

# ZBORNIK

SEMINARA ZA STUDIJE MODERNE UMETNOSTI  
FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA UNIVERZITETA U BEOGRADU 22 – 2026

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OF MODERN ART HISTORY DEPARTMENT  
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE 22 – 2026





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SADRŽAJ / CONTENT

PRILOZI / CONTRIBUTIONS

- Vesna Kruljac 7  
**BRANKO VE POLJANSKI AND  
THE SURREALIST CONCEPT OF IMAGE**
- Vladana Putnik Prica 27  
**PREDSTAVE ODNOSA MODE I UREĐENJA ENTERIJERA  
U ČASOPISU *ŽENA / SVET* (1925–1941)**
- Angelina Banković, Stefan Slavić 39  
**KOMUNICIRANJE SA STILOVIMA I LIKOVNOST  
U DELU ARHITEKTE BRANISLAVA MITROVIĆA**

POLEMIKE / POLEMICS

- Nikola Krstović 57  
**THE ART OF CHOICE: PEGGY GUGGENHEIM**

KRITIKE / REVIEWS

- Milica Pekić 71  
**REVISITING *APRIL ENCOUNTERS*:  
ENACTING ALTERNATIVES**

PRIKAZI / REVIEWS

- Mirko Kokir 87  
**PRIKAZ IZLOŽBE *DAVID HOCKNEY: OD PAPIRA DO EKRANA***
- Katarina Kuč 91  
**PRIKAZ IZLOŽBE  
*ZDRAVKO JOKSIMOVIĆ: SVETLUCAVO PRIJATELJSTVO***



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## **BRANKO VE POLJANSKI AND THE SURREALIST CONCEPT OF IMAGE\***

### *Abstract:*

In the context of the Yugoslav avant-garde, Branko Ve Poljanski (1989–1947) was known as a publicist and poet, ideologue and activists of Zenitism (1921–1926). During the post-Zenitist period (1927–1947) he developed his career as a painter in Paris, where he gained direct insight into the conceptual platform and formal solutions of Surrealism. Despite the animosities between the leaders of the two movements, a considerable portion of Poljanