be able to get on without it" (D 9).

<sup>14</sup> Charles Boner, *Transylvania; Its Products and Its Peoples* (London: Longman, 1865),

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Arata 629.

<sup>16</sup> See Ken Gelder 14.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Arata 637.

<sup>18</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), x.

<sup>19</sup> Misha Glenny, "Only in the Balkans," *London Review of Books*, 29 April 1999, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy 76.

<sup>21</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy 80.

<sup>22</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy 81.

<sup>23</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy 81.

<sup>24</sup> For commentary on the relationship between Hope's Ruritania and the Balkans, see Ludmilla Kostova, "Theorising Europe's 'Wild East': *Imagining the Balkans and Inventing Ruritania*", *The European English Messenger* 10.1 (Spring 2001), 71-73.

<sup>25</sup> The classic statement of the equation is provided by Radu R. Florescu's and Raymond T. McNally's *Dracula, Prince of Many Faces: His Life and His Times* (Boston, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown, 1989). For a critical perspective upon it, see Elizabeth Miller, *Dracula: Sense and Nonsense* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 2000), as well as Andrew Smith's review article "Bringing Bram Stoker Back From the Margins," *Irish Studies* 9.2 (2001), 241-46.

<sup>26</sup> Eleni Condouriotis, "Dracula and the Idea of Europe," *Connotations* 9.2 (1999-2000), 143-44.

<sup>27</sup> Eleni Condouriotis 144.

<sup>28</sup> Eleni Condouriotis 153.

<sup>29</sup> Eleni Condouriotis 153.

<sup>30</sup> For commentary and a bibliography on South Eastern European scenarios of deorientalization, see Ludmilla Kostova, "Claiming a 'Great Briton' for Bulgaria: Reflections on Byron's Bulgarian Reception (1880s-1920s)", *Byron: Heritage and Legacy*, ed. Cheryl Wilson (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming).

<sup>31</sup> Eleni Condouriotis 153.

<sup>32</sup> On the use of "villains" in the Balkan cultural imaginary, see Keith Brown, "Villains and Symbolic Pollution in the Narratives of Nations", *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: Hurst, 2004), 233-52.

<sup>33</sup> Eleni Condouriotis 154.

<sup>34</sup> On Abdul Aziz, see the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> Edition, now a publication in the public domain.

<sup>35</sup> Carol A. Senf, "A Response to 'Dracula and the Idea of Europe'", *Connotations* 10.1 (2000-2001), 48, my emphasis. Senf's discourse is occasionally marked by a cavalier usage of symbolic-geographical terms such as "East" and "West," which, in my view, denotes dubious knowledge of geography. Nor is this tendency restricted to her writing only. Thus, in his *Reading the Vampire*, Ken Gelder situates Transylvania between "Western Europe and the Far East" (1).

<sup>36</sup> Carol Senf 51.

<sup>37</sup> Carol Senf 49.

<sup>38</sup> Tomislav Z. Longinović, "Vampires Like Us: Gothic Imaginary and 'the serbs,'" *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*, ed. Dušan Belić and Obrad Savić (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2002), 39.

<sup>39</sup> Tomislav Longinović 39, 40.

<sup>40</sup> Tomislav Longinović 45.

<sup>41</sup> Tomislav Longinović 45.

<sup>42</sup> For a clarification of that aspect of the film, see Christopher McGunnigle, "My Own Vampire: The Metamorphosis of the Queer Monster in Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula*", *Gothic Studies* 7.2 (Nov. 2005), 172-84.

<sup>43</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 185.

<sup>44</sup> K. E. Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography", *American Historical Review* 105.4 (2000), 1218.

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Gibson makes such a claim in yet another "Balkanizing" reading. See his "Bram Stoker and the Treaty of Berlin", *Gothic Studies* 6.2 (Nov. 2004), 236-51. It may be argued, however, that the Congress of Berlin was not the only occasion on which Britain supported the Ottoman Empire and thwarted Russian plans favoring the Balkan Christians.

<sup>46</sup> Christopher Craft, "'Kiss Me with Those Red Lips': Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*", *Speaking of Gender*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), 226.

<sup>47</sup> On the use of "terrorist fiction" in a similar context, see David Trotter, "The Politics of Adventure in the Early British Spy Novel", *Spy Fiction, Spy Films and Real Intelligence*, ed. Wesley K. Wark (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 33-38.

<sup>48</sup> Daniel Pick, "'Terrors of the Night': *Dracula* and Degeneration in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Critical Inquiry* 30 (1988), 71.

<sup>49</sup> On the conception of a shared Anglo-American public sphere in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Michelle Hawley, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Lord Byron: A Case of Celebrity Justice in the Victorian Public Sphere", *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10.2 (Winter 2005), 233.

<sup>50</sup> David Trotter 33.

<sup>51</sup> See Jules Zanger, "A Sympathetic Vibration: *Dracula* and the Jews", *English Literature in Transition* 34.1 (1991): 34, and Carol Margaret Davison, *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, and New York: Palgrave, 2004), 120-27.

<sup>52</sup> My reference is to an article in the *Brooklyn Times*, which describes a group of "Russian Nihilists, Polish Liberators, French Communards, German Socialists, and *Cosmopolitan Anarchists* [my emphasis]" (Hatton 271), who were forced to leave their native countries and re-settle to New York. The article provided inspiration for British journalist Joseph Hatton's novel, *By Order of the Czar. The Tragic Story of Anna Klostock, Queen of the Ghetto* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1890).

<sup>53</sup> A good example is provided by the work of Henry Norman (1858-1939), who was on the staff of the *Daily Chronicle* but also contributed to American publications.

<sup>54</sup> American novelist Richard Henry Savage (1846-1903) enjoyed an international reputation, and his books were circulated throughout Europe by the Leipzig-based publisher Tauchnitz. For further details, see Ludmilla Kostova, "Love and Death Across Cultures: Richard Henry Savage's *In the Old Chateau, a Story of Russian Poland* and Late Nineteenth-Century American Images of Eastern Europe", *Dialogues: American Studies in an International Context*, ed. Milena Katzarska (Plovdiv: Zombori, 2002), 199-206.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Hatton 271.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Henry Savage, *My Official Wife* (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1891), 127.

<sup>57</sup> On the use of "projection theory" in critical readings of *Dracula*, see Carol Margaret Davison 142-44.

<sup>58</sup> Bram Stoker, *The Lady of the Shroud* (1908; London: Alan Sutton, 1994), 330.

<sup>59</sup> William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press), 253.

<sup>60</sup> William Ian Miller 253, my emphasis.

<sup>61</sup> Joseph Hatton 357.

<sup>62</sup> Richard Henry Savage 160.

<sup>63</sup> L. T. Meade [Elizabeth Thomasina Smith], *The Siren* (London: F. V. White & Co., 1898), 75-76.

<sup>64</sup> L. T. Meade 110, 129, 145, 276, 277.

<sup>65</sup> Richard Henry Savage 138, 140, 142.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Hatton 357.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Henry Savage 109.

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<sup>68</sup> Richard Henry Savage 109.

<sup>69</sup> L. T. Meade 129.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, William Ian Miller, 100-5.

<sup>71</sup> Christopher Craft 227.

<sup>72</sup> Anne Williams, *Art of Darkness: A Poetics of Gothic* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 123.

<sup>73</sup> Anne Williams 131.

<sup>74</sup> Anne Williams 131.

<sup>75</sup> Carol Margaret Davison 137.

<sup>76</sup> On Stoker and liberalism, see David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

<sup>77</sup> Richard Henry Savage 109.

<sup>78</sup> L. T. Meade 73.

<sup>79</sup> Christopher Craft 230.

<sup>80</sup> Qtd. in Carol Margaret Davison 165.

<sup>81</sup> Judith Halberstam 349-50.

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ISKUŠAVANJE LIMITA INTERPRETACIJE:  
DRAKULA BRAMA STOKERA I ISTOČNO EVROPSKI KONTEKST

*Sažetak:*

Napuštanje tradicionalnih standarda knjevne kritike i otvaranje ka širokom spektru novih interpretacija omogućilo je jedno sasvim drugačije vrednovanje nesumnjivo "kanonskog" teksta kasne viktorijanske (i kasnije) horor literature, romanu Brama Stokera *Drakula*. Među brojnim novim "čitanjima", zapaže se da tokom poslednjih decenija 20. veka politika postaje dominantni predmet analiza, premada i dalje ne smenjajući u potpunosti seksualnost. Pomenuta razmatranja mogu se grupisati u tri preovlađujuće kategorije (iako ne isključivo): Irska, Britanska imperija i Istočna Evropa viđena zapadnjačkim okom. Ovaj rad bavi se kritičkom analizom tekstova pripadajućih trećoj kategoriji.

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – KRITIKA)

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## POSTMODERN VERBAL DISCOURSE IN COPPOLA'S *BRAM STOKER'S DRACULA*

Speech as a formal component of film has rarely been studied. It is all the more surprising as most films rely on verbal language and its screen modalities (dialogue, voice-overs, off-screen speech, diegetic written signs, etc.) to anchor images and to further plot, character, and theme.<sup>1</sup> Film genres are usually tied to specific speech styles and language aesthetics, although directors and their screenwriters adapt these conventions to suit both cultural sensibilities and authorial intentions. Filmic speech has yet to become an independent field of study with its own methodology and theoretical tools. Its scope is eclectic and interdisciplinary, drawing on linguistics, stylistics, discourse analysis, and film studies. Within that broad approach, the subject of postmodern discourse in Coppola's *Dracula* raises many difficulties.<sup>2</sup> First, "postmodern" is to be understood here in its temporal sense referring to a Hollywood cinema born roughly in the 1980s and departing from modernity by being less politically articulate and addressing the senses rather than the intellect.<sup>3</sup> And second, "verbal discourse" describes the form and function of filmic speech taken either in isolation as text, or, more satisfactorily, integrated into the overall cinematic style of the film as "visual sound." It is a matter of choice (stylistic, semantic, and phenomenological) made by Coppola, together with his screenwriter and his team, to give the hearer-viewer a particular aural and phenomenological experience, addressing both the ear and the eye. My aim is to show that the filmmaker's choices partake of the aesthetics and poetics of postmodern film discourse.

### **The aesthetics of postmodern soundscape**

*Dracula* starts with a historical prologue and a voice-over narrative anchoring animated images. It throws us back to the earliest days of cinema when magic lantern projections needed a

storyteller, but Coppola's hidden narrator is obviously more complex. A voice without a face transcending images is often endowed with divine powers.<sup>4</sup> Anthony Hopkins's, however, comes short of what Sarah Kozloff calls the classical invisible storyteller by coming in and out the screen in different guises as the extra-diegetic storyteller, the Orthodox priest and Van Helsing the metaphysical philosopher.<sup>5</sup> Hopkins's distinctive vocal timbre haunting several bodies could, in theory, call attention to itself as a form of metalepsis.<sup>6</sup> It does not break the illusion in this particular case because a gossamer thread holds the three cinematic personae together: the actor's voice inhabiting several screen bodies acts like an occult sonic presence, challenging Dracula's mystic bodies and uncanny voices.

Although a postmodern allusion to Hannibal Lecter's sinister phonic image is perhaps intended here,<sup>7</sup> the opening voice-over is more akin to a film noir technique where an acousmatic character sets up a close, almost intimate vocal relationship with the viewer.<sup>8</sup> We are reminded of the dead man's commentary in Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard*, sharing his confessional narrative with the spectator, and we feel on his side of the aural space, in a kind of dark limbo.<sup>9</sup> Together with Mina's and Jonathan's epistolary voice-overs, the plurivocal storytelling in Coppola's *Dracula* envelop viewers in a surreal soundscape, like a many-voiced Scheherazade mesmerising the audience.

### The significance of voice-over discursive levels

Vampire movies always tread on thin ice; they constantly teeter on the edge of parody through overexposure. Already in 1935, *Mark of the Vampire*, Tod Browning's remake of his own *Dracula*, was wrapped up by an illusion-breaking epilogue showing Bela Lugosi in his vampire outfit and telling Luna, his associate, that "this vampire business has given [him] a great idea for a new act".<sup>10</sup> Browning already felt that the genre had exhausted its horror potential, as the disenchantment caused by the fake Dracula's closing lines shows. Dialogue in horror movies tends to be difficult to integrate as speech may easily dispel the climate of fear, induced by visuals and sound effects. In *Dracula, Prince of Darkness*, the unimaginative dialogue sounds silly and redundant.<sup>11</sup> This Hammer picture is saved from burlesque solely by the silent and elusive presence of Christopher Lee's Dracula. In the late seventies, John Badham directed a successful version of *Dracula* by avoiding all manners of Gothic effects that threatened his vampire with ridicule: out went fangs, bats, coffins, garlic, and crosses.<sup>12</sup> The film's language was ironed-out accordingly, and most of the usual rituals associated with the vampire myth were meticulously done away with to prevent disbelief.

The virtual world of vampires comes across a postmodern audience as camp, kitsch, or vaguely ridiculous; direct dialogues within that remote universe may appear either too realistic, archaic, or simply absurd. When contemporary speech jars with visuals representing a Victorian past, irony—this most didactic figure of speech—raises its modernist head, that is, a Gorgon shunned by postmodern cinema which aims above all at diverting and entertaining audiences, not alerting and educating them. Speech trying to mirror the language of the age of Dracula (both fifteenth century and Victorian) puts the viewer in the place of a distant overhearer, his rightful place in classical Hollywood cinema.<sup>13</sup> A mock period dialogue style can easily become burlesque and equally interfere with viewer involvement that remains, despite claims to the contrary, an essential tenet of postmodern entertainment in its neo-classical variety.<sup>14</sup> In Coppola's *Dracula*, direct, synchronous dialogue is balanced and often displaced by voice-over narration (extra-diegetic authorial, diegetic epistolary, diegetic telepathic, inner speech) which takes over the soundtrack. Apart from the limited "add-on value"<sup>15</sup> of the extra-diegetic narrator's

comments, most of the voice-over discourse of the film expresses the internalised speech of Mina, Jonathan, and Dracula, verbalising diary entries, fragments of letters, and private thoughts. These literary voices ghosting the postmodern screen appeal to the affective ear of the viewer. They ensure that the hearer-viewer is personally addressed to in a virtual sound space, between screen space and the "real world." This linguistic "in-betweenness" is peculiar to Coppola's vampiric world. It creates an intimate, subjective soundscape— voices from without, often reinforced by sound motifs. This shifts the role of the viewer from overhearer or eavesdropper to confidant. This in-between soundspace comes to the attention of the hearer when Dracula, in the guise of a young prince, watches Mina walking in the streets of London. He addresses her in direct speech: "See me. See me, now!" (BSD 76). But the point of audition is outside the diegetic world, for neither Mina nor the passers-by react to his voice. This swift, surreal mobility of speech, transcending visuals, crossing all cinematic frontiers (diegesis, screen, shot, sequence) "vampirises" subjectivities and energises the verbal power of postmodern film.

As these voices overlaying the screen tend to speak a literary language, they are vested with the authority of a written text, heralding the decay of the spoken word and rediscovering the efficacy of literature. Equally in *Interview with the Vampire*, a 1994 Hollywood production, the undead hero (Brad Pitt) recalls, in voice-over, his picaresque adventures through centuries, in explicit David Copperfield fashion.<sup>16</sup> Should we conclude that, in the world of effete postmodern images, the text alone matters? Perhaps not, but we may wonder whether contemporary *auteurs* are not too conscious of their literary masters. Dracula's speech in particular departs from the Hollywood canon of realism (even found in the horror genre) and stands out as strangely stylised.

### Vampiric tropes

It is difficult to refer to a dialogue genre specific to horror movies. Sarah Kozloff has pointed out the features of film dialogue common to a genre (in Westerns or melodramas, for example). The language of individual filmmakers may also exhibit formal characteristics as essential as their visual style (e.g., the Coen Brothers or John Cassavetes<sup>17</sup>). But language in the horror genre is not easily reducible to formulas, however flexible. Keeping to Hollywoodian Draculas, one may venture to select out fragments of "vampire discourse" that are common to the Dracula sub-genre. Bela Lugosi, the 1931 vampire archetype, spoke in a foreign accent, with a very slow delivery, carefully picking out each word. His discourse is constructed to sound over-polite and is laden with cryptic sentences. His main rhetorical tropes are metaphor, paradox, enigma, and silence. As a figure of speech personified, Browning's Dracula is a monstrous anti-logos playing upon a refusal to speak, contradiction, and figurative language. Examples abound. When Renfield climbs up the stairs of the castle, Dracula alludes to the spider spinning its web for the unwary fly and juxtaposes a literary enigma: "the blood is the life". Oblique discourse drives Renfield mad. "To die, to be really dead, must be glorious" rejoins the Transylvanian Count to Lucy's Gothic/Romantic speech. Nearly all of Lugosi's utterances have a rhetorical twist. The rhetoric of John Badham's vampire, half a century later, is similar but considerably toned down. "I have buried many friends and I, too, am weary. I am the last of my kind, descended from a conquering race. My family was its heart's blood, its brains, its swords. But the war-like days are over", Dracula announces to Lucy, in a calm, ice-cold voice. His style lies more in schemes or syntactic arrangement and in prosody than in florid tropes. He has no foreign accent, but he briefly speaks to Lucy in Romanian to seduce her, for the vampire has suddenly turned romantic lover.

From the vantage point of language style and content, Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* appears closer to Bram Stoker's text in representing dialogue with Harker in the famous castle se-

quences. Visually, Gary Oldman's vampire bears little or no resemblance with the Count portrayed by Stoker, but his lines display no semantic creativity or variation. In adapting scenes from the novel, cinematic codes may take liberties with the original, but linguistic codes remain faithful to its dialogue lines. In addition, true to the postmodern trope of hyperbole, Coppola's Prince Vlad heightens nearly each rhetorical trait to make it more "spectacular" to the ears. But the scope of these Victorian vampiric tropes is drastically limited to the verbal transactions between Jonathan and Dracula in the Gothic Transylvanian setting. Thereafter, verbal discourse runs its own original course.

### **Dracula: foreignness made beautiful**

The movie confronts the viewer-hearer with an immediate convention of the horror genre, that of the polymorphic body and voice. Dracula's body polymorphism is taken for granted even in the era of primitive special effects of the early thirties, where he would turn into a giant bat or materialise out of vapour. Badham's vampire keeps visual polymorphism to a minimum, ever conscious of the ridicule that overexposure of the bat/wolf/vapour would trigger. Yet the filmmaker does come up with a visually-striking snaking movement down a wall – a trick that, incidentally, Coppola shamelessly plagiarises (or filmically nods to). Coppola's vampire goes through so many shapes and forms, monstrous or otherwise, that, surfeited, the viewer may sicken and so die. But there are interesting developments in the use of vocal polymorphism. The vampire can muster an impressive semiotic range. Cultural polyglossia and the ability to call upon various modes of communication (ranging from distorted voice, animal groans, and primitive cries to the polished speech of a prince) are his vocal imprints.

Polyglossia deserves more than a passing remark here, as it seems to be a characteristic of the postmodern soundtrack in general. Traditionally, Hollywood has considered that film heroes would naturally speak English, occasionally tolerating a foreign accent, provided it was not too intrusive. Foregrounded foreign accents or tongues had comic or satirical potential. Lucy, in Browning's *Dracula*, makes fun of Lugosi's eastern accent, threatening for a moment the horror potential of the vampire. In the 1979 *Dracula* version, Langella speaks perfect Standard English, and he briefly whispers a few sweet words in Romanian, which enhances his romantic appeal to love-struck Lucy. Since then, Hollywood has had a remarkable change of linguistic and ideological heart, enlisting and even prizing foreignness in film heroes. Recently, *The Passion of Christ*, which has been shot like a horror movie, boasts a soundtrack with an exotic language, relegating English to subtitles.<sup>18</sup> A strong Spanish accent, like that of Antonio Banderas, is aesthetically desirable in postmodern Hollywood.

The function of diglossia in Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* is possibly related to the idea that the speaker's native tongue stands for his or her affective language (expressing the heart and soul), while English as a learnt language corresponds to acculturation and civilised logos. This is certainly borne out in *Bram Stoker's Dracula*. Whenever the Prince switches to his native tongue, his dialect works like a subterranean language linking past and present, stirring emotions in Mina and soothing beasts. English is mainly used as a transactional or argumentative vernacular and is never pragmatically successful, often leading to verbal confrontation. Foreignness, sounding a deeper affective note, is looked on favourably in the Hollywood of the post-1990s. This is the new age of affective cinema, devoid of the "tear-jerking" overtones of classical melodramas. The vampire's "style switching" can be associated with a mystical sound motif that reverberates in the limbo of the viewer's language consciousness.<sup>19</sup> Even in Dracula's English, there are degrees of foreignness that are subtly exploited by Gary Oldman's voice.





DRACULA  
BY FRANCIS  
FORD COPPOLA,  
1992

### Vocal and body mutability

From the dawn of sound, matching body with voice has always been coded in Hollywood, any departure from an expected norm being the ruin of a character or an actor. It is well-known that voices carry cultural, ideological, and sexual overtones, and their inhabiting bodies have the same implications. What voices started to inhabit monstrous bodies in early horror movies is a fascinating field of study beyond the scope of this essay. Early talking human monsters are almost always foreigners, their English being possessed of a monster within. With the notable exception of Mr. Hyde in 1932, their physical appearance remains hardly atypical, only vaguely disquieting.<sup>20</sup> But their speech is definitely fearsome, so much so that monstrosity could be defined solely in terms of speech and vocal features. In the days of silent cinema, human monsters had to be visually nightmarish (e.g., Nosferatu, the Phantom of the Opera) and reduced linguistically to a few intertitles. Coppola's new vampire is a compound of both silent and talking Draculas, and the filmmaker plays consciously upon this cinematic mutability. The vampire's dumb shadow is like "a symphony in grey": he groans and raves in his werewolf or reptilian self, talks like a novel as an elderly Count, and socialises like a Victorian dandy. All these guises tend to cancel each other and lose the name of fear. What started as a horror movie ends up being an erotic melodrama incorporating fabulous elements. The vampire softens into a neo-romantic lover and, for an undead monster, espouses a new lyrical phraseology.

### Figures of evil discourse

One of the first statements of Dracula *qua* historical figure is a performative one which creates the allegorical figure of Dracula, the personification of death. The filmic Prince is primarily a linguistic creation and no more, and, as a text, he incorporates many lines from Bram Stoker's novel. These lines have been dutifully relayed by many Hollywood screenwriters and repeated verbatim by actors in their own tone and timber. But there are subtle variations within this textual model. Coppola introduces many variants in the cinematic representation of his vampire that amount to ideological shifts, and therein lies the postmodern novelty. The Dracula myth is culture-bound because it tells us how a community faces death at a given point in time. In the twentieth century, cinema expressed that attitude most powerfully. And the way a culture deals with death speaks volume for its ideology.

At no time does Tod Browning give the viewer a full exposition as to the motivation, teleology, and overall modal functions (knowledge, belief, desire, etc.) of his vampire. Lugosi's Dracula impersonates man's age-old fear of death and dying, especially in one's prime (vampires prey exclusively on the virginal young). Browning's basic Hollywoodian message is that you must face death, defeat the fear of death, and not be seduced by its gaze, an essential American belief at the time. The filmmaker stresses the role of willpower, science, and reason to dispel the age-old spectre. In the thirties, Thanatos could still be looked in the eye, and Van Helsing, as the conscience of the age, would not flinch from it. In the Dracula world of Tod Browning, only wise old men can lead the ideological battle; women are weak and unreliable because of their sentimental outlook.

Andy Warhol's *Dracula* departs from the myth and shows the fall of the House of Dracula, the end of an old order that has become socially and sexually incompetent.<sup>21</sup> In that Dracula of the 1970s, death has been evacuated by a new soft-porn hedonism. Van Helsing has metamorphosed into a young Adonis who deflowers every virgin courted by the inept vampire, who throws tantrums like a spoilt child. This is a reflection of the iconoclastic ideology of the 1970s which turned old fears into derision, a sort of artistic Bacchanalia that, in the end, proved intellectual truancy.

Badham's undead Count brings us closer to Coppola's in semiotic and linguistic development. The vampire's sensual hand caressing Mina's on a moon-lit beach is a visual metonym that ushers in a more desirable Death. The hand of death grasps the willing hand of life: Mina is sick and dying and her Keatsian self is "half in love with easeful death". Later, Lucy dances with Dracula in a cinematic dance macabre and laughs under the jealous eye of her fiancé. The film gives an ambiguous view of Dracula as an allegory of both love and death. Yet Lucy makes a conscious, existentialist choice to rebel against her father and lover. Badham makes it clear that Lucy (unlike Mina) is never under a spell and is determined to follow her own light and be Dracula's lover. A feminist twist is introduced in the old myth – an ideological intimation that the New Woman will elect the course of her own sentimental life, even unto death. Lucy is clearly the main narrative spring, upstaging a frail-looking Van Helsing and the Pickwickian physician, Dr Seward. Her will-power remains strong, even under the withering gaze of Dracula. Old death carries no sting in the comforting presence of new womanhood.

### The three faces of death

It seems that Coppola tries to incorporate all the ideological facets of previous Dracula allegories and attitudinal reactions to them. In teleological terms, like the 1930 vampire, he aims at making the young and foolish his disciples and encounters the old wily Van Helsing. He cuts erotic capers like Warhol's soft-porn fop lusting after virgins, and he falls under the spell of re-

demptive feminine love, like Badham's suave Thanatos. Coppola's hero reflects the three faces of death of western culture: the monstrous Victorian figure spirited away by an alliance of pseudo-science and religion (Dracula vs. Van Helsing), the medieval phantasm of death lusting after life-blood (Dracula raping Lucy), and the romantic sad knight exorcised by the mystique of feminine love (Prince Dracula in love with Mina). What makes him postmodern is that he is a compound of the various allegories of death throughout the history of western art and culture. When it comes to his discourse, he obviously becomes a more complex allegory. In other words, as a verbal allegory, the postmodern Dracula is not that easily reducible to a mixture of figures past.

### **The voice of disenchanting mankind**

Coppola introduces a reason for death (or Dracula) to plague the lives of mankind. In a verbal move, unusual in vampire movies, the Prince of Darkness provides the viewer with the whys and wherefores of vampirism. All Dracula myths are underpinned by the biblical doxa that death is the blight laid on man and woman for their transgression; therefore, the blame falls on them. Coppola subverts this premise and puts the blame on God's arbitrary justice. God has wronged Dracula, the warrior, in his flesh and blood by denying him true love for a woman, so he has rebelled and pledged to take revenge on God's creatures. This resonates well with postmodern audiences, who have been steeped in the modern worship of Love yet have been angered by the chaotic spectacle of planetary wars and arbitrary cosmic events. The disillusioned cry of all mankind seems to be distilled in the crusading Knight's grieved interrogation: "Is this my reward for defending God's church?" (BSD 18). And his antichristic pledge: "I shall rise from my own death to avenge hers with all the powers of darkness!" (BSD 19). As a result, Coppola's Dracula should be interpreted as the resurrected Antichrist, the forlorn spirit of man labouring under a sense of cosmic wrong. No cinematic visuals can impart abstract thought, and the spectator gathers the ideological drift of the movie solely by listening to Dracula's discourse. So much for the visual "grammar" of cinema.

### **The reluctant vampire**

The vampire also echoes a sensitive chord in the heart of western ideology. When he claims that "the happiest man on earth is the one who finds [...] true love" (BSD 44), he expresses a tenet of neo-romantic thought that is today tinged with materialist humanism: human love is more redeeming than divine love. That is why the movie is closer to Romanesque or fabulous tales like *Beauty and the Beast*<sup>22</sup> or *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*,<sup>23</sup> a Hollywood movie based on the legend of a seventeenth-century adventurer who, after killing his wife in a jealous fit, curses God and his fate. He dies and resurrects as an immortal sailor on a ghost ship wandering the seas. He can only be saved from his tormented restlessness by the love of a woman. Centuries later, anchoring off the coast of a Spanish harbour, he falls in love with a *femme fatale* (Ava Gardner), who happens to be the reincarnation of his seventeenth-century wife. Her sacrificial love gives him eternal peace. Similarly, Dracula is given peace by Mina's love "in the presence of God". Dracula is a sensitive, reluctant vampire when it comes to Mina, his true love, which makes him more like a Romanesque Beast hankering for Beauty. Although one should not stress too much the shallow philosophy of Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, it is nevertheless interesting to note how it tallies with postmodern viewers' expectations per love, sex, and death in their humanistic, neo-romantic dimension. Another aspect of the complexity of that vampire can be derived from his unusual dialogic interaction with other characters and how it is screen-managed.

### The ghost talks: the visual dynamics of Dracula's film dialogue

So far, I have assumed that filmic speech could be analysed as text (narrative voices, rhetoric, and ideological discourse). When language comes alive as cinematic dialogue, it undergoes many changes and turns into a specific mode of communication. The horror genre raises many difficulties for the writer of film dialogue, which is a stylised imitation of realistic speech as social semiotic (differing from the norms of speech representation in novels and dramas). Although film conversation has (mercifully) little to do with everyday exchanges, writing a dialogue for fictional characters involves necessarily certain choices in terms of social interaction. Language puts characters on a social map, whether they are Western villains, melodramatic heroines, or phantasmic vampires. Furthermore, the study of film language as social interaction must take on board art direction and camera work, which screen-manage dialogue and make it an audio-visual experience. Friedrich W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* is, for the most part, a silent figure, a flickering shadow on a screen. He does not yield easily to social comment and retains his eerie potential even today. Tod Browning's *Dracula* ceases to be a frightening psychic or surreal representation as soon as he enters into social talk with spectators in the opera house, especially in that stagy, medium-shot style of the early talkies. Talk kills ghosts, as Oscar Wilde demonstrated all too well.<sup>24</sup> In Hollywood movies, a garrulous spectre, like the Ghost in Mrs Muir's house, always ends up being a loser in the cut and thrust of dialogic interaction.<sup>25</sup> The dead in cinema ought to remain figures of elective mutism, yet Coppola's vampire is a master of discourse. His desire to seduce, to control, and most of all to bare his heart sets him apart in the gallery of vampires. His confessional voice marks him out as a new Dracula. In that respect, he is the father of postmodern confessional vampires, the likes of Louis or Lestat in *Interview with the Vampire* or Max Schreck, the metaleptic *Nosferatu* of E. Elias Merhige's *Shadow of the Vampire*.<sup>26</sup>

Dialogue enables the Count to give a social voice to evil, to integrate adverse discourse into the body politic for rehabilitation purposes. The first verbal exchange of Coppola's vampire occurs after he has appeared in the asynchronous guise of an epistolary voice. This cinematic convention kindles the viewer's desire to see the visual source of the sound, but that event has another important purpose, that of electing Jonathan and (later) Mina as his main addressees in two-shot dialogue scenes. As social man, Dracula never talks to anybody else, except, briefly, to the vampiresses and, in an inhuman shape, to Van Helsing. The opening conversation with Harker in the castle consists nearly entirely of textual lifts from the Victorian novel and reflects Bram Stoker's original tenor of discourse: the vampire asserting and transmitting the language of power and control. He stands for a symbolic order which equates verbal mastery with verbal mystery. His insistence on hierarchy, family, caste, and status, interspersed with figurative epigrams and enigmas, meets no pragmatic resistance from Jonathan, whose mercantile and literal discourse is submissive. For a late Victorian readership, the world of the vampire was a vivid allegory of their medieval past, revived by the Pre-Raphaelites that had held it in both fear and fascination. They had to lay that cultural ghost to rest; they put a metaphorical axe through its heart and made their entry into the twentieth century. For movie-goers in the early 1930s, Dracula was the ghost of their western past from which they had to sever links, especially the romantic phylum personified by starry-eyed Mina. For postmodern audiences of the early 1990s, the vampire was but a complex, polysemic, and confused abstraction that had suffered from overexposure.

### The Americanisation of evil

The Americanisation of Dracula, the evil undead, is what characterises the pragmatic and discursive evolution of Coppola's Count. Discourse shifts from the Victorian model of power domination between the old aristocrat and the young middle-class clerk to the reversal of roles

and relationships in the dialogues between Mina and the vampire Prince. Early on, Mina takes verbal control in many ways, especially at the micro-level of conversational turns where she handles "toppers" ("If you seek culture, then visit a museum: London is filled with them", BSD 78), contrary assertions ("How can you call this science?" BSD 83) and mild mockery ("A prince no less!" BSD 78). At this stage, Mina is closer to a feminist voice and therefore a vehicle for modernity and definitely not for postmodernity. But the main postmodern shift occurs not on a dialogic level but on a cinematographic level. Having dragged Mina in a corner of a London cinematograph, Dracula metamorphoses into the evil-good vampire and his "beastly selves" (be it AIDS, death, sex, violence, evil, animality, or all these rolled into one) are visualized as a wolf. The kinesic allegory of Mina's petting the wolf is unmistakable: she acknowledges, soothes, and falls in love with that obscure object of fear, which is not so much polysemic or polymorphic as preverbal. Its many faces and voices in Coppola's movie precisely cancel themselves out or, in postmodern parlance, constantly displace one another and find no semantic stability. Dracula stands for a dreadful cinematic flux, an abstract audio-visual nightmare, arrested and made stable by the hand of woman.

Americanisation of that abstract fear comes with a whimper, a sigh, a kiss, and a tear. Coppola tackles the poly-semantic nightmare with affective cinematography. From then on, the film will be hard put to resist the melodramatic pull, that gremlin that haunts any Hollywood production. Yet again, this "sissifying" strain, so characteristic of postmodern discourse, will mostly manifest itself on a verbal level, not in Coppola's cinematography.<sup>27</sup>

Dialogue in melodramas wavers between heightened self-expression and repressed emotions.<sup>28</sup> The language of melodrama seeps into the dialogue scenes between Mina and Prince Dracula, but the visuals interfere and set up a counterpoint of dissonance which pulls back the movie into the realm of horror ambivalence. The restaurant scene, when Mina and the Prince drink absinthe, provides one instance of an embedded allegory, a trope commonly found in melodramatic discourse: the star-crossed lovers talk in parables, bringing together past and present to refer to their subterranean love. The *mise en scène* of the dialogue and the visual style are quite intricate. On paper, the dialogue is an imitation of fairy tale phraseology. When it is brought to the screen, it is integrated with cinematographic metaphors that run contrary to the simplistic language of love. The tableaux-like composition of the dialogue scenes, together with the contrived posturing of the characters, the superimposed "flashback" pictures, and the claustrophobic lighting give an early cinema feel and a late-Victorian aesthetic denseness to the sequence. This would certainly fit in well with the language of idealised love. But visual symbolism, pattern of editing, body language, shifting points of view, and shot scales reveal a dark side to the ideal of love and over-emphasise lust. In the stylised opening shots – an extreme close-up view of an eye and an overhead shot of a decanter filling a cup – the formal figure of the circle functions as an opening into which the male gaze and the intoxicating fluid can permeate. The closing shot of this inceptive sequence lingers on Mina's sensual mouth absorbing the absinthe-soaked lump of sugar. The shots dissolve into one another, a very apt editing metaphor, given the obvious "fluid-and-fill" symbolism of the whole sequence.

Later, in a similar editing pattern, the Prince's male gaze penetrates into Mina's life-blood through the inlet of her eyes. The camera intent on the male character's eyes and his relative facial immobility creates a sense of disquiet. Mina's body movements and posturing conjure up an ambivalent ballet of attraction and evasion. The geometrical lines drawn by their body and gaze alignment never bring them into close, face-to-face contact (until the final scene where they are seen dancing in a candle-lit room.) During brief tantalising moments, their faces do turn towards each other and their lips nearly brush one another, only to be frustrated by Mina's sup-

pressed desire.<sup>29</sup> Coppola's visual aesthetics here tend to break down the barriers between good and evil. The evil, libidinous eye of the dead Count is as intense as it is pathetic when tears flow down his dead cheeks. Mina is both tantalising and inhibited, wavering between two axiological poles yet resisting male invasiveness. This cinematic play of seduction is intercut by a shot of Jonathan (the official fiancé) escaping from his prison. The parallel editing here interferes with the erotic thrust of the parlour sequence, thus articulating the taboo theme. What is clearly shown by the interplay of visual metaphors and film dialogue is the relatively simple neo-romantic nature of the verbal language compared with the complex cinematography of the sequence. What semantics is imparted by the spoken content, though, tends to "dumb down" the disturbing ambivalence suggested by the images. "Language as non-commitment" or "consensual discourse" seems to be a feature of postmodern discourse, while images are allowed to impact the viewer.

Yet, in the bed sequence when Mina arouses the divided vampire, the power of language comes into its own again, but with a difference. Mina, the woman, articulates the dangerous words "make me yours" (BSD 135). This is not safe sex (or text). But in the world of Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, Mina certainly sets the ideological tenor of discourse. Whether her words are challenging, Romanesque, subversive, or eventually therapeutic (in the closing sequence), she robs both Van Helsing and the male vampire of real verbal power. She is both the light and the word, quite literally the cinematic light and speech on the screen. But in the end, while her voice is soothing, her body discourse is ambivalent and aggressive: after saying, in angelic voice-over, the Christian words of redemption, her hand violently cuts off the phallic head of male evil, the source of all diseases. In all other *Dracula* versions, this symbolic gesture was the privilege of a man. Here, Mina, in one fell swoop, reverses the ancient myths of Eve and Pandora. Had she not dealt the final blow, the film, ending with her therapeutic discourse, would have merely sounded a neoclassical note. Mina ceases to be a guiding light – Van Helsing's ideal woman – and becomes instead an annihilating force. Viewers can hardly fail to notice the final dissonance between Mina's verbal and gestural communication.

## Conclusion

The linguistic and verbal component of Coppola's motion picture is a complex stream of dialogues, monologues, a-synchronous storytellers, foreign speech, and other sundry vocalisations. Nearly all the medium's possibilities in terms of cinematic discourse have been harnessed, like a summing-up of what can be achieved. This eclecticism and inventiveness partly reflect the various levels of discourse found in *Bram Stoker's* novel, but it also circumvents the difficulties raised by writing film dialogue for horror movies. The hearer-viewer is confronted with several narrative and discursive stances, until the very end when Mina's viewpoint dominates. Film discourse carries overtones of abstract thought that visual codes cannot express. The evolution of the Count's discourse runs from the traditional language of evil duplicity to the language of Hollywood melodrama in the dialogue scenes with Mina. The vampire gradually loses the tenor of discourse, and Mina takes over as the main vocal master and voice-over narrator. A new cinematic duplicity, in both aural and visual codes, arises. Mina's verbal discourse exerts an ambivalent dialogic and perlocutionary influence on the Prince. Ultimately, kinesic codes, to borrow Keir Elam's term, and verbal behaviour are not easily reconciled in Mina and her realm of postmodern ambivalence.<sup>30</sup>

Endnotes:

This essay first appeared in *Post/modern Dracula: From Victorian Themes to Postmodern Praxis*, edited by John S. Bak (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007).

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Kozloff, *Overhearing Film Dialogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, dir. Francis Ford Coppola, perf. Winona Ryder, Gary Oldman (Columbia, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> Laurent Jullier, *L'écran post-moderne* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1997), 71-96.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Chion, *La voix au cinéma* (Paris : Éditions de l'Étoile, 1982), 29.

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Kozloff, *Invisible Storytellers – Voice-over Narration in American Fiction Film* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> A filmic metalepsis occurs where the real world breaks into the world of screen illusion (for example when a character suddenly drops his screen persona and reverts to the person he or she is in life).

<sup>7</sup> *The Silence of the Lambs*, dir. Jonathan Demme, perf. Jodie Foster, Antony Hopkins (Orion Pictures, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Michel Chion 25.

<sup>9</sup> *Sunset Boulevard*, dir. Billy Wilder, perf. Gloria Swanson, William Holden (Paramount, 1950).

<sup>10</sup> *Mark of the Vampire*, dir. Tod Browning, perf. Bela Lugosi (Universal, 1935), and *Dracula*, dir. Tod Browning, perf. Bela Lugosi (Universal, 1931).

<sup>11</sup> *Dracula, Prince of Darkness*, dir. Terence Fisher, perf. Christopher Lee (Hammer Films, 1966).

<sup>12</sup> *Dracula*, dir. John Badham, perf. Frank Langella, Kate Nelligan (Universal, 1979).

<sup>13</sup> Sarah Kozloff, *Film Dialogue*, 21.

<sup>14</sup> Laurent Jullier, 26.

<sup>15</sup> Sarah Kozloff, *Film Dialogue*, 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Interview with the Vampire*, dir. Neil Jordan, perf. Tom Cruise, Brad Pitt (Greffen Pictures, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> See Todd Berliner, "Hollywood Movie Dialogue and the 'Real Realism' of John Cassavetes," *Film Quarterly* 52.3 (Spring 1999): 2-16, and Paul Coughlin, "Language Aesthetics in Three Films by Joel and Ethan Coen," available at <http://www.thefilmjournal.com/issue12/coens.html> (6 July 2006).

<sup>18</sup> *The Passion of Christ*, dir. Mel Gibson, perf. James Caviezel (Icon Pictures, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> In sociolinguistics, "style switching" refers to a multilingual speaker's ability to switch from one language to another in multi-code situations.

<sup>20</sup> *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, dir. Rouben Mamoulian, perf. Fredric March, Miriam Hopkins (Paramount, 1931).

<sup>21</sup> *Blood for Dracula*, dir. Paul Morrissey, perf. Udo Kier (CFS Kosutnjak, 1974).

<sup>22</sup> *La Belle et la Bête*, dir. Jean Cocteau, perf. Jean Marais, Josette Day (DisCina, 1946).

<sup>23</sup> *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*, dir. Albert Lewin, perf. Ava Gardner, James Mason (MGM, 1951).

<sup>24</sup> *The Canterville Ghost*, dir. Jules Dassin, perf. Charles Laughton (MGM, 1944).

<sup>25</sup> *The Ghost and Mrs Muir*, dir. Joseph Mankiewicz, perf. Gene Tierney, Rex Harrison (Twentieth-Century Fox, 1947).

<sup>26</sup> *Shadow of the Vampire*, dir. E. Elias Merhige, perf. John Malkovich (Lions Gate Films, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> This emotive streak is admittedly more prevalent in the discourse of the press than in contemporary films.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah Kozloff, *Film Dialogue*, 235-66.

<sup>29</sup> The screenplay states: "He kisses her tenderly, passionately" (BSD 98). The actual scene in the film does not follow the screenwriter's directions.

<sup>30</sup> Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London: Methuen, 1980), 57.

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POSTMODERNI VERBALNI DISKURS  
U KOPOLINOM *DRAKULI BRAMA STOKERA*

*Sažetak:*

Pojam „postmodernog“ koristi se ovom prilikom kao vremenska odrednica vezana za holivudske filmove 80-ih godina 20. veka koji su se od „modernog“ odvojili napuštanjem dominantne političke artikulisanosti i obraćanjem više čulima nego intelektu. „Vrebalni diskurs“ opisuje formu i funkciju filmskog govora shvaćeno ili kao autonomni tekst ili, još uspješnije, integrisanog u sveukupni filmski stil kao „vizuelni zvuk“. Reč je o Kopolinom izboru (stilskom, semantičkom i fenomenološkom) da slušaocu-gledaocu ponudi iskustvo u kome će se podjednako obratiti i uhu i oku.

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – KRITIKA)



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## THE VISION OF RELIGION IN FRANCIS FORD COPPOLA'S *BRAM STOKER'S DRACULA*

Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* gives one the impression of being heavily religious in its iconography but that such icons are rather commonplace and reduced to an excessive presence of Catholic symbols, particularly crosses of all types: one Maltese cross (we could wonder if it is not a cross patty), Latin crosses (a lot), one Greek cross, one Celtic cross, one clechy cross, and one bottonny cross, plus quite a few crucifixes, one enormous altar crucifix, and one wayside Calvary cross. Among this inventory, one would expect to find a Rosy Cross, since the film deals with controversial religious themes and vampires at a time when Christendom was menaced by the Moslem Turks. But there is no Rosy Cross, no allusion then to the Templars, to Mary Magdalene, the Caballah, the Rosicrutians, the Gnostics, or any other deviant branch of Christianity.

And yet the film is religious from beginning to end, with an opening sequence that is pure religion, but I doubt that Francis Ford Coppola was conscious at the time of making a deeply religious film, in spite of its opening sequence. In this article, then, I will discuss why the film has such a religious nature and try to assess the level of awareness Francis Ford Coppola may have had about the subject. In so doing, I will address an essential question: does the film represent the standard vision of the vampire as an enemy, a monster to be destroyed for our own good, or does it attempt to do something else? In other words, is Francis Ford Coppola in line with Stephen King, who sees the vampire as a monster to be destroyed and nothing else, or does he share the view of Anne Rice, who sees the vampire as a lovable monster (if a monster at all), and an extremely *human* being (even if it is no longer a human being), who can be seen as a reincarnation of Jesus Christ since the vampire, too, has the power to save humanity? Or is Francis Ford Coppola following his own line of thinking, if one at all?

The last question I address is one about religion in general in the film. Does it constitute a motivation, a solace, an escape, a damnation, a protection, a weapon, or a salvation? And what, if either of these, is Coppola's Christian rooting, particularly in the film's numerous references to the Bible? Assessing the film's Christian dimension reveals its postmodern nature as none of these questions can be answered very easily: all are open and refuse to be closed. Monster or non-monster, Christian or non-Christian, a crusade against Dracula or a pilgrimage to apotheosize him? All choices are open; no option is final and absolutely sure.

### **The first sequence: the past**

The first sequence of *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, even before its opening credits, is meant to set the historical background, which is highly religious. Christendom is under attack by the Ottomans, or Turks, who have been stopped by Count Dracula, a member of the Sacred Order of the Dragon at the end of the fifteenth century. The film opens in the year 1462, where the religious symbols of the cathedral in Constantinople are changed for those of a mosque. The first cross of the film, probably a Maltese cross, is hurled to the ground, shatters, and is then replaced by a crescent, the only crescent to be featured in the film, notwithstanding the crescent-shaped decoration adorning the helmet of a Turkish soldier. Though Coppola does not provide the historical details, we are to understand that the cathedral is Hagia Sophia (Saint Sophia's) in present-day Istanbul.

Sophia means "wisdom" in Greek, an essential doctrine in early Christianity. One of the apocryphal gospels is even known as the Gospel of the Sophia of Jesus Christ. But this "power and wisdom of God" is Christ, as Paul says in 1 Corinthians 1:25. This wisdom of God, as opposed to the wisdom of man (that is, of the flesh), is central to the Gospel of Mary Magdalene, as well as to much of St. Paul's writings. The fall of Saint Sophia's is thus a religious symbol that carries us far inside the Christian faith.

What is also noteworthy is that Sophia was the Goddess of Wisdom for the Mediterranean world in the first century. The bride of God himself, she was a Goddess who was either adulated or rejected entirely. Some also see her as the Irish Sheela-na-gig, the Great Mother, the Mother of all things, but also the Goddess of Death and the underworld. Yet we must not forget that this very Sophia was designated, via the Atbash cipher, as Baphomet by the Templars—[taf][mem][vav][pe][bet] for "Baphomet" in Hebrew, which is read from right to left, becomes [alef][yud][pe][vav][shib], or Sophia, a Greek word written in Hebrew from right to left – and that this reference was seen as a gnostic element in that order. The Templars in this very first sequence – though the absence of a Rosy Cross or a Templars cross is rather surprising here – are engaged in the Crusades against the Muslims, which is in agreement with the film's timeframe; that the debate over the death or survival of Jesus, his relationship with Mary Magdalene, and the fate of his bones, etc. was popular at the time the film and video came out in 1992 and 1994, respectively, may have contributed to Coppola's decision to frame Stoker's novel within this historical context. What is more, the Maltese cross is a direct allusion to the various orders that used this cross as a symbol, orders that were connected to the Holy Land, the Crusades, etc.

This one image in the film thus transmits to the audience multiple layers of meaning, even if the reference to Constantinople, a name actually used by the voice-over, sends us back to the triumph of Pauline theology under Emperor Constantine. All of that need not be expressed, however, as it is part of the West's historical unconscious. We are dealing instead with the subliminal dimension of the film and its animated images. The medium is the message more than the message itself, or the message *qua* message is entirely determined by the medium, as Mar-

shall McLuhan has argued.<sup>1</sup> As such, we are led to “read” Coppola’s film in light of his post-modern theory since its religious meaning is purely subliminal, expressed not so much in its words but rather in its images alone. And by not being expressed in words but rather in the simple swapping of religious symbols atop a place of worship that we are supposed to recognize – which could even promote an Islamic reading of this scene, as I will discuss later on – Coppola avoids choosing sides.

On the eve of the battle, Dracula prepares himself in the chapel of his castle with Orthodox priests. The altar of this chapel is dominated by a cross that should be a crucifix but is not. At the crosspoint is a large round boss. The two arms, or branches, and the column, or trunk, are decorated with some kind of carving (a bas relief carved into the stone but not out of the stone). While it is impossible to make out the details, on each side of the cross can be seen an angel standing in the shadow, and they resemble either two eagles, because of their wings, or two candelabra with nine candles each. Nine and nine make eighteen. Nine is an allusion to the ninth hour that marked Christ’s death (“When the sixth hour came there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour”, Mark 15:33), but it is also considered in its triplicate as the symbol of Satan. Here, only two nines are provided, but eighteen divided by three is six. If six is positive because it is Solomon’s number, its triplicate is negative: “[...] the number of the beast: it is the number of a man, the number 666”, Revelation 13:18.<sup>2</sup>

The visual reference to dualism (the two candelabra and the two angels) and the more abstract reference to ternarism are essential but very complex. Dualism is a reference to gnosticism, but also to the dual nature of the Old Testament God (God and God’s spirit in Genesis 1:1-2), whereas ternarism is a reference to the Trinity, the triple nature of the New Testament God (God, the Holy Spirit, and the Son of God, though we must note the phrase “Son of God” came later and was referred to by Jesus as the “Son of Man”, who abundantly spoke of his Father, even if Jewish tradition spoke of God as the father). And yet this ternary is perverted into some diabolical reference, though to reach it we may need to use dualism: twice nine is eighteen, which is three times six, which is twice three, just as nine is three times three. This complex intertwining of binary and ternary elements is once again part of our historical and here religious subconscious, widely reinforced by Shakespeare’s and subsequent English poets’ language and poetry. Two centuries before Shakespeare, Chaucer had already used this basic opposition in the English language: the binary iambic rhythm versus the disruptive ternary element (the three temples of the final “tournament” in “The Knight’s Tale,” for example, that cover up two temples to goddesses versus one temple to one god, and are the reverse sexual image of two knights fighting to the death over one woman).<sup>3</sup>

It is on this background that Dracula takes leave of his wife, Elisabeta. When he goes out of the castle, the army is seen waving spears and two crosses. The ensuing battle is brutal but ends in victory with a Turkish soldier sliding down the spear on which he was impaled and with the crescent-like decoration on his helmet undulating as his body descends. Dracula then kisses a bottonny cross and says in his own language (the English translation appearing in subtitles): “God be praised. I am victorious” (BSD 15). The subtitles emphasize the clearly religious message here. In fact, the whole end of this sequence will be punctuated by such subtitles, with God appearing as the righteous and effective motivation for the war.

Then the sequence speeds up. Dracula returns home and finds his wife dead in the chapel on the steps to the altar. We have just seen her commit suicide by jumping from the castle into the moat. She finds solace neither in religion nor God. Dracula is confronted by three priests carrying crosses, one of whom says to him: “She has taken her own life, my son. Her soul cannot be

saved. She is damned. It is God's law" (BSD 18). Even after death, religion and God fail to console, and Dracula curses them. As such, the altar, its cross, its two angels, and its two nine-candle candelabra become bad omens for him. Dracula grows angry and incites damnation: "Is this my reward for defending God's church?" (BSD 18). He knocks down the holy-water stoup, spreading the holy water across the floor (the first flooding). He brutally pushes one priest away, prompting them to yell: "Sacrilege!" (BSD 19). Dracula then draws his sword and stabs it in the boss at the crosspoint of the cross: one cross against another cross since the sword is a cross of its own. This image is extremely symbolic. He stabs the very heart of the cross, hence Christ's heart, and when it starts bleeding, it is Christ's heart that is bleeding. In other words, he is shedding Christ's blood in his wrath. This blood quickly spreads (the second flooding), first to an angel who has Jonathan Harker's head (foreshadowing his presence in the next scene), then to a candle, and finally across the entire floor. Dracula takes the chalice and dips it into the blood emerging from the cross. All this is colored by Dracula's declaration: "I renounce God! I shall rise from my own death to avenge hers with all the powers of darkness" (BSD 19). When he brings the chalice to his lips, he says again: "The blood is the life and it shall be mine!" (BSD 19). When the blood finally reaches Elisabeta's corpse. Dracula roars out, falls, and disappears from the frame.



DRACULA BY FRANCIS FORD COPPOLA, 1992

Dracula's war methods. This is clearly expressed visually in the two crescents, the first one during Saint Sophia's deconsecrating (or profaning, per the traditional Christianese meaning of the word), and the second one undulating on the helmet of the impaled Turkish warrior. Once again, no words are used to provide us with an interpretation of this scene; only these images vehicle the message.

This sequence has deep significance as for the vision of religion conveyed by the film. Religion and the cross lead to the blood rite, but the negation of religion perverts the blood rite from Christ's salvation to human damnation brought on by the desire to avenge human injustice. The reference here to the powers of darkness is essential to give the diabolical dimension of Dracula, who appears thus as the Antichrist: by renouncing God as he drinks Christ's blood, he becomes the Beast. From a sacred dragon, Dracula turns into the dragon of the Apocalypse, and the cross becomes the door to darkness.

Coppola's desire to push limits but refusal to choose sides in the holy wars lends the film its postmodern appeal, for this sequence could be read perfectly well from a Moslem point of view: pride at first in the Ottoman expansion, then disgust and even hatred with the brutality of the Christian reaction and Dracula's war methods.

### **Religion as protection**

As soon as Jonathan arrives in Transylvania, stepping off the stagecoach to wait for the Count's carriage, a girl, probably a gypsy, as shown by her headdress, gives him a small crucifix to wear around his neck and says: "For the dead travel fast" (BSD 32). With Jonathan in the background, the camera foregrounds the back of a very particular roadside Calvary. The cross is covered at the top with two boards that form a triangle, and at the crosspoint there seems to be some rags hanging. We then hear wolves howling, and we see the cross with Jonathan's eyes from in front. The storm's lightning enables us to clearly see what appears to be some kind of heavily toothed animal maw.

The first element we retain is the triangle over the cross. We cannot of course measure the angles of the triangle, but the visual proportions are common enough in our geometrical culture and world: either 30°-30°-120°, which leads us to the hexagram, or David's star, or 36°-36°-108°, which are in the pentagram series (18°, 36°, 54°, 72°, 108°).<sup>4</sup> On the cross, we have a body properly nailed to it, but the head is that of a wolf, and a voracious and monstrous wolf at that. Christ has thus become a wolf: a bad omen for Jonathan (and for the viewer), but also a simple statement that God, Christ, and religion offer no protection at all because Christ is nothing but a wolf, or has been transformed into a wolf in the territory Jonathan is entering. But Jonathan, the good salesman that he is, does not react at all.

Later on in the castle, the crucifix he has received from the gypsy girl protects Jonathan from Dracula while he is shaving in his room. The reflection of Jonathan's crucifix in the razor blade Dracula is holding, and then the same reflection in Dracula's black pupil, forces Dracula to step back from what appears to be his easy prey. Again, when Jonathan wanders about the castle and enters a bedroom in which he is approached, sexually and hungrily, by three women, one of them, who has appeared between his legs and is crawling up his chest, sees the crucifix. She screeches, and the crucifix melts and disappears. It has provided him no protection whatsoever this time. Is it because of the obvious sexual desire – and pleasure – that Jonathan experiences at this moment, or is it for some other reason? I tend towards the former, the sexual desire explanation, because similar results occur later on with Mina and Lucy: if you desire the vampire, you cannot but fall in his (or her) mesmerizing trap, and religious icons can no longer protect those who renounce its chaste principles.<sup>5</sup>

When Jonathan escapes, the haven that saves him is a women's monastery, the monastery of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (perhaps a reference to the *Compagnie du Saint Sacrement* of the seventeenth century, which was considered as being slightly marginal or even heretical to canonical law). He sees it looming in the night rain in the form of two luminous crosses: a Latin cross on the door, and a Greek cross on the window of the entrance, thus joining the two Christian traditions of pre-Reformation Europe. Mina will soon receive a letter from Sister Agatha, go to Romania, and marry Jonathan in the monastery. During their Orthodox wedding ceremony, Mina and Jonathan partake of the blood rite of the Holy Communion, with Coppola emphasizing their drinking the consecrated wine, hence Christ's blood, a blood rite that is often considered as being a direct allusion to, if not recuperation of, the wine rites of Bacchus or Dionysus, a Greek god who is also himself the son of God, Zeus. This communion and blood rite has to be thought of in parallel with Dracula's drinking of the blood of the cross in a chalice at the beginning of the film. But is their religious devotion a form of protection? I do not believe so, since Mina will ultimately be seduced by Dracula, and in fact has already been seduced in London by his young personification, Prince Vlad, all the while Jonathan was recuperating in the monastery. The blood rite is too late, and its protection ineffective.

### The failure of religion

The film's essential message, then, is that religion completely fails us, or will fail us. It certainly failed Lucy. Her name, LVX or LUX, means light, but also Luke, and the first-ever representation of Mary as an icon or as a carved image, according to the eastern or western traditions. As such, she is Lucifer, the fallen angel of light. She is also Lug, the Celtic god of metalwork – a sword maker in a way – and light, whose name is found throughout Europe. And yet she is seduced by Dracula in the most traditional vampiristic way: seduction. Her victimization is necessary to assess Mina's later in the story. Once she has been transformed into a vampire, she uses sex and sex appeal to entrap her human victims. When she is finally killed, and Dracula escapes, we find that nothing has protected her, the least of which her religious name. The men with their guns are fooled, the garlic is ineffective, and Dracula remains at large. Even though Lucy leaves her crucifix on her pillow the first time she goes out at night to meet Dracula in the labyrinth, her desire has already trumped the religious icon's effectiveness in protecting her, as it had been early with Jonathan and the three female vampires. Even when she becomes one of the undead and the men assemble to hunt her in her tomb, they kill her in the most common of ways: a stake through the heart (we can note that there is no mention of wood here since it is metal) and the final beheading. She is thus destroyed, but in no way by religion or with an obvious religious dimension, since even the beheading, which is a biblical allusion, is not clearly made religious in the scene. The religious allusion is – or may be – only made clearer by the viewer's historical unconscious.

But religion fails in another way. It fails to stop the dark forces from entering in the first place. We could even argue that religion in the film frees the dark forces to go on with their business. Dracula, for instance, is shown and declared the master of the wind and of the sea (like the spirit of God hovering over the watery abyss in Genesis 1:2). He can start and command a storm, and even travels in a boat that bears a significant name: *Demeter*. Demeter is one of the names of the triple goddess, another religious tradition that bores very deep in westerners' minds. The triple goddess is essential to English literary tradition as early as Shakespeare's thrice-crowned goddess: Hecate, the Goddess of the Dead; Selene, the Goddess of the Night and the Moon (the inconstant moon and its three phases); and Diana, the Goddess of the Day, the forest, and animal life. But Demeter recalls another level of realization of the triple goddess, this time more Germanic. This time, it is Elisabeta who carries the allusion through her name: "beta" links her to the three Bethen: Ambeth (Mother Earth), Wilbeth (the Sun), and Borbeth (the Moon). The suffix "bethen" is connected to two roots: /bett/ refers to the mother-earth on which we used to sleep (bett = bed in English), and /beten/ refers to praying or calling the goddess (beten = to pray in English). These three Bethen have survived in folklore even today in Austria and were even the sources of Shakespeare's three weird sisters in *Macbeth*, where the name Macbeth itself is derived from this root.

This reference to the triple goddess is essential because it shows Dracula as the heir of an older tradition than Christianity, that is to say paganism, which is a biased word inherited from the Christian tradition. Older religions are centered on a cult to nature: the night and the day, as well as the earth, the sun, and the moon. They are deeply ternary in the fact that they do not concentrate on only the sun and the moon, the night and the day, but on three astral spheres – the sun, the moon, and the earth – and thus cannot be reduced to night and day. That could explain why Dracula can go around in the day time, even if his powers are weaker: he is not only a night animal. The world is not simply all black or all white, evidenced in the albino wolf that escapes from the London Zoo, symbol of the night as much as of the day, of darkness as much

as of light. Coppola's turning Stoker's grey Bersicker wolf white could be understood as an inversion of the old Christian tradition of eradicating paganism in our civilization. As such, Coppola's film seems to posit not a post-religious phase in human development, but definitely a post-Christian phase in which all objectives that had been set by Christianity twenty centuries ago have more or less been made irrelevant in our world. And yet, this film, like all films and animated images, is subliminal: with dead images it creates the illusion of movement, and with dead ideology it nourishes the unconscious need of a scapegoat.

As with Lucy, religion ultimately fails Mina. Short for Wilhelmina, (the feminine form of Wilhelm, or protection by will), Mina will be seduced by Prince Vlad, a younger embodiment of Dracula. We cannot deny that Elisabeta and Mina are visually the same person since they are the same actress – once again, the visual element becomes the message. Coppola manipulates the audience here into going beyond the myth, the tradition, the social and cultural habits, just as he had done in forging Jonathan's likeness on the altar cross in Dracula's chapel. Coppola weaves links and lines that go beyond limits, that trespass limits, and add a visual dimension that cannot be carried by the novel alone. He thus produces a vision of love as crossing traditions and centuries, of love as being universal because it is truer than religion. For this reason, Mina-Elisabeta is seduced by Prince Vlad. Though he is a little awkward at first due to his lack of practice of courting in modern society, he is helped a lot by his suggestive powers that force her out of her fear and into his trap. This is very clear when the white wolf appears, transforms the cinematograph into a shadow puppet show that evokes, through its dominant red color and shapes, the war against the Turks of the beginning of the film. But this wolf is controlled by Prince Vlad and also by Mina, who does not seem surprised at all when she caresses the wolf.

Here again, though, nothing can protect us from this natural force that Vlad-Dracula represents: the call from the earth, the primeval forest, the triple goddess, the three Bethen. For that reason, Coppola introduces another example of the failure of religion, and even of science and civilization in general. Renfield, who is completely outside the nascent psychiatry of the time (a new classification will have to be invented for such a case, as Dr. Jack Steward says), unites Ambeth (one of the three goddesses dedicated to the earth), by the root /am-/ or /an-/ (meaning earth and also mother), with the worm that lives in this earth. It is not coincidental, then, that he eats an orange worm the first time he has a discussion with his doctor. Religion fails Renfield, though, because he fell into Dracula's trap when he went to Transylvania in the first place, because he now escapes human and even scientific control, and because he is endowed with the power to communicate with Dracula, his Master. The film is very careful to avoid the term "Lord" that Stoker uses in the novel (cf. D 245) and to only use the term "Master" so as not to mix Dracula and Jesus in this particular context. But we could queer this reference and put forward the symbolic dimension of the worm-penis living in the earth-(Ren)field-womb. I would insist here on the importance of using the term "penis" instead of "phallus" because for Jacques Lacan, a major figure in post-structuralist and postmodern criticism, everyone has a phallus, including women of course, since the phallus is not a sex organ but a construct or a reconstruct of the language used to signify the Self: the Ideal of the Ego, the virtual model and target everyone builds in their minds to guide themselves or to be guided by on the road leading to being and becoming fully realized individuals.

Perhaps the most striking example of the failure of religion can be seen in Dracula's living in Carfax Abbey in London. This Abbey is of course no longer consecrated since Henry VIII closed all religious orders in England. Yet it is a religious symbol, a Catholic symbol, and those who are fighting against Dracula are not Catholics but Protestants, from England, from the United

States, and from the Netherlands. This division of Christianity after the Reformation is thus present in the powerlessness of Christianity against Dracula. If we consider this religious schism in light of the previous one between the Orthodox and Catholic churches, we come to conclusion that the splitting of Christianity into its three main branches over the centuries is responsible for its failure to protect. Once again, this is not stated explicitly in the film but only alluded to: Orthodox Christians stopped the Turks initially, but the Turks were able to advance because the Crusades, fought only by the Catholics, were a failure. Because Catholicism will itself split in two again during the Reformation, the church will fail in preventing Dracula from entering the West, from invading the Christian world. Ironically, it is the breakaway Protestant branch that will put a stop Dracula, but not in any religious way, orthodox or unorthodox.



DRACULA  
BY FRANCIS FORD  
COPPOLA, 1992

### Religion as a weapon

If religion alone cannot protect us, maybe it can provide the weapons necessary to defend ourselves. Here the film, especially with Van Helsing, the great specialist on matters such as these, becomes over-wrought. The first thing he tries to get is knowledge from various books in libraries, and it is here that he learns of the history of Dracula. This knowledge is tied from the very start to black and morbid humor. As he says to his medical students in the Netherlands: "The diseases of the blood, such as syphilis [...]. The very name, venereal diseases, the diseases of Venus, imputes that they are of divine origin and that they are involved in that sex problem about which the ethics and ideals of Christian civilization are concerned. In fact civilization and syphilization have advanced together. (BSD 88)".

In a way, religion is said to provide us with knowledge, but the implementation of that knowledge is not very religious. Religion itself is no help, nor is its knowledge, except when it describes the living customs of the vampire for the hunters to adapt their methods.

The cross as religious icon and epistemological weapon is contradictory in the film. Here, a crucifix is melted by a female vampire, a cross is set on fire by Dracula himself, and Lucy recoils when confronted with a cross and obediently lies down in her coffin berated by Van Helsing,



who repeats over and over again: "This is the Holy Cross. We are strong in the Lord, his power, his might. Lord God is upon us [...]"<sup>6</sup> Altogether the cross has limited power, and the little power it does have invested in it from time to time is the result of fear, disgust, or repulsion in the vampire. The cross is thus not dangerous per se in a vampire's eyes, but rather a provocation, an obscenity. To show his distaste, Dracula stamps his foot on the floor, and the cross catches fire.

The wafer, too, has extremely limited power. It only marks a vampiric being with a slight superficial burn that is used by Coppola dramatically in the last sequence to show Mina's vampiric nature and infection, and her sudden liberation of this infection after she kills Dracula. Similarly, the holy water used in the Carfax Abbey cannot counter Dracula, who escapes in the shape of a green vapor. Nor can Latin incantations exorcize the vampire. As a matter of fact, standard weapons like swords and guns are more effective in fighting Dracula and protecting one from harm than are all of the religious paraphernalia mentioned, a fact Coppola marginalizes in the film.

If religion cannot provide us with real protection or real weapons, then how can the vampire be defeated? The film, like the novel, is explicit in its answer. The first vampire, Lucy, is destroyed with a stake through her heart (I have already pointed out that it was metal and not wood, let alone ash) and a good cutlass stroke to the neck. The second batch of vampires that are destroyed are the three female vampires in Dracula's castle. Once again, they are kept at bay with a circle of fire and not crumbled wafers or holy water; and they are liquidated on the following morning with a sword that beheads them all. Van Helsing throws their three heads into the abyss and the river – the same river where Elisabeta committed suicide and to which Jonathan escaped. In other words, in receiving the three severed heads, the river has symbolically been purified of Elisabeta's suicide. I say symbolically here and not religiously since suicide can never be purified in religion.

But how can Dracula himself be killed? He can be killed if he is captured before sundown, when he becomes powerful again. This fails, of course, for when he is attacked with weapons and his throat is half slit, and a sword is plunged into his heart, he is still not completely dead. He lay helpless in the chapel on the altar steps, in the same place and position where he had found the dead Elisabeta, but in a completely inverted situation (symbolic regeneration): Mina, Elisabeta's reincarnation, is looking down upon him and is going to complete the task. But Mina's motivation here is not at all to destroy the monster (as the Crew of Light wishes to do in the novel), but rather to save his soul, to liberate him from the powers of darkness and from his damnation. She will press the sword through his heart and cut off his head, but her actions are motivated by love.

This execution is possible because, when she had the opportunity to drink his blood, he reacted so that she would not drink enough to make her transformation complete. She remained a human being despite her vampiric characteristics. On the other hand, Dracula had rediscovered love, which made him prevent her from over-drinking, so that she was only "baptized" into vampirism, as Van Helsing says. Love, and not religious belief, returns his humanity to him, hence his ability to die. He can die in shared love and thus be saved, salvaged, regenerated, and resuscitated to the eternal life of the soul.

Coppola's ending, however, raises a problem of interpretation. What is the meaning of the beheading? What does it bring to the film? We may think of David and Goliath at first, but that biblical story does not fit here because we systematically have, in the prior beheading episodes, a sexual divide between the beheaded and the beheader. Moreover, in this last case, it is a woman who is doing the beheading. Answers to this problem may best be explained with reference to

the book of Judith in the Old Testament. Judith is a Jewish widow in Bethulia, an unknown city that controls “the only means to access to Judaea” (Judith 4:7), and decides, on the order from “Joakim the high priest resident in Jerusalem at the time” (Judith 4:6), to save Israel of sure destruction when the general-in-chief of the Assyrian army, Holofernes, comes in the name of Nebuchadnezzar to punish the tribes, Israel among others, for not having answered his call some time before in his campaign against Arphaxad. Judith criticizes the elders and other people in the town who only lament and beg God for help, a God that should be neither coerced nor cajoled as she says (Judith 8:17). She then leaves the elders and the town and calls upon Holofernes to pardon her because she rejects her coward tribe. Flattered, Holofernes falls into her sexual trap; she gets him drunk, so that she will not be soiled, and cuts off his head with his own scimitar and brings it back to Bethulia. This steels the Jews in battle, and they defeat the general-less Assyrian army.<sup>7</sup>

There are striking similarities between the stories of Judith and Mina in Coppola’s film, echoed in Jonathan’s declaration at the end when Mina enters the chapel with the dying Dracula: “Let her go. Now her time has come” (BSD 161).<sup>8</sup> Similar, too, is Mina’s apparent betrayal of her fellow human beings. But the main difference is that there is real love between Mina and Dracula, and that she will behead him not to destroy him but to absolve him, that is, not to bring her fellow human beings to fight and defeat an army, but to destroy the possibility of there ever being such a war in the first place. As Van Helsing says, speaking of Dracula to Mina: “His salvation is his destruction” (BSD 139).<sup>9</sup> Van Helsing’s meaning is thus not negative, in the way a drunk man may be emasculated by a woman; rather it bespeaks the salvation of a reprieved soul by a woman in the name of and thanks to mutual love. The biblical reference does not bring the meaning into the tale but tremendously reinforces that meaning through the contrast.

But once again the reference is not explicit. It is part of our culture, or at least it has to be in order to be understood (so that we can understand this understood meaning in the film). To many in Coppola’s audience, not all of these religious allusions reach a conscious level. For many, the beheading scene would no doubt recall action films that abound in beheadings, such as *Highlander* for example, even if in Russell Mulcahy’s film the fighters are necessarily men. But a contemporary audience is able to look beyond the sexual divide as if it were meaningless, which it never is of course, even if this meaninglessness is in itself meaningful in a postmodern perspective.

### **The film and today’s religious debates**

Coppola’s film is not concerned with the raging debate on Jesus’ bloodline, his relationship to Mary Magdalene, or even the Templars; such concerns emerged a decade later with Dan Brown’s *Da Vinci Code*, the bestseller that set the whole religious landscape on fire.<sup>10</sup> Yet the film is in concert with the literary debate over the nature of vampires taking place at the time between two of the most recognizable names in fantastic and horror literature.<sup>11</sup> Stephen King and his *Salem’s Lot* (the novel came out in 1975, the TV mini series that became the first film in 1979, and *Return to Salem’s Lot* in 1987<sup>12</sup>) gives the standard image of the vampire: a monster that has to be destroyed by any means. The films produced from this novel are even pushing this image of the vampire to such an extreme that it has nearly become farcical. Anne Rice, on the other hand, has built her Vampire Chronicles (including the first three novels, *Interview with the Vampire*, 1976; *The Vampire Lestat*, 1985; *The Queen of the Damned*, 1988; as well as in the more recent novels dedicated to her cast of vampires<sup>13</sup>), around a historical lineage of the undead, who witness humanity’s evolution cross the many centuries that they live, keeping their human per-

sonalities beyond their death and rebirth. Coppola draws from both Gothic masters in his film, starting with the traditional image of the vampire (though not reduced to the caricature of the monster that King uses), and moving slowly toward human regeneration through Mina's reincarnation of Elisabeta. Dracula becomes a witness of the past who recovers his humanity through his destruction, which is also his salvation. Coppola surely could not have been ignorant of these contemporary portrayals of vampires and thus consciously positioned his Dracula in between the two paradigms.

Yet Coppola's film does carry religious import and does have an impact on the present religious debate that widens the scope of the film more than makes it appear archaic. The first element is the apocalyptic vision, but a real apocalypse: the Turks' destruction of Christianity. The response to this apocalypse is another apocalypse, reduced visually to the impaled bodies of Vlad Țepeș's victims writhing on their stakes. The color of these apocalypses is of course red, the color of blood, fire, anger, and Dracula's armor. This apocalyptic vision is even transferred onto the chapel scene when Dracula causes the blood from the cross to flood the church (the image of the flood is dominant in John's *Book of Revelation*, in all possible material realizations). The reference to the dragon at this moment, Dracula being a member of the Order of the Dragon, is also an allusion to the dragon in the Apocalypse. But the reference is inverted: the dragon is on the side of the church, and it is this inversion that may pervert the tale. The dragon turns against the church either because he is a dragon and cannot be anything but the Beast in a standard reading of the *Book of Revelation*, or because the church is the real beast that betrays him, its most loyal servant. In the *Book of Revelation* is a story of a pregnant woman who is protected from on high against "a huge red dragon which had seven heads and ten horns, and each of the seven heads crowned with a coronet. Its tail dragged a third of the stars from the sky and dropped them to the earth" (*Revelation* 12:3-4). And it is only when the dragon fails at capturing the pregnant woman that "the dragon delegates his power to the beast" (*Revelation* 12:17). In applying this story to Coppola's film, Dracula becomes the beast when the church fails to protect Elisabeta against the Turks and against her eventual suicide. The pattern is similar but inverted since Dracula is not after the woman but the Turks, not serving his own interest but serving the interest of the church, and not coveting the woman but in love with her; the woman is not protected and sent to some haven but rather left unprotected and abandoned to her death.

In addition to the purifying powers of love, damnation and salvation provide the film its major themes. Damnation is obvious in Dracula's desecration of the chapel, having committed an unpardonable sacrilege. But damnation is constantly present for other characters as well, particularly Lucy and then Mina. Here the vision is simply puritanical: evil, as represented by Lucy after her transformation, has to be destroyed. But unlike with Dracula, Lucy is not given a choice. She is mesmerized into falling and being damned, in the same manner that Mina is. Neither is given a choice (save Dracula's later insistence that Mina not drink too much from his breast), and choice is the necessary element for goodness to carry any meaning. As Milton demonstrates in *Paradise Lost*, if there is no possible choice, man is not responsible for the acts he commits, good or evil. Those acts thus have no ethical value. Regarding Lucy, we decide that what she is doing is evil, and we destroy her to save ourselves. Her salvation, if she is indeed damned from the start, is not even taken into account. There is no considering her fate among the men who accept to hunt her down, including her husband.

On the other hand, Mina is given a choice because Dracula limits her damnation, and she takes full responsibility for her fate when she is confronted with killing Dracula. In Miltonian terms, her acts are absolutely ethical, positive or negative, because she chooses to do what she

does. Here we have the reversal of Christ's story. Apart from the fact that Dracula drank Christ's blood pouring from the cross and became a vampire because of the way he got that blood, he has to die to be saved, to shed his blood to be liberated of the damnation of which he is victim. By dying, he does not save anyone except himself, though we could say he saves the world from the damnation he represents for human beings, which would be the traditional puritanical view that deprives man of free choice. On Mina's side, she has to kill Dracula in order to save him, to save herself, and to save the world. Christ's fate is inverted once again. Salvation is no longer a story of a man who is killed to save mankind but a woman who kills to protect humanity. This inversion is Coppola's fundamental Christian message in the film.

## Conclusion

On one side is the Lamb, Christ. He is a willing victim who sacrifices himself to save humanity from damnation. By being shed, his blood saves others, and the blood rite that comes from it is to remind us of his sacrifice. On Judgment Day, however, the Lamb will kill in the name of God to rid the world of sin, evil, and the Beast and enable those who can be saved to live in the messianic Jerusalem. The Lamb is thus delivering fire, hail, rain, floods, and plagues onto the world to destroy the whole of sinning humanity and to preserve its saints. Distinguishing good from evil can only be achieved in death, according to the Pauline doctrine.

On the other side is Dracula, who cannot be understood alone. He has to be taken in connection with his love for Mina-Elisabeta. He starts as a blood shedder, and a particularly cruel one at that. He then makes the choice to become a monster out of spite and anger, what Mary Magdalene would call "foolish wisdom" or "wrathful wisdom" (Gospel according to Mary Magdalene 8:19). Then he has to be sacrificed to be saved. His blood saves him and eventually the one he loves since he will not be able to destroy her. His death saves humanity of his own menace. In other words, he is a complete Antichrist. When Dracula is finally saved, there will be no need for his second coming.

This Christian metaphor of the salvation of the Antichrist is punctuated with religious elements to emphasize the idea that the Antichrist can only be countered by love, and there we reach the real Christian meaning of Coppola's film. Evil can only be reformed through love: not Jesus' universal love, but a sexual love, even if the two protagonists are now beyond sexuality.

Was Coppola conscious of all this complexity of meaning in producing *Bram Stoker's Dracula*? If we follow the "Making of ..." documentary added to the 1994 video version of the film and later to the DVD, then certainly not. Throughout the long documentary the religious question is reduced to a minimum. Apart from Dracula being referred to as the Devil or Mephistopheles, there is little evidence (save a couple of quotations from the film itself) to suggest Coppola was forthright in his religious intent. In fact, the documentary concentrates on the working methods of Coppola as a director more than on the meaning of the film. In 1992, the situation was not ripe for an earnest religious debate on the film. The fact that the film was shot in 1992 may explain why some of the religious meaning in it is left more to innuendo, subliminal allusions, or understood references. Audiences had not yet discovered the *Opus Dei*. The film's religious meaning seems to be nearly incidental, which is regretful because its myths are universal and absolutely crucial to the history of humanity and the invention of religions. Religions, all of them, have one primeval objective: to protect the believers against blood-curdling and blood-thirsty violence by cultivating human ethics in human beings. Dracula, the myth of the vampire, of the blood drinking tyrant or monster, is always present in religious mythologies. He is there in the *Book of Revelation*, and in Isaiah and Ezekiel. He is Bel or Baal, the dragon, the Beast, the

monster omnipresent in so many of the later books of the Old Testament that it is impossible to exclude them from the field of dragon-cultivating mythologies. Even Moses' bronze serpent appears as a form both of punishment and of protection from God, who is called a "seraph", derived from the angel "seraphim", which is represented as a winged dragon (Numbers 21:1-9).

And it is this dimension of mythologies in general that merges all human religions into a universal religious consciousness, even subliminal awareness, that makes the film a film of its time, the postmodern time, a time in which references are intertwined and lack historical objectivity. Maybe something is still rotten in the state of Denmark, but something is definitely queer in the imagination of our time.

As for Coppola's intention, I can only put forward hypotheses. Coppola, though, seems to use the cinematographic medium as a way to convey meaning through images, always keeping the various sides balanced so that the film remains understandable, in one way or another, by all members of the audience. It is a commercial necessity, of course, one which corresponds to the spirit of our day. Maybe this spirit has been created by the commercial intentions of the medium (where the medium is the message), or the spirit of the day has emerged from history itself and has invested the medium with its essence (where the message is the medium). Does postmodernity emerge from the market economy in the field of ideas, ideologies, and cultural constructions, or does it come from the slow and steady evolution of the human species in its historical adventure? We cannot know for sure. We might even say that this market economy can be seen as part of this historical adventure in what some identify as a dialectical though not antagonistic relation. For sure, great filmmakers like Francis Ford Coppola go along with the spirit of their time, trying to satisfy their own artistic needs in addition to the commercial needs of their audiences. In *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, Coppola attempts to connect as many people in the audience as possible beyond their various divides – sexual, social, economic, cultural, artistic, religious, or whatever.

*Endnotes:*

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<sup>1</sup> See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> Some commentators have claimed that 666 is the total of the number values of "Nero-Caesar" (in Hebrew).

<sup>3</sup> See Steve Ellis, ed., *Chaucer: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Andrews and Paul Schellenberger, *The Tomb of God: Unlocking the Code to a 2000-year-old Mystery* (London: Time Warner Books, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Queer theory can help explain the sexual dimensions of the film, for while Dracula is not gay, there is no real sexual limit to his thirst; he drinks out of necessity, male and female victims alike. Jonathan, on the other hand, has limits since he is attracted to the female vampires, in the same way Lucy and Mina are drawn to Dracula. Anne Rice will use this sexually-ambivalent tradition widely with her vampire Lestat de Lioncourt, who definitely has a gay, or a campy, side. Coppola uses this gay element parsimoniously but effectively, which is also how we should view the queer in the film.

<sup>6</sup> This line does not appear in the screenplay.

<sup>7</sup> See École Biblique de Jérusalem, *La Bible de Jérusalem* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998), and Alexander Jones, ed., *The Jerusalem Bible: Reader's Edition* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966).

<sup>8</sup> The line in the screenplay reads: "Let her go. Our work is finished here. Hers is just begun".

<sup>9</sup> The line in the screenplay reads: "Your salvation is his destruction".

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Robert Eisenman, *James: The Brother of Jesus* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> See Peter Haining, ed., *The Vampire Omnibus* (London: Orion Books, 1995); Byron Preiss, ed., *The Ultimate*

Jacques Coulardeau

*Dracula* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 1992); and Alan Ryan, ed., *The Penguin Book of Vampire Stories* (London: Penguin, 1987).

<sup>12</sup> Stephen, King, *'Salem's Lot* (New York: Doubleday, 1975).

<sup>13</sup> These nine novels, all published by Knopf, are: *The Tale of the Body Thief* (1992), *Memnoch the Devil* (1995), *Pandora* (1998), *The Vampire Armand* (1998), *Vittorio, The Vampire* (1999), *Merrick* (2000), *Blood and Gold* (2001), *Blackwood Farm* (2002), and *Blood Canticle* (2003).

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#### VIZIJA RELIGIJE U DRAKULI BRAMA STOKERA FRENSISA FORDA KOPOLE

*Sažetak:*

Tekst razmatra zašto film *Drakula Brama Stokera* Frensisa Forda Kopole ima tako religiozni karakter, te pokušava da ustanovi koliko je sam reditelj o tome imao svest, odgovarajući na pitanja: da li film nudi uobičajenu viziju vampira kao neprijatelja koji se mora uništiti ili, pak, pokušava da ponudi nešto drugo? Drugim rečima, da li je Kopola na liniji Stivena Kinga, koji vidi vampire kao monstume koji moraju nestati radi našeg dobra ili deli poglede En Rajs koja ih doživljava kao drage monstume (ako uopšte monstume) i izrazito ljudska bića (čak i ako oni to više nisu), koja se mogu posmatrati kao reinkarnacije Isusa Hrista pošto, kao i on, imaju moć da spasu čovečanstvo? Ili Kopola sledi svoju sopstvenu viziju, ako uopšte i jednu?

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – KRITIKA)

*PRIKAZI*  
*REVIEWS*





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## FILM KAO VIRTUALNI PROZOR

### Virtualni prozor i njegov okvir

Početak i kraj filma *Nedelja na selu (Un dimanche a la campagne)* Bertrana Tavernijea pružaju identičan pogled posmatraču, pogled kroz okvir otvorenih vrata na ozelenelu baštu poznog proleća. Početni i završni kadar uokviruju jedinstven pogled na svet iz ugla glavnog junaka, ostarelog slikara koji traga za idealnim prizorom za predstavu koju će naslikati (na kraju, njegovo platno na štafelaju ostaje belo). Istovremeno, dvostruki okvir filmskog kadra i vratima uokvirenog vrta uvodi posmatrača u virtualni prostor nematerijalne bašte, koja u narednih sat i po postaje realni prostor za virtualnog posmatrača. U stalnoj izmeni vizure, zameni virtualnog i realnog, materijalnog i nematerijalnog, opipljivog i nestvarnog, otvara se novi prostor magijskog delovanja slike/ reprezentacije.

Kako film proizvodi značenje? Koja sredstva se upotrebljavaju da bi se od dvodimenzionalne predstave na bioskopskom platnu stvorio utisak trodimenzionalnog prostora? Na koji način jedna uokvirena reprezentacija sveta postaje celokupan svet jednog posmatrača; kako se pomeraju granice sveta i uspostavljaju okviri (frame) slike? Kada je formirana uokvirena predstava, da li je svaka predstava na neki način ograničena?

U studiji *Virtual Window: from Alberti to Microsoft*, En Fridberg<sup>1</sup> vremenski locira istraživanje o perspektivnoj slici u period između naučnih istraživanja perspektive Leona Batiste Albertija u spisima *De Pictura* i *On the Art of the Building*, nastalih u XV veku, i današnjih dostignuća u razvoju digitalne televizije, interfejs kulture, multitaskinga i kompjuterskih ekrana. Autorka uspostavlja okvir svojih istraživanja unutar teorijskih i filozofskih odrednica Dekarta, Hajdegera, Bergsona i Virilioa; komentarišući Dekartov prozor, Hajdegerov okvir, Bergsonovo virtualno i Virilioov ekran, Fridbergova pravi osvrt na istoriju prozora i upotrebu stakla, pojavu perspektivne slike i njenog odvajanja od zidne podloge, uočavajući vezu sa nastankom fotografije i ki-

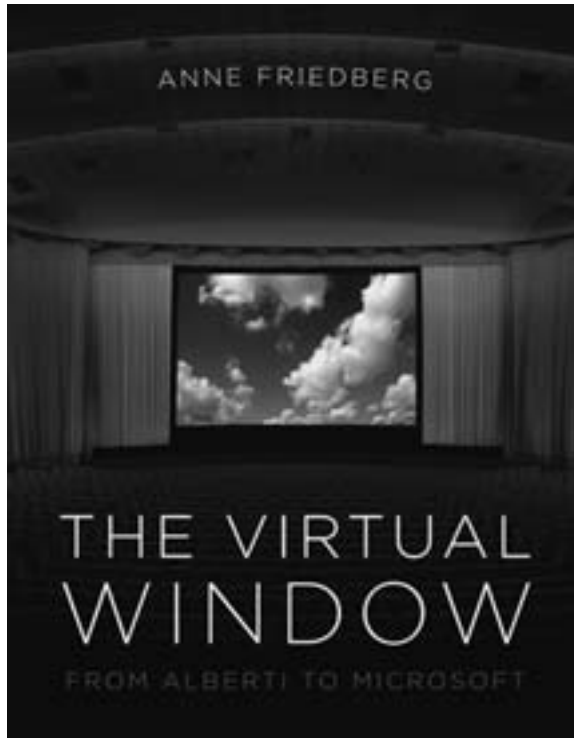
nematografski pokrenutom slikom – projektovanom na bioskopskom platnu ili emitovanom na televizijskom/kompjuterskom ekranu. Pojam prozora autorka objašnjava trojako: prozor kao metaforu, prozor kao arhitektonski elemenat i prozor kao virtualno polje filmskog, televizijskog ili kompjuterskog ekrana.

Centralni problem autorkinog istraživanja je tzv. *virtualni prozor*, *virtualna slika*, koji ona pokušava da odredi kroz razjašnjenje pojma *virtualno*, polazeći od definicije reči latinskog porekla, *virtus*, koja označava nešto što se odnosi na snagu ili moć, što može da deluje neposredno. Naravno, treba imati u vidu razliku između virtualnog i simulakruma, jer se virtualno može odnositi kako na reprezentaciju koja je simulakralna, tako i na onu koja je mimetička. Pojam virtualnog prvi put se pojavljuje 1831. godine u spisu *Treatise on Optics* Dejvida Brustera, istraživača koji je konstruisao kaleidoskop.<sup>2</sup> On pravi distinkciju između prave slike (*real image*) i virtualne slike (*virtual image*). Prava slika nastaje presekom svetlosnih zrakova, vidljiva je za oko i predstavljena je na nekoj dvodimenzionalnoj površini, dok se virtualna slika formira u mozgu – nije vidljiva oku, jeste vizualno opažena, ali se ne predstavlja na dvodimenzionalnoj površini. Bruster tako određuje virtualnu sliku kao nematerijalnu: ona odgovara pre mentalnoj predstavi (*imago*) nego faktičkoj reprezentaciji objekta (*pictura*).

Krajem 19. veka, Anri Bergson je pojmom virtualno označavao nematerijalnost memorije/sećanja. Virtualno uspostavlja ontološku razliku između mogućeg i aktualnog/stvarnog/realnog: razlika između realnog i virtualnog, zapravo je razlika između „biti“ i „biti svesno opažen“. Memorija pozajmljuje snagu i život iz sadašnjih situacija u kojima se materijalizuje.<sup>3</sup> Nadovezujući se na Bergsonova razmišljanja, Delez kaže da i virtualno i aktualno imaju realnost, a da virtualno *kao virtualno* poseduje stvarnost.<sup>4</sup> U tom smislu, Fridbergova pokušava da ukaže na činjenicu da virtualne slike imaju materijalnost, ali drugačije prirode, da poseduju realnost drugog tipa – drugostepenu materijalnost ograničene nematerijalnosti. Virtualna slika ne podrazumeva doslovni mimezis, već neku vrstu pomeraja (*shift*) sa jednog značenjskog i pojavnog nivoa na drugi. Naime, konkretan arhitektonski okvir koji otvara pogled ka spoljašnjem svetu (prozor) postaje model za niz virtualnih prozora/ekrana: kinematografski, televizijski i kompjuterski, koji nude drugačiju/konstruisanu realnost. Zapravo, Fridbergova pokušava da napravi obrt: prozor postaje metafora za ekran, a ekran je aktualna zamena za prozor.<sup>5</sup> Autorkin prozor je virtualan, jer nagoveštava metaforički prozor, ali i stvarni prozor sa virtualnim pogledom. Taj pogled je uvek uokviren, on poseduje granice – kako fizičke granice određene dimenzijama slike/ekrana, tako i šire shvaćene granice izvesne vizije. Još Alberti definiše sliku kao metaforu otvorenog prozora, a prozor kao metaforu za okvir (frame), ili oivičenu predstavu, koja uspostavlja strogi odnos između fiksnog posmatrača i reprezentacije. Međutim, od Albertija do danas došlo je do značajnog pomaka u razvoju slike (šire shvaćene kao reprezentacije): povećao se broj vizija, umnožio se broj ekrana, multiplikovali su se okviri. Ovo je proizvelo pomeranje granica našeg sveta. Posmatrač više nije suočen samo sa jednom perspektivnom slikom i njenim granicama. Veliki broj slika unutar slike uspostavlja nove okvire. Brojni okviri uspostavljaju nove vizije: virtualni prozori prave prostorno-vremenske pomake, dovodeći do simultane koegzistencije predstava.

### **Virtualni prozor i kamera opskura**

Kamera opskura je soba (kutija) koja je omogućila transformaciju trodimenzionalnih objekata u dvodimenzionalne predstave zahvaljujući malom otvoru i jednostavnom sočivu: na jednom zidu tamne kutije dobija se obrnuta, umanjena predstava realnog objekta. Upotrebom svetla i malog otvora unutar tamne kutije, na zidu preko puta otvara se virtualni prozor.



KORICE KNJIGE *VIRTUAL WINDOW: FROM ALBERTI TO MICROSOFT*, 2006

Pretpostavlja se da su kameru opskuru koristili renesansni umetnici kao pomoćno sredstvo pri slikanju. Ova sprava omogućavala im je da savladaju osnovne postavke perspektivne slike. Fridbergova napominje da je Dekart u *Dioptrici* ukazao na analogiju između funkcionisanja oka i kamere opskure. U studiji *Virtual Window* izdvojena su dela u kojima se niz teoretičara druge polovine dvadesetog veka bavi upotrebom kamere opskure u slikarstvu starih majstora (rasprave Dejvida Hoknija ili Svetlane Alpers).<sup>6</sup> Međutim, na veći značaj kamere opskure ukazao je Džonatan Kreri u knjizi *Techniques of the Observer* iz 1990. godine, ističući njenu neodvojivost od *metafizike unutrašnjosti*.<sup>7</sup> Slika koju proizvodi kamera opskura, bez obzira na to da li je posmatrač unutar kutije ili nasuprot malog otvora kroz koji prolazi svetlo, nije samo dvodimenzionalna predstava trodimenzionalnog objekta: to je pokrenuta slika/virtualni pokret suprotstavljen nepokretnom posmatraču. Kamera opskura za Krerija predstavlja paradigmu posmatrača iz sedamnaestog i osamnaestog veka. Za njega, devetnaesti vek donosi prekid u konzistentnom i kontinuiranom korišćenju kamere opskure, pa se time menja i model posmatranja: ovaj aparat zamenjen je stereoskopom. Zapravo, monokularno vidjenje zamenjeno je binokularnim gledanjem (što podseća na prelazak sa mono na stereo zvuk): gledanje je, na neki način, postalo „posmatranje sa oba oka“. Kreri hoće da kaže da je kamera opskura implantirala netelesno gledanje u posmatrača zahvaljujući imanentnim karakteristikama ovog aparata: posmatranje je osvešćeno zahvaljujući otvoru kroz koji se (u kutiji) posmatrala dvodimenzionalna predstava; neugodan položaj tela otežavao je gledanje. Razvoj optike i nove sociološke prakse u toku devetnaestog veka učinile su da gledanje postane telesno.

Međutim, Fridbergova navodi da je upravo pokretna slika, koja nastaje već u kameri opskuri, vremenom usavršena, zahvaljujući novim eksperimentima izvedenim u devetnaestom veku i kasnije. Teško je govoriti o pomeraju (*shift*) koji se dogodio u ljudskoj percepciji između sedamnaestog i dvadesetog veka: dvodimenzionalna slika, isprva statična (fotografija), a zatim i pokrenuta (film), i dalje je osnova svake reprodukovane vizije; u nizu optičkih pronalazaka, zasnovanih na upotrebi svetla i projektovanju slika, teško je izdvojiti koji je omogućio tzv. telesno gledanje; kamera opskura je od perspektivne mašine postala mašina za posmatranje predstava na dvodimenzionalnoj podlozi (zid, platno). U istorijskom kontekstu moglo bi se reći da je kameru opskuru zamenio fotoaparata, a njega filmska, video ili digitalna kamera. Tokom devetnaestog veka Majbridž i Marej pokušali su da prikažu pokret. Hronofotografijom Marej stvara iluziju pokreta radeći u tzv. vremenskim slojevima/lejerima; reč je o postupku višestrukog eksponiranja jedne ploče, tako da se beleži pokret za pokretom.<sup>8</sup> Sličan postupak „oživljavanja“ likova na slikama upotrebljavali su futuristi, koristeći se drugim sredstvima vizuelnog izražavanja. Majbridž snima faze pokreta, sukcesivno, jednu za drugom, kao zaleđene trenutke. Tek povezivanje ovih trenutaka u kontinuum stvara iluziju pokreta. Limijerov kinematograf konačno je zabeležio pokret i doveo do pojave pokretnih slika. Film kao virtualni prozor postaje „vremenska arhitektura“: pokretna slika dinamizuje prostor i specijalizuje vreme, kako je to Panovski istakao u eseju *On Movies* iz 1936. godine.<sup>9</sup>

Fridbergova dalje pokušava da definiše uokvirenu predstavu, tj. da ukaže na značaj okvira u konstituciji slike (*pictura*). Okvir se pojavljuje u trenutku kada se slika odvojila od zidne podloge. Teoretičarka vidi u oslobođenju slikane predstave od zidne podloge put ka bioskopskoj predstavi, čiji su konstitutivni elementi: ekran, okvir (frame) i slika (sa pokretnim sadržajem) proizvedena dejstvom svetla. Treba skrenuti pažnju na razliku u vidljivosti okvira kod slikane i kod bioskopske predstave koju Fridbergova ne navodi: naime, okvir se na bioskopskom platnu ne primećuje kao ram na slici; bioskopska slika doživljava se kao oivičena predstava, kao slika koja ima svoje granice određene dimenzijama platna. U tom smislu, fizičko postojanje rama na platnu izostaje; čak i kada bi slika bila projektovana na zidu, njeni krajevi bi se naslućivali s obzirom na utapanje ivica kadra u tamu okolnog prostora. Ivice projektovane slike uočavaju se mentalno/telesno: naime, gledalac postaje svestan ivica kadra u okviru dijegetičkog prostora, kada vidi izlazak jednog aktera iz prostora kadra i ulazak u nevidljivi prostor koji prevazilazi okvir postojećeg kadra; ili, prilikom ulaska voza u stanicu Siota, kada voz ulazi u publiku, tj. nestaje u prednjem delu slike, izlazeći iz rama prikazanog kadra.

Hajdeger je smestio metafizički obrt u „moderno doba“ u trenutak kada je *svet postao slika*. Ova transformacija sveta (Welt) u sliku sveta (Weltbild) prisutna je već u sedamnaestom veku, u Dekartovom *ego cogito*, kada je reprezentacija sveta izjednačena sa mišljenjem subjekta. Misлити je predstaviti, unapred postaviti, to je odnos između predstavljanja i onoga što je predstavljeno. Svet slika, kada se suštinski protumači, ne znači reprezentaciju sveta, već svet mišljen i shvaćen kao reprezentacija.<sup>10</sup> Reč *slika* ne označava kopiju ili imitaciju već reprezentativnost sveta. Nešto kasnije Hajdeger uvodi i pojam okvira (das Ge-stell) koji je metafora za „misaonu reprezentaciju“.<sup>11</sup> Okvir postaje ključna figura u njegovom portretu sveta shvaćenom i prikazanom kao slika – svet slike u ranije uspostavljenom svetu. Okvir označava postavljenje u okvir (uokviravanje) ili postavljanje u mesto (smeštanje). Okvir organizuje percepciju, postavlja svet na mesto, uređuje svet. Okvir/Ge-stell je „filozofsko uokvirenje“ koje transformiše svet u objekte, u *postojeću rezervu* koja čeka na svoju reprezentaciju, na svoj krupni plan.

## Pere – Le Korbizije – Ejzenštajn

Posebno poglavlje dela *Virtual Window* posvećeno je tzv. eri prozora, tj. upotrebi stakla, usavršavanju ovog materijala i tehnološkom napretku u proizvodnji koji je doveo do olakšanja zidnih površina. Fridbergova analizira slučaj suprotstavljenih stavova dvojice arhitekata – Perea i Le Korbizijea – i komentariše kako je oblik prozora uticao na određenje oblika ekrana. Naime, debate koje su vodili Pere i Korbizije odnosile su se na veličinu, oblik i primarnu funkciju prozora na nekom objektu. Pere je bio zagovornik vertikalnog, tzv. francuskog prozora, koji istovremeno funkcioniše i kao ulaz/vrata.<sup>12</sup> Prvobitno, ovakav prozor pojavio se u Versaju 1680. godine i ubrzo je postao nacionalni idiom. Sa ovim idiomom ironično se poigrao Marsel Dišan koji je u redi mejdu *French Widow* parodirao Albertijevo shvatanje slike kao otvorenog prozora (setimo se samo Magritovog rada *La condition humaine* – ispod otvorenog prozora kroz koji se vidi pejzaž postavljene su noge štafelaja, tako da se stvara optička varka u kojoj posmatrač više ne može biti siguran da li gleda kroz otvoreni prozor ili gleda u virtualni prozor sa naslikanim pejzažem), ali i Pereovu glorifikaciju francuskog prozora koji služi kao otvor za svetlo i vazduh, jer se umesto stakla na Dišanovom prozoru nalazi crna neprovidna koža, a prozor se ne može otvoriti. Za razliku od Perea, Korbizije je preferirao maksimalno izdužen horizontalni prozor, čime je stvorio tzv. panoramski pogled, puštajući da spoljašnjost uđe u unutrašnji prostor. Pereov stav zasnivao se na paraleli između prozora i čoveka, jer *prozor je kao čovek koji stoji uspravno*. Korbizijeov horizontalni prozor je doveo u pitanje Pereov *perspektivni prozor* jer je „odsecanjem“ neba i tla poravnao dubinski prostor.<sup>13</sup>

Slične nedoumice o pravom obliku i dimenzijama filmskog ekrana imao je Sergej Ejzenštajn koji je izbegavao odnos 3x4, 3x5 ili 3x6 jer ga je dovodio u vezu sa pasivnim horizontalizmom. Tokom ranih tridesetih godina Ejzenštajn se zalagao za vertikalnu kompoziciju koja je virilna i aktivna. Naime, ova kompozicija utemeljena je u ljudskom evolutivnom razvoju i biološkom usponu do dvonošca koji uspravno hoda, ali i u intelektualnom i industrijskom napretku (od egipatskih obeliska i gotičkih katedrala do Ajfelove kule i oblakodera). Međutim, Ejzenštajn je već u narednim spisima žalio za beskrajnim horizontima, karavanima, vagonima i rekama koje lagano teku, ukazujući da ni vertikalno, kao ni horizontalno prostiranje ekrana, nije zadovoljavajuće. Treba napraviti tzv. *dinamički kvadrat*, ekran promenljivih proporcija koji će se prilagođavati projektovanoj slici. Ideja o *dinamičkom kvadratu* i debate koje su vođene tridesetih godina prošlog veka dovele su do pojave televizora koji omogućavaju izbor veličine slike (16:9, *zoom*, *auto zoom*, 4:3). Ejzenštajn naglašava da „ekran kao verno ogledalo, ne samo emocionalnih već i psiholoških i optičkih sukoba, mora biti odgovarajuće bojno polje za različite polemike koje proističu iz optičkih ali i značenjsko-psiholoških prostornih tendencija posmatrača.“<sup>14</sup> Naravno, odnos 1,33:1 postao je standard koji je zavisio od formata filmskog frejma, a koji će zahvaljujući prvim eksperimentima na polju polivizije Abela Gansa dovesti do pojave vajdskrina (*widescreen*). Fridbergova naglašava da su dugački, horizontalni prozori Korbizijea, na kraju upotrebljeni i u virtualnim bioskopskim prozorima / ekranima ili, danas, u tankim LCD ili plazma televizorima velikih formata, sa ekranima visoke rezolucije. Oni se mogu okačiti na zidove čime su zamenili Le Korbizijeove prozore i otvorili pogled u virtualni svet, menjajući koncept arhitektonskog prostora.

## Jedan ekran – Viriliov ekran

Iako je ekran zamenio prozor i postao otvor koji omogućava putovanje u novu realnost (virtualnu stvarnost), mobilnost posmatrača se nije promenila. Naime, bez obzira da li se posmatrač nalazi ispred bioskopskog, TV ili kompjuterskog ekrana, granice njegovog sveta postaju granice

uramljene slike, a njegova pokretljivost svodi se na mentalno putovanje u nepoznato. Fridbergova zaključuje da se posmatrač / gledalac / korisnik suočen sa ekranom nalazi u fenomenološkoj klopci – dvostruki paradoks – između pokretnosti i nepokretnosti (pokretna slika – nepokretan gledalac), i materijalnosti i nematerijalnosti (materijalnost realnog prostora bioskopa ili sobe nasuprot nematerijalnosti filmske, televizijske ili kompjuterske slike). Ekran funkcioniše kao arhitektonski element otvarajući materijalnost prostora sagrađenog uz pomoć dejstva svetla.

Može se istaći da je imobilnost posmatrača očigledna, ali da je samo fizička. Naime, gledalac je psihički stalno u pokretu, jer se njegovo oko identifikuje sa okom kamere. Na taj način, gledalac je u stalnoj napetosti jer je izložen promeni prostornog i vremenskog okvira, iz sekvence u sekvencu. Iako je ovaj primer u vezi sa filmskom percepcijom, može se primeniti i na posmatranje televizijskih slika ili sadržaja na kompjuterskom ekranu. Telesno, gledalac ostaje fiksiran za svoju stolicu, ali, mentalno, on neprekidno menja svoje mesto. Zapravo, identifikacija sa okom kamere čini ga pokretnim, a hiljadu gledalaca koji istovremeno posmatraju istu bioskopsku predstavu, zapravo se svode na jednog.<sup>15</sup> Fridbergova u tekstu ukazuje na razliku između tzv. arhitektonskog posmatrača / posetioca, čije kretanje u prostoru ima jasne perceptivne posledice, i gledaoca uokvirene predstave na ekranu, čija je nepokretnost kompenzovana virtualnom mobilnošću pokretne slike. Za ovog drugog, tenzija između materijalnog i nematerijalnog prostora je sveprisutna, i uvek se može postaviti pitanje gde je posmatrač suočen sa ekranom. I za razliku od arhitektonskog posmatrača koji pripada nekom realnom prostoru, gledalac ispred ekrana je u subjektivnom *drugom*, u virtualnom prostoru i virtualnom vremenu.

Pol Virilio<sup>16</sup> je, tokom osamdesetih i devedesetih godina prošlog veka, izjednačio bioskopski, televizijski i kompjuterski ekran, zanemarujući različitost medija; za njega je ekran unutar metaforičkog registra prevazišao sve granice posebnih medija, postajući jedna virtualna površina. Ekran je *locus* izgubljene dimenzije prostora i tehnološke transformacije vremena. Pod „izgubljenom dimenzijom prostora“ Virilio podrazumeva premeštanje (*translation*) materijalnosti trodimenzionalnog prostora u dvodimenzionalni prostor ekrana, a izgubljena dimenzija postaje *multi stepen arhitekture*. Već 1928. Pol Valeri je zahtevao sveprisutnost umetnosti, na način na koji su u svakodnevnom životu prisutni gas, električna energija, voda. Naime, prema njegovim rečima, biće dovoljno da neko pritisne dugme pa da se umetnost pojavi pred posmatračem u svom vizuelnom i auditivnom bogatstvu. Ovu Valerijevu misao Virilio je razumeo kao anticipaciju telekomunikacija, pišući o arhitektonskim posledicama nematerijalnog interfejsa TV ekrana i kompjuterskih terminala (još početkom osamdesetih). Za Virilioa, ekran postaje mesto prolaza između onoga što je materijalno ka onome što nije, a film se zasniva na elipsi, tj. na prostoru između frejmova koji ostaje nevidljiv, ali nagovešten. Ono što nedostaje između kadrova proizvodi, prema Viriliou, novi registar značenja. Kako film zamenjuje materijalni prostor novom nematerijalnošću, u vreme kinematografske arbitrarnosti, *arhitektura je samo film*. Kasnije se u njegovim spisima sve više pažnje posvećuje televiziji, naročito od trenutka kada je 1980. godine CNN počeo dvadesetčetvoročasovni program. Na taj način Valerijeve reči su se obistinile: pritiskom na dugme posmatraču je postala dostupna celokupna stvarnost. Sa razvojem tehnologije, razlika između tamo i ovde ne znači više ništa. Virilio kaže da su antički polisi, agore i forumi zamenjeni ekranima; a razlika između bioskopskog i TV ekrana jedino je u dimenzijama. Arhitektura će zauzeti dvostruko mesto: u stvarnom prostoru i u virtualnoj realnosti (kao transmisija elektromagnetskih znakova). Pravi prostor kuće / stana moraće da uzme u obzir i realno vreme transmisije.

### Jedan okvir – mnoštvo ekrana

Godine 1958. srpski umetnik Leonid Šejka naslikao je *Nabranjanje slika*. U izvjesnom smislu, to je portret jednog od Holbajnovih *Ambasadora*, sastavljen od velikog broja malih kvadrata različitih dimenzija. Reprerentacija se konstituše zahvaljujući njenim sastavnim elementima – malim slikama/prozorima koji referiraju na različita dela iz istorije likovnih umetnosti. Konstruisanje slike na ovaj način je od višestrukog značaja: ona sebe utemeljuje u istoriji umetnosti ukazujući na fluentnost različitih citata (Šejkin *Ambasador* sastavljen je od kvadratića koji upućuju na stare majstore, ali podjednako i na umetnike dvedesetog veka), predstavljajući preteču ekrana/televizijske slike koja se konstruše od niza tačkica (piksela) kao njenih sastavnih elemenata. Šejkina vizija multipliciranja ekrana vodi do formiranja jedinstvene slike: portret se uočava tek zbirnim posmatranjem pojedinačnih sličica. Jedna sličica izjednačena je sa jednim ekranom koji ima jasnu predstavu; tek u kontekstu celine svaki od ovih ekrana/sličica dobija svoje posebno mesto unutar jednog objedinjujućeg ekrana.

Poslednje poglavlje studije *Virtual Window* posvećeno je pojavi i upotrebi postupka tzv. multipliciranja ekrana, koje se može izvesti na više načina. Na prvo mestu postoji fizička podela jednog ekrana na dva ili više delova, vidljivim linijama unutar ekrana, sa ciljem da se omogući prikazivanje simultanih radnji u različitim prostorima (*Šaputanje na jastuku*, 1959). Ovaj postupak se najčešće upotrebljava kada reditelj želi da suprotstavi dve ili više radnji, kada jednu radnju želi da komentariše drugom koja se dešava u istom trenutku kako bi pojačao napetost kod gledaoca. Drugi postupak multipliciranja ekrana je tzv. ekran unutar ekrana, kada se u okviru postojećeg kadra pojavljuje jasno vidljiv drugi ekran unutar dijegetičkog prostora prvog (*Dr. Mabuze, kockar*, 1922; *Metropolis*, 1926; *Paklena pomorandža*, 1971). I konačno, treći postupak je stvaranje tzv. polivizije, kada se veći broj slika simultano projektuje na više ekrana; ekrani mogu biti postavljeni jedan pored drugog u nizu ili mogu biti postavljeni pod određenim uglom, u zavisnosti od namera reditelja. Jedan od prvih primera je *Napoleon* Abela Gansa. Endi Vorhol ovaj postupak upotrebljava u filmovima *Outer and Inner Space* i *The Chelsea Girls*, nastalim tokom šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka. Posebno je interesantan primer filma *Outer and Inner Space*, u kome Vorhol primenjuje dva postupka istovremeno: u prostoru bioskopa postoje dva platna/ekrana na kojima se istovremeno projektuju dve slike (simultano puštanje dve rolne filma), a unutar svake slike pojavljuje se još po jedan ekran. Naime, glumica je snimljena kamerom i taj sadržaj se prikazuje na svakom od dva platna, ali, unutar dijegetičkog prostora, ona je suočena sa svojim video snimkom koji se emituje na TV ekranu iza nje. Na taj način, udvostručena je slika, ali je udvostručena i projekcija. Naime, Idi Sedžvik je suočena sa virtualnim posmatračem kada je njen pogled usmeren u kameru koja je snima; njen pogled, u nekim trenucima, suočen je sa sopstvenim pogledom na video snimku, zbog čega se stiče utisak da ona razgovara sa samom sobom, ili da naknadno posmatra video snimak koji se paralelno projektuje u njenom realnom, a posmatračevom virtualnom prostoru. Za razliku od ovog filma, *The Chelsea Girls* prikazuje život različitih ljudi u dve sobe jednog njujorškog hotela: događaji u ovim sobama se prepliću ili se paralelno odvijaju. Vorhol je opravdavao upotrebu postupaka multipliciranja ekrana i projekcija praktičnim razlozima: ukoliko je sadržaj jednog ekrana dosadan, gledalac uvek može da se „prebaci“ na praćenje radnje na drugom ekranu.

Razvoj video tehnologije uslovio je pojavu video arta; umetnici su mogli da upotrebljavaju veći broj monitora ili da umnožavaju video snimke na jednom monitoru. Takođe, moguće je koristiti veći broj monitora na kojima su prikazani već snimljeni video radovi ili dešavanja u galeriji. Interesantna je kombinacija različitih medija u filmu *Numero deux* Žan-Lik Godara, u kome su upotrebljene i video i filmska traka. Naime, Godar je snimio 16mm trakom filmsku radnju,

čiju okosnicu čini život izabrane radničke porodice, i prebacio je na video, a zatim je taj materijal puštao na dva odvojena ekrana unutar spoljašnjeg filmskog ekrana koji je činio dijegetički prostor njegovog delovanja. Naime, reditelj se pojavljuje povremeno kao narator ili komentator video materijala koji čini suštinu filmske priče. 35mm kamera nije prisutna ni u jednom od kardova, iako su, nasuprot njoj, video kamere i monitori sveprisutni u prostoru. Multiplikovanje okvira kod Godara postignuto je na sličan način kao kod Vorhola: uvođenjem video snimaka koji se emituju na ekranima unutar jednog većeg ekrana. Ovde se uočava postupak kombinovanja dva prostora kojima se pristupa na isti način. Kao i Vorhol, Godar doživljava televizijski medijum kao vrstu unutrašnjeg / privatnog prostora, a filmski medijum kao spoljašnji / javni prostor. Fridbergova navodi da se primena sličnog postupka sreće i kod Majka Figisa, u filmu *Time Code*, kod Pitera Grinaveja, u filmovima *Pillow Book* i *Prosperove knjige*, kao i u trilogiji *Turbulent*, *Rapture* i *Fervour* Širin Nešat.

En Fridberg posvećuje zaključna razmatranja budućnosti prozora i neekranskih slika. U tom smislu evocira reči Žila Deleza da su vrata, prozori, retrovizori, ogledala, uokvirene vizije. Za njega, uvek postoji nešto *iznad* što prevazilazi okvir, neko *radikalno drugo*. To *radikalno drugo* uznemirava više od uokvirene stvarnosti, jer postoji izvan homogenog prostora i vremena. Iako se mi još uvek nalazimo unutar uokvirenog virtualnog prostora, ili ispred prozora i ekrana, distancirani i izvan *radikalnog drugog*, postavljamo pitanje koja će nas tehnološka inovacija uvesti u taj nedokučivi prostor i vreme. Danas možemo jedino spekulirati da li će jednog dana nestati i ekrani i da li ćemo slike i zvuke, vizije i reprezentacije, moći da primamo bez ekrana, bez posredstva čula vida i optičke vizije. Ukoliko se već nalazimo na ovom putu, Fridbergova zaključuje da je era prozora i ekrana završena.

*Napomene:*

<sup>1</sup> En Fridberg je bila redovna profesorka na Univerzitetu Južna Kalifornija, na odseku za filmsku umetnost. Uvela je metod interdisciplinarnih studija, proširujući polje proučavanja filmske umetnosti, dovodeći je u vezu sa arhitekturom, istorijom umetnosti i digitalnim medijima. Do svoje preuranjene smrti (oktobra 2009. godine) napisala je dve studije *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (1994) and *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (2006) u kojima je ukazala na dominaciju vizuelnog u savremenoj kulturi i njenu reprezentaciju na gami najrazličitijih ekrana: bioskopskom, televizijskom, kompjuterskom, *Ipod*, *Iphone*, *BlackBerry*, itd. Ovaj članak koji se bavi sažetom analizom studije *Virtual Window* nastoji da ukaže na značaj istraživanja koje je sprovodila En Fridberg, kao i na jedno novo moguće polje sagledavanja filma i filmske percepcije.

<sup>2</sup> A. Friedberg, *Virtual Window*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, General Books, London, 2010, 127.

<sup>4</sup> G. Deleuze, *Cinema I: The Movement-Image*, University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> A. Friedberg, *ibid.*, 46-48.

<sup>6</sup> Friedberg A., *ibid.*, 64-66.

<sup>7</sup> Crary J., *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the 19th Century*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass., 1990, 34.

<sup>8</sup> „To je niz slika kojima se prikazuju različiti položaji što ih jedno živo biće, krećući se određenom brzinom, zauzima u prostoru u datom trenutku“ (E. Ž. Marej); citirano prema: P. Virilio, *Rat i film I*, Institut za film, Beograd, 2003, 63.

<sup>9</sup> E. Panofsky, *On Movies*, 1936, 5-15.

<sup>10</sup> M. Heidegger, *The Questions Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, New York, 1977, 129.



<sup>11</sup> U našem prevodu Hajdegerovih predavanja, reč *Gestell*, koja u govornom nemačkom znači nogare, postolje, stalak, stativ, kostur, žičani skelet, prevedena je sa *postavlje*. Hajdeger uvodi taj pojam na sledeći način: „Ono izazivajuće oslovljavanje koje čoveka skuplja da bi ono što sebe razotkriva ispostavio kao stanje, zovemo sada *po-stavlje* (*Ge-stell*)“; navedeno prema M. Hajdeger, *Predavanja i rasprave*, prev. B. Zec, Plato, Beograd, 1999, 20.

<sup>12</sup> K. Britton, *Auguste Perret*, Phaidon Press, New York, 2001, 35-42.

<sup>13</sup> B. Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, The MIT Press, 1994, 128-139.

<sup>14</sup> Citirano prema A. Friedberg, *ibid*, 309.

<sup>15</sup> „Ako Čarli Čaplin gleda u objektiv, njegov lik na snimku gledaće pravo u oči sve one koji posmatraju film, bilo da sede levo, desno, na balkonu ili u parteru. To znači da više nema hiljadu gledalaca (ili nekoliko miliona njih ako se saberu sve bioskopske dvorane), već samo jedan jedini, koji vidi i čuje tačno ono što je videla kamera i čuo mikrofon.“ M. Panjol, citirano prema P. Virilio, *ibid*, 69.

<sup>16</sup> Teorijske postavke Pola Virilioa videti u njegovim studijama: *Lost Dimension*, Semiotext(e), New York, 1991; *Aesthetics of Disappearance*, Semiotext(e), New York, 1991; *Rat i film I*, Institut za film, Beograd, 2003.

FILM AS VIRTUAL WINDOW

*Summary:*

In *Virtual Window: from Alberti to Microsoft* Anne Friedberg explores the nature of our perception and emphasizes the relationship between architecture, visual arts, film and digital media. Referring to window as metaphor for virtual vision, she analyzes connections between window as architectural element and virtual window of film, TV or computer screen. The author focuses on Descartes' window, Heidegger's frame, Bergson's virtual and Virilio's screen, trying to establish main fields of her research.

The starting point of her study is Alberti's treatise on perspective and his approach to painting as an open window. This metaphor was used as leitmotif of Friedberg's book; she starts her research in the theory of 15th century and ends her study in 21st century, trying to predict future of screen and our visions. Alberti's metaphor of window for the frame emphasizes the fixed relation of viewer to a framed view.

Looking at camera obscura as one of the key technological innovations which led to new forms of vision (even moving pictures), Friedberg points out that this scientific instrument was used to translate a three-dimensional view from outside to a two-dimensional representation on the surface inside making a virtual window. Jonathan Crary goes even further and interpretes camera obscura as a model of 17th century perception, that underwent change in 18th and 19th century due to the development of science and construction of stereoscope. Camera obscura was a predecessor of kinoscope of Thomas Edison and cinematographe of Lumière brothers. Before them, Marey and Maybridge captured movement with so-called chronophotography and their experimental works in the field of photography and sequential movement. With Lumière brothers new art and new screen emerged: film screen became a new form of framed picture, a new virtual window that introduced previously unimaginable possibilities. Following Heidegger, the author uses his concept of frame to stress that enframing is implicit not only in cinematic vision but also in modern thought and experience.

In chapter three Friedberg focuses on the age of windows, analyzing two debates: the first between architects Auguste Peret and Le Corbusier on the size, shapes and function of the vertical and the horizontal architectural openings (known as the French window and panoramic horizontal window), and the second between Russian director S. M. Eisenstein and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Science on the shape of the film screen. These debates indicate the tension between the material reality of architectural space and the dematerialized imaginary space of cinema, TV or computer representations. Friedberg points out that the screen negotiates the tension between mobility of pictures and immobility of viewers as well as the tension between materiality and immateriality in the architecture of spectatorship. Virilio understands screen as a temporal window and initiates discussion on effects of fracture of the screen into multiple windows.

The last chapter is dedicated to multiple screens and split-screens often used in last three decades. Multiple and split-screen techniques are used in film and video art; their possibilities are exhausted in computer science and digital media. The author concludes that the future of window as an architectural element is unquestionable, but the future of screen as virtual window must be examined; in decades to come the screen may dissolve in new ways of uploading images and data, which exclude the optics of vision.

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – KRITIKA)

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## **LOCIRANJE SINTAKSE: IZMENLJIVOST ODNOSA LIKOVNE PREDSTAVE I UPISANOG TEKSTA U SAVREMENIM POSLEDICAMA**

Funkcija izražavanja što određuje nastanak likovnog dela istovremeno je i sprega odnosa prema saznanjima vidljivih odlika. Opšte uzev, opažena svojstva likovne kompozicije, u istorijskom trenutku kakav je današnji, podleću činjenicama preispitivanja porekla informisanosti, gde se sustižu pitanja tradicije, okružujućeg uticaja i stvaralačke razvojnosti upućujući na neophodnost diskontinuiteta. Ispisana slika, plakat ili zidna interevenicija, kreiranje slova i rečenica u slobodnom prostoru samo pojačavaju prodor jezika i gramatike, ali i njihovo ukidanje, te su razgovetnost i odstupanje postali epiteti razvijenog globalnog i međusobnog naslojavanja savremene kulture.

Obnovljena neo-vavilonska referentnost umetnosti jezika i vidljivosti teksta dospela je u podrazumevajući modus koja strukturno, planski i individualistički izražajno prenosi naša poimanja društvenih okolnosti i statusa prirode ka složenim suprotnostima društvenih, političkih i autobiografskih pobuda.

Istoričnost pojedinih primera, međutim, učestalo se poistovećuje s novom arheologijom humanističkih nauka uopšte, te se, prateći civilizacijski trag i uvide Mišela Fukoa prevrednovanje prati na odstupanjima od kulturnih totaliteta. Već decenijama, teorijski je otvorena revizija ili genealogija značenjskih uočavanja, i to kako se, dvojna veza vidljive predstave i napisa u kakvoj god sredini, uopšte ispoljava. Među najprivlačnijim primerima takvog traganja za uporednim čitanjem je ispitivanje slike i teksta ili, isto tako, znaka i zapisa. Premda je taj odnos prenaseljen

modernističkim paradoksima svojih razvoja i vlastite stilske odlike i porekla, on prodorno zauzima savremene istorijske etape, prožimajući sva istraživanja vizuelne kulture, kao i posledice informatičkih povezivanja koje poseduje svoje predstave i lingvističke zakonitosti.

Na koji način se generiše vidljivost i poimanje jezika, taj medijski pravac razložnog zaključivanja kome smo svi podložni? Medijska sfera posle informatičke revolucije, markiranja hipertekstova ili biološkog traganja za odrednicama koje su semiotičari tek naslućivali, nalazi se na značenjskoj raskrsnici.



KORICE KNJIGE UMETNOST I TEKST, 2009

odrednica usmerilo je revolucionarnost predstave koja je u izmenjenoj ruskoj svakodnevicu posle sovjetske revolucije bila vesnik novih idealizama kod El Lisickog i Majakovskog. Upravo je njihova saradnja na knjizi 'Za glas' pokazala pomešanost nekadašnjih umetničkih oprečnosti, jer je uključivala slike nastale iz slovnih znakova i odredila markantnu oblast uređenja i dizajniranje poruke, plakata i umetničke slike revolucionarne Sovjetske Rusije.

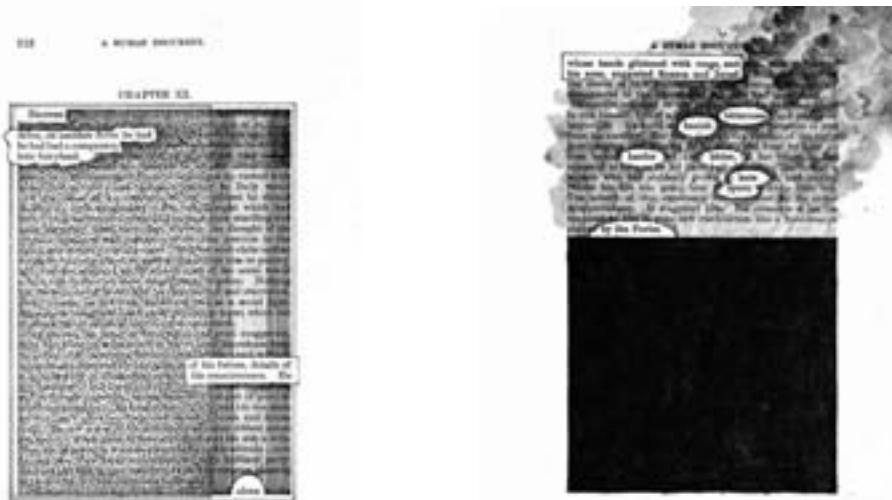
Kako se, međutim, u ranom 21. veku u svojstvima repertoara svih mogućih medijskih i nametnutih korišćenja slovnog ili tipografskog znaka i ukomponovane slike odvija teorijska refleksija savremenog proučavanja u uvređenom interdisciplinarnom kontekstu?

Postoji, bezmalo konsenzus u slobodi izraza gde je uputno istaći Vitgenštajnov stav o sopstvenom istraživačkom radu, ponikao iz *Tractatusa*: "Sve što vidimo možda je i nešto drugo. Jednako tako i sve ono što opišemo može da bude i nešto drugo". Gramatička sintaksa ili puko grafičko korišćenje reči i smisla kao i autorsko rešenje očekivanog spoja boje, linearnosti i likovne predstave sa upisanim tekstom ili slovnim i numeričkim znacima, pokatkad teži, a što su pioniri modernizma iskazali, i predstavi oslobođenoj od značenja.

Taj pravac preispitivanja ustaljen je najuočljivije usponom i metodičkim objedinjenjem konceptualne umetnosti u poznim šezdesetim godinama. Delo Jozefa Košuta 'Jedna i tri stolice' (1965) ta koncepcijska rasprava o sistemu jezika i poimanja pokazala se kao istrajna oblikovna matrica za mnoge tipove i vrste preispitivanja jednako u Sauserovom poimanju jezika i razradi pionirske umetnosti slike i teksta tog razdoblja kao semiotekstualne označavajuće i relacione

Markantni pojedinci u likovnoj umetnosti modernizma unosili su obrt lingvističkog izneveravanja racionalnosti i logike viđenog i saznanog. Istorijska mera kojom se Fuko bavio čuvenom Magritovom slikom lule s naslikanim ispisom 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe' (*Ovo nije lula*), delom nastalim 1929, otvorilo je pitanja kaligrama jezika i mentalnih principa kojima se i od pre, avangardna umetnost, od Kubizma i konstruktivnih pravaca bavila. Ona nam je od tada i ponudila i činjenicu postojanja granice jednakosti u kompozicijama predstavljenih graničnika između grafičkih znakova reči i smisaonog imenovanja, te fizičkog postojanja samog predmeta. Novonastala ideogramatika iznedrila je niz takvih paradoksa, po kojima se korišćenje upisanog ili tipografskog materijala u likovnom delu određuje u svojstvu dinamične strategije i logičkog poigravanja samih stvaralaca prema okolini. Jezik figurativnog opisa, ili korišćenje tipografskih elemenata i rebusnih

postavke generisane u realnosti, te podvrgnute središtu pažnje mislilaca kao što su Bart i Derida. U savremenoj umetnosti posle 2000-te, relacioni aspekti vizuelne umetnosti i vidljivosti i čitljivosti teksta i slovnog znaka umnogome su se nasložili ka određenjima intertekstualnosti i provokativnim postavkama u okrilju društvenog konteksta. Usledili su modusi za vrste izražajnosti sa zajedničkim imeniteljima tematizacije umetnosti. Naglašeni su aspekti odnosa ka teritoriji, prema društvenim silama, posledicama globalizacije kao i neretko humora u zapletima prostornog i ličnog identiteta.



TOM FILIPS, *DOKUMENT LJUDSKOSTI – LJUDSKI SPOMENIK*, 1970

Jezički oslonac nije sada više samo lingvistička i pojmovna alatka, te su sintaksa i slikovitost mnogih autorskih pisama zauzeli svojevrсна konstruisanja predstave o posve ličnom umetničkom stavu. Rani eksperimenti sa likovnom jezičkom sintaksom i odmaknutim smislom koji su inaugurisali, pored Košuta, rodonačelnici pravca u angloameričkoj sredini Lorens Vajner, Marta Rozler, Džon Baldesari i Art & Language postaću autoritativna platforma za raznolike povode u feminističkoj praksi, odnosima snage i autoritarnosti, ideoloških oznaka i stapanja medijuma koji susret prizora i teksta pronose kao sastavni deo javne i kulturološke savesti. Ne čudi da se, s toga, odvažno umetničko pronicanje kao i društveno suprotstavljanje, neretko i sa svim znacima postmoderne trūišne koketerije, javlja u svim medijskim izrazima, potpomognuto od strane prostorno i teorijski osvešćenih stvaralaca široko rasprostranjenog polja neo-konceptualne umetnosti i uopšte umetničkog ponašanja u vremenima tranzicije ranog 21. veka.

U tom smislu svakako da se u društvenim naukama uticajni Pjer Burdijeov tretman umetnosti i estetskog podvrgava socijalnoj konstrukciji i antropološkim, nadasve kontekstualnim okriljima gde primeri vidljivosti i teksta postaju dinamična interrelacija umetnosti kao fizičkog i idealnog proizvoda i društvene konstrukcije koja ih izaziva. Otud se i kod Burdijea zamena 'kantovske' čistote preglednosti kroz korišćenje jezika preobraža u neophodni sociološki pogled, platformu što po ovom uticajnom teoretičaru tranzicije možda vraća herojsku ulogu umetnosti u društvu. Zato se postavka teksta i prizora, maksimalizacija upotrebe, sloga, vrste pisma, fizičke veličine i dejstva pokazuje kao nadopuna ideje entropije u umetnosti i materijalnosti koju je Košutov

savremenik, Lend art pionir Robert Smitson uveo u svojim skicama i zapisima još polovinom šezdesetih godina.

Međutim, svi vidovi i primeri koji se u poslednjih četvrt veka javljaju, uporno prate kontekstualnu provokaciju teksta kao iskaza, jednako fragmenta, citata, pojačanja i marketinške upotrebe gde se pažnja i pogled javnosti istrajno izaziva. Dela autorki Barbare Kruger, Dženi Holcer ili grupe Gerila Grls nadopunjuju se s globalnim akcijama i specifičnostima mesta povoda i medija. Raspon za odnos vizuelne predstave i teksta u svim vidovima uključuje prostorne instalacije markiranih rečenica Lijama Gilika, fotografije s prisustvom islamske žene u odlomcima farsi teksta Širin Nešat ili arhitektonski ostaci i kartografski uvidi iščezlog teksta i toponima u slikarstvu Giljerma Kuitke.



KSU BING, *KULTURNA ŽIVOTINJA*, 1994

Kroz pitanje tog stapajućeg određenja nalazi se i nizanje aktivnog saznanja iz umetnosti preko knjiga, kataloga i ekrana, što putem ilustracija, slajdova i filmskih fragmenata ima preimućstvo u komunikaciji.

Nominovanje te sfere post-Dišanovske linije umetnosti kritičkog pojačanja sistema označavanja javiće se kao svojevrsna nova istorija ironijskog i pokatakad ciničnog obračuna s ustaljenim odredbama funkcionisanja poimanja društva.

Za razliku od pionirskog doba modernizma (tipografija, konstruktivna upotreba slova i značenja u slici), dela u poslednje tri decenije veka – upisi, naznake i rečenice, stapanje izvesnog post-arhivskog posla autora kakvi su recimo Meri Keli i Hans Hake, nadopunila su “estetiku administriranja” – po terminu Benjamina Buhloha vezanom za širenje analitičke, ideogramske i uopšte lingvističke strane konceptualne umetnosti.

U jeku širenja, i sada recikliranja i takvih mogućnosti, postaje jasno da se na plakatsko informacijski način obavlja i medijacija o umetnikovoj koncepciji ili proseyu. Potraga za primerima je manje lingvistička i logička operacija, a pre dokazni rezultat termina postprodukcija, kojom Nikolas Burio, tvorac sintagme “relaciona estetika” ukazuje na način međuljudskog i mentalnog oblikovanja, i to stvaranja ili reakcije koji je Marsel Dišan prozvao “koeficijent umetnosti”. Otud se umetnici teksta i pronalaze utemeljeni u ontologiji stavralaštva koja je i dovela do društvenih modela umetničko-tekstualnih kontinuiteta. Za njih, društvene protivurečnosti i psihološke i socijalne pometnje postaju visoko vrednovan i najuočljiviji obrazac shvatanja o pomeranju savremene vizuelne umentosti što traga za pronicanjima i otkrićima u shvatanjima realno

Savremeno korišćenje jezika u razdoblju aktuelnih kretanja može se sagledati kao proširenje i usložnjavanje tog nekadašnjeg prvog talasa sprege slike i teksta iz šezdesetih godina. U raznolikim slučajevima, čini se da se tekst, kao i iskidana, naznačena ili čak i nerazumljiva sintaksa u pojedinim primerima javlja u smislu kodifikacije i procesualnosti koji je u polje vizuelne umetnosti uneseno kroz integrisane pravce informatičkih i kompjuterskih načela.

uočljivog i shvaćenog iskaza, i to u bilo kom mediju. U njima se slika i tekst, kao znak i rečenica pojavljuju i kroz svest o pokatkad neshvatljivim mogućnostima dinamike naše percepcije.

Iz tih razloga, raspon zbornika objavljenog u Velikoj Britaniji, 'Umetnost i tekst' (*Art and Text*, Black Dog Publishing, London 2009) koji je priredila Ejmi Selbi pokazao se kao neophodan studijski pregled, i to ne samo istorijskih primera od referenci na izvorne primere moderne umetnosti (Futuristi, Apoliner, ruski konstruktivizam, Šviteri) i kasnijih odraza unutar razvojnih linija posleratnih eksperimenata (grupe Fluxus, Konceptualna umetnost, Jozef Košut, Lorens Vajner, Art & Language). Uz uključene tekstove koji vrednuju istorijsko naasleđe i vrednovanje konceptualne umetnosti, eseje Vil Hila i Čarlsa Harisona, uput prema posledicama umetnosti teksta u tekućem razdoblju, a sa svim multikulturalnim linijama istraživački je postavio Dejv Bič. Ovakva svojevrsna i debatno otvorena antologija, po prvi put je razložno podeljena na velike slikovne celine naslovljene: 'Tekst', 'Kontekst', 'Semiotekst' i 'Tekstualnost'. Knjiga se po objedinjavanju slikovnog materijala pokazala kao izdavački poduhvat britanske tradicije teorije i tumačenja savremene umetnosti. U sažetim priložima i izboru neosporna je jezička prefinjenost prema velikim razlikama među subkulturama i jezicima različitih domena i klasa. Izbor je strukturalno polje savremenih umetničkih domašaja prema složenim jezičkim izvođačkim postavkama raznih medija i dimenzija gde se uočljiva zabavna sprema vizuelizacije teksta kao slike odnosi prema svojevrsnim strategijama opstanka u današnjoj kulturi.

Neosporna stvarnost i lingvistički obrt, moguće je, svoje kreativne prodore sadrže u najmanje uočljivim preduzimanjima i intervencijama. Jedna od takvih avantura u nalaženju i kreiranju slike iz teksta, ali i novog teksta iz ponuđene sintakse odvijala se od sredine šezdesetih godina i potekla je usled jezičkog osamostaljivanja, kao i likovnih tehnika koje su pronosili konkretna poezija, letrizam i operativni pravci spekulacija sa imenovanjem i značenjem konceptualne umetnosti. Ona pripada londonskom slikaru Pop Artu i Nove figuracije Tomu Filipisu: njegova istrajna preokupacija vezuje se za nađeni predmet, zapravo tretman opskurnog romana 'Dokument ljudskosti' (*A Human Document*) viktorijanskog pisca konzervativnih stavova Artura Maloka, knjige romana žanra sazrevanja iz 1892, čiji je odbačeni položaj u jednoj starinarnici južnog Londona po sasvim kejdžovskoj recepturi nasumičnog izbora urodila odvažnim domišljanjem i kompozicionim aranžmanima mogućih slikovnih i sintaksičkih paralelizama. Iz stranice u stranicu, sada novog tretiranog viktorijanskog romana, potom i jezički preimenovanog u '*A Humument*' (jezička igra iz sintagme cilja na značenje - 'ljudski spomenik' / prim. /) doslovce se kompozicioni okvir pokazuje kao kolažna poniruća verzija odmaknuta od tekstualnog predloška u domen novonastale opažajne egzistencije. Filipis će iz stranice u stranicu ponuditi izvesnu gorko moralističku varijantu koja ne samo da će nadmašiti literarni model teme sazrevanja, već će u skraćenju pojedinih reči pronaći i identitet svog vlastitog novostvorenog junaka. Lepljenje, farbanje pasaža i pasusa i određivanje pojedinih sintaksi na svakoj od stranica starog viktorijanskog romana postaje rearanžiranje s predumišljajem. U smislu *Gesamtkunstswerka* proisteklog iz takvog zamaha u više decenija, rezultati se nabrajaju kao kratka opera, izmenjene stranice iz romana uvećane ka formatima ulja na platnu ali i ponovljeni postupak u nekoliko kasnije pronađenih verzija istog dorađivanog i iznova menjanog naslova. One su smisaono i sintaksički pružene u različitim pravcima, a koje je izdavač (Thames and Hudson) revnosno pratio i za javnost, od prve štampane verzija s početka osamdesetih godina do najnovijih izdanja tokom tri nastupajuće decenije.

Izmenljivost mnogoobraznih efekata jezika poseduje neprekinutu mrežu analogija, te se i izrazi performasno ambijentalnog uredjenja javljaju u angažovanim preispitujućim proširenjima u rasponu od delovanja Fluxus-a pa sve do zapadnih modela jezika kao kulturnog znakovnog

obeležja razračuna s ideologijom, kapitalizmom i istorijskim paradoksima (spomenici Hansa Hakea). Pojednost iskaza kao reklamni neonski natpis odvešće i primere svedenih upozoravajućih kletvi kao korišćenje latinskog kod velškog umetnika Serit Vin Evansa koji je rafinovanim prostornim postavkama sa slovnim iskazima proširio pojam talasa nove britanske umetnosti od ranih devedesetih godina. Prostor jezika i spisa je tradicijski rastegljiv te se i savremeni kineski umetnik Ksu Bing u performansu 'Kulturna životinja' s kineskom kaligrafijom na telima svinja javlja kao smeli pratilac mnogostrukog sociološkog opita, pokazujući se kao primer jezičko slikovnog meteža razdoblja globalne tranzicije.

Zanimljive vrste jezičkih sistematičnih prožimanja, ne bez stapanja sa svetom reklame i masovnih komunikacija pružice autorski primeri mlađih generacija: tako se na način she-matskog prikaza mnogostrukosti procesa i međuuticaja savremene kulture, od individualnih pojava, preko pravaca, grupisanja, preklapanja i raznolikih dejstava u svojim sredinama i globalnom umreženju pokazuju duhovita dela Vorda Šelija. Putem doslovnih grafičkih karti kao ostvarenja za galerije oni objedinjuju pokazatelje istorije umetnosti i biografije, namereno se postavljajući kao istoriografski odraz istrnutog neprekinutog prostora, nalik na presek organskih bioloških funkcija i, samim tim, značenja teksta i imena u slikovitim istorijskim izmenama.

I sa svim operativnim gramatičkim, grafičkim i ostalim svojstvima protok i postavke odnosa slikovitosti predstave s uključenim tekstom pokazaće se kao sabrana i uznemirujuća ponuda. U oba registra vidljive i saznajne predstave i u vidljivosti kreirane celine i znacima ili sklopovima raznolikih jezika, a pogotovo u savremenim primerima umetnosti pokazuje suštinu ekstatično rastegljive anamneze današnje egzistencije.

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LOCATING THE SYNTAX: CHANGING RELATIONS OF VISUAL AND TEXTUAL  
REPRESENTATION UNDER CONTEMPORARY EFFECTS

*Summary:*

The text makes a brief survey of an everlasting relationship between artistic depiction and textual and linguistic content. It is aimed at a relevant establishment of artistic experiments in textual tracings, as well as differences between subversion form Modernist period, up to the examples of post -conceptual codifying of new boundaries between word and image. While showcasing several examples, the text remarks on diversity of methods and quests for creative contexts as well as to the respected artistic practitioners. There is a reviewing reference to a book monography 'Art and Text' (Black Dog Publishing, London 2009).

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – KRITIKA)



***NAGRADA LAZAR TRIFUNOVIĆ 2009.***



Ješa Denegri

## **SIMPTOMI SRPSKE UMETNIČKE SCENE POSLE DVEHILJADITE**

### **Na početku nove periodizacije**

Umetnička zbivanja u poslednjoj deceniji prošlog veka u Srbiji obrađena su izložbama „Beogradska umetnička scena devedesetih“ u Galeriji Remont 2002, „O normalizaciji“ u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, 2005. godine, za područje Vojvodine izložbom „Fatalne devedesete“ u Muzeju savremene likovne umetnosti u Novom Sadu 2001, time su – razume se uz mogućnost drugačijih viđenja, valorizovanja i naknadnih revizija – obavljene prve istorizacije jednog izuzetno burnog perioda domaće umetnosti. Nedugo potom, prelaskom u novi vek i novi milenijum, zahvaljujući tada novonastalim umetničkim pojavama, otvara se tekuća i aktuelna situacija sasvim uopšteno nazvana „umetnošću posle dvehiljadite“. Nije, naravno, jedino u (vizuelnoj) umetnosti i jedino kod nas početak veka i milenijuma prelomna hronološka granica, taj je početak ujedno i međaš političkih i svekolikih drugih zbivanja na globalnom nivou, a bez obzira na to što nigde i nikada nema prekida i zastoja u odvijanju toka života izvesno ipak jeste da ni ukupna svetska situacija posle njujorškog jedanaestog septembra 2001. definitivno više nije istovetna prethodnoj. Na domaćoj pak političkoj sceni posle dvehiljadite nastupa razdoblje uslovno nazvane postsocijalističke tranzicije sa svim njenim brojnim i krupnim kontraverzama. U takvim izmenjenim prilikama u politici, ekonomiji, kulturi i svakodnevnoj stvarnosti menja se i savremena umetnička situacija u kojoj je – za razliku od devedesetih godina prošlog veka kada se moglo govoriti o stanju „umetnosti u zatvorenom društvu“ ili o „opstanku umetnosti u vremenu krize“ – danas i ovde čini se vrlo teško utvrditi koji koji bi to zbirni termini adekvatno mogli da označe trenutno stanje na domaćoj umetničkoj sceni u klimi globalne potpune nepreglednosti savremene umetnosti.

### **Teorijski i kritički aparati**

Globalnoj umetničkoj situaciji u stanju potpune nepreglednosti primereni su odgovarajući teorijski i kritički pristupi koji poreklom više nisu iz kanonskih metodologija istorije umetnosti nego se zasnivaju na interdisciplinarnim i intertekstulanim raspravama posredstvom kojih se pojave savremene umetnosti mogu da čitaju i tumače kao kulturološki fenomeni svojstveni stvarnosti savremenog masovnog potrošačkog i medijskog društva. Aparati takvih čitanja i tumačenja izvode se iz koncepta Dantoovog „sveta umetnosti“, Burioove „relacione estetike“ i „umetnosti postprodukcije“, Mišoove „umetnosti u rasplinutom stanju“, „umetnosti u stanju posle posle“ (posle modernizma, posle postmodernizma, posle postpostmodernizma) Hola Fosterera, „kontekstulane umetnosti“ Pola Ardena, Grojsove „umetnosti u doba biopolitike“, Šuva-kovićeve „umetnosti u doba kulture“, „dijaloške“ i „participacijske umetnosti“ Kler Bišop, jednostavno, „umetnosti posle dvehiljadite“ Bonita Olive i „savremene umetnosti“ Katrin Mile, za sredine nekadašnjeg jugoslovenskog umetničkog prostora zajedno „umetnosti u post-socijalizmu“ Marine Gržinić itd. Iz celog konglomerata tih različitih uvida, evidencija, tematizacija, hipoteza, argumentacija i zaključaka (a koje se navedenim referencama nipošto ne završavaju) mogli bi da proiziđu instrumenti sagledavanja i razumevanja aktuelne umetničke situacije, najpre u njenoj globalnoj makroteritoriji a potom znatno detaljnije i u pojedinim njenim parcijalnim i lokalnim mikroteritorijama.

### **Međunarodna kontekstualizacija srpske umetnosti posle dvehiljadite**

Sve vodeće umetničke pojave u nekadašnjem jugoslovenskom kulturnom prostoru u razdoblju posleratnog modernizma, podjednako one u središnjoj kao i one na alternativnoj poziciji, takođe i one u razdoblju pluralističkog postmodernizma, svoju su međunarodnu kontekstualizaciju podrazumevale u ambijentu zapadnoevropskog kulturnog kruga smatrajući se njegovom integralnom komponentom i kada za to uvek nisu posedovale dovoljno faktičkog pokrića. U devedesetim godinama prošlog veka u Srbiji čak se i takav hipotetički kontekst gubi u prilikama tadašnje političke i kulturne izolacije domaće sredine. A kada je do obnove učestalijih relacija sa međunarodnim umetničkim zbivanjima posle dvehiljadite najzad došlo, ta će se kontekstualizacija početi da odvija u ranije nepredviđenim uslovima i okvirima. Naime, početak te kontekstualizacije obeležen je izložbom „After the Wall- Art and Culture in postcommunist Europe“, po koncepciji Bojane Pejić i Dejvida Eliota u Muzeju Moderne umetnosti u Stokholmu 1999-2000, nedugo potom uslediće serija autorskih izložbi kuratora prestižne stručne međunarodne reputacije kao što su „In search of Balkania“ Petera Vajbla u Gracu 2002, „Blut und honig – Die Zukunft ist am Balkan“ Harald Zemana u Beču 2003, „Inder Schluchten des Balkans“ Renea Bloka u Kaselu 2003, za koje je izložbe već iz samih njihovih naziva odmah uočljivo i karakteristično da kao zajedničku odrednicu poseduju u sebi pojam Balkan. Dakako da taj pojam, iako opterećen davnim i nedavnim negativnim stereotipima, nipošto ne bi trebalo smatrati unapred neprimerenim, pitanje je jedino otkuda i zbog čega se upravo sada, dakle početkom dvehiljadi-tih, javlja takva kontekstualizacija savremene srpske umetnosti? Izvesno jeste da su pre nego prevashodno iz umetničkih, za upotrebu ovog pojma u vezi sa pomenutim izložbama postojali određeni politički razlozi i interesi kulturnih institucija i pojedinaca zahvaljujući kojima je taj pojam iznenada uveden u opticaj, da bi pritom kao pozitivnu posledicu ovih izložbi valjalo istaći činjenicu da su one znatnom broju umetnika sa ovih prostora pružile šansu nastupa na međunarodnoj umetničkoj sceni nedugo posle prethodne nepodnošljive nametnute izolacije. Pomak u međunarodnoj kontekstualizaciji savremene srpske umetničke scene ponovo ka širim evropskim koordinatama stigao je – možda paradoksalno – umesto od inostranih upravo od

domaćih organizacionih inicijativa. Naime, posle izložbe „Konverzacija“ autora Branislave Anđelković, Branislava Dimitrijevića i Dejana Sretenovića u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Beogradu 2001, reformom Oktobarskog salona od lokalne do međunarodne manifestacije, započetoj izložbom „Kontinentalni doručak“ Ande Rotenberg i nastavljenoj sledećim godinama izložbama „Umetnost koja radi“ Darke Radosavljević, i Nebojše Vilića 2005, „Umetnost, život i pometnja“ Renea Bloka i Barbare Hajnrih 2006. i „Mikronarativi“ Lorana Heđija 2007, uz brojne druge priredbe međunarodnog karaktera, Beograd u meri sopstvenih raspoloživih intelektualnih i finansijskih mogućnosti postaje pozornicom internacionalnog umetničkog okupljanja. Ne treba, pri tome, zapostaviti ni konceptijski srodne poduhvate u vojvođanskom umetničkom prostoru. Time je u principu uspostavljen zapravo jedini strateški prihvatljiv model ili primer međunarodne kontekstualizacije savremene srpske umetnosti posle dvehiljadite koji – ukazujući se po tome uzorom za sve ostale oblike političkih, ekonomskih i kulturnih integracija – uslovljava da savremena srpska umetnička scena po svojim kreativnim i institucionalnim kapacitetima i potencijalima danas se čini spremnom i sposobnom da uskoro definitivno postane neodvojivi deo regionalne i šire evropske tekuće umetničke situacije.

### **Elementi institucionalnog sistema umetnosti**

Tekući umetnički život u Srbiji posle dvehiljadite odvija se unutar institucionalnog umetničkog sistema uglavnom zatečenog iz prethodnih razdoblja, ali takođe i sa karakterističnim promenama proizišlih iz ukupnih promena društvenih, političkih i kulturnih prilika poslednje decenije. Na vrhu tog sistema nalaze se dva Muzeja savremene umetnosti, u Beogradu i Novom Sadu, prvi znatno revitalizovan posle teške krize u vreme prethodne uprave, sa bogatim izlagačkim programom u studijskim obradama daljeg i bližeg istorijskog nasleđa (retrospektive Golubovića, Dobrovića, Tabakovića, Lubarde, Otaševića, Iljovskog, Todosijevića, Paripovića retrospektivom domaće umetnosti devedesetih „O normalnosti“), obnovom međunarodne saradnje (izložbe kolekcije Erste Banke, savremene britanske umetnosti „U raskoraku“ i dr.), uz konstantne prezentacije domaće i inostrane tekuće produkcije u Salonu. Izuzetno je intezivna izlagačka i izdavačka aktivnost Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Novom Sadu, sa završenim međunarodnim konkursom za podizanje nove zgrade upravo pred početnim stadijumom izgradnje, sa značajnom studijskom izložbom „Centralnoevropski aspekti vojvođanskih avangardi 1920-2000“, 2002, retrospektivama Matkovića, Sombatija i Kopicla, te brojnim priredbama aktuelne umetnosti u sopstvenoj sredini i šire u regionu. Ostale nezaobilazne scene odvijanja domaćeg umetničkog života čine budžetske i privatne izlagačke institucije (pored već pomenutog Oktobarskog salona, likovni program Belef-a, galerije Udruženja likovnih i primenjenih umetnika Srbije, Kulturnog centra, Doma omladine, Studentskog kulturnog centra, Grafičkog kolektiva, gradska galerija Beograd, Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju, Remont, Cinema Rex, Magazin, galerije Kontekst, Ozone, Zvono, Kiosk, Haos, internacionalna radionica „Real Presence“ koja okuplja mlade umetnike i studente umetničkih akademija), u Novom Sadu Centar za nove medije Kuda.org i Centar za vizuelnu kulturu Zlatno oko, reformisani Memorijal Nadežde Petrović u Čačku i druge ustanove i inicijative koje ovom prilikom nenamerno ne uspevamo da zabeležimo. Nenadoknadivu pak prazninu ostavlja prestanak organizovanja Bijenala mladih u Vršcu i zastoj u delovanju Savremene galerije u Pančevu. Ostali važni faktori sistema umetnosti jesu povremeni otkupi tekuće produkcije od strane gradske otkupne komisije, privatno kolekcionarstvo u začetku (sa izuzetno nedavno otvorenom institucijom Muzej Macura u Novim Banovcima), a celokupnu aktivnost postojećeg sistema umetnosti i aktuelnih umetničkih praksi prati neadekvatna pažnja elektronskih i štampanih medija, nedostatna časopisna

produkcija svedena na magazin Remont i Artfamu, što uslovljava teškoće sadašnjeg delovanja i položaja likovne kritike koja dovoljno ažurno ne stiže da konceptualno artikuliše idejne i problemske tokove na srpskoj umetničkoj sceni posle dvehiljadite.

### **Karakteristike umetničkih praksi posle dvehiljadite**

Shodno principima postmodernističkog pluralizma, savremene umetničke prakse podvrgavaju se načelu legitimnosti svih upotrebljivih jezika i sredstava među kojima nema nikakvih unapred privilegovanih opcija, stoga danas ravnopravno traju manuelni postupci (slikarstvo, crtež, skulptura) i uz njih postupci proizišli iz produkcija statičnih i pokretnih tehničkih predstava (fotografija, fil, video). Na savremenoj srpskoj umetničkoj sceni definitivno je neodrživa navodna podela na klasične i nove medije, što je ustvari lažna dilema na kojoj voli da insistira jedan deo površno obavestene domaće javnosti. Jednako tako više ne postoji podela po sociološkom i ideološkom ključu prema modelima *mainstreama* i alternative. Ubedljivo glasi Grojsova tvrdnja po kojoj se savremene umetnici posvuda u svetu koriste istovetnim izražajnim sredstvima posredstvom kojih obrađuju teme i sadržaje svojstvene specifičnim društveno-političkim prilikama sopstvenih sredina. Pojam „globalno“ u savremenoj socijalnoj teoriji sve češće ustupa mesto pojmu „glokalno“, a taj isti pojam moguće je primeniti i na zbivanja u savremenoj umetnosti. Ne samo u širokom međunarodnom području nego čak i u pojedinim užim lokalnim scenama poput srpske posle dvehiljadite, osnovni karakteristični simptom situacije jeste nepreglednost i nesagledivost umetničkih zbivanja u kojima među njihovim akterima iz više aktivnih generacija umetnika, kritičara i kuratora danas više ne postoji potpuni konsenzus u vezi prepoznavanja i određivanja uloga, statusa i vrednosti mnogobrojnih individualnih doprinosa. U takvoj haotičnoj umetničkoj situaciji u kojoj su u opticaju vrlo različite solucije, svako od aktera na sceni opredeljuje se prema nekim sopstvenim merilima, sklonostima i interesima, što uslovljava da se trenutna umetnička situacija – u svim sredinama pa tako i u Srbiji posle dvehiljadite – odvija u rasponima između poželjne neograničene slobode umetnosti s jedne i njene nepoželjne prebrze permanentne potrošnje mnogih uloženi energija i ostvarenih dometa s druge strane ovog krajnje udaljenog polaznog raspona.

Između preovlađujućih apolitičkih umetničkih individualanih ispovesti, pojedinačnih privatnosti, subjektivnih naracija odreda na pretpostavkama autonomije umetnosti i retkih povremenih političkih zaoštavanja umetničkih stavova nastalih u uslovima krajnje polarizovanog i konfliktnog srpskog društva u nepredvidljivim uslovima postsocijalističke tranzicije odvija se ovdašnji umetnički život posle dvehiljadite. Neku uhodanu atmosferu trajanja domaćeg umetničkog života tek na trenutak prekidaju žestoki angažmani poput onog Živka Grozdanića i njegovog osobenog „ΠΟΠ Arta“ ili pak ekscesi poput nedavnog nasilnog sprečavanja otvaranja izložbe „Odstupanje – savremena umetnička scena Prištine“ u Galeriji Kontekst. Šta danas i ovde, zapravo, sačinjava ukupnu scenu savremene umetnosti, kojim se ciljnim grupama ona obraća i na kakvu sve recepciju nailazi, kakve se ideje u njoj pojavljuju, koji su vrednosni dometi u njoj dostignuti, koji se problemi začinju i razvijaju, vrlo je teško i čak nemoguće sagledati samo iz jedne jedine pogotovo kao u slučaju pisca ovih redova danas uveliko autsajderske kritičke pozicije. Jedno bi ipak trebalo da bude izvesno: savremenoj umetnosti u Srbiji, kojoj novu svežinu donose pripadnici generacije umetnika formiranih u obnovljenim normalnim prilikama posle razornih devedesetih godina prošlog veka, traba da je svojstveno neometano slobodno ispoljavanje u mnoštvu ravnopravnih umetničkih jezika i izražajnih medija, kao i njihovih pluralističkih kritičkih prepoznavanja, čitanja i tumačenja. Kao prvi pokušaj takvog prepoznavanja prema jednom od mogućih uzoraka valja zabeležiti formiranje kolekcije savremene srpske

umetnosti u vlasništvu kompanije Telenor. A kada dođe trenutak i steknu se za to neophodni uslovi, obave istraživanja i utvrde kriterijumi, umetnička zbivanja u Srbiji u prvoj deceniji 21. veka obavezno će da postanu predmetom studijske obrade podjednako kao što su takve valorizacije obavljene povodom svih prethodnih razdoblja njenog istorijskog postojanja.

(Tekst je preuzet iz *Remont Art Files 01*, Remont nezavisna umetnička asocijacija, Beograd 2009)

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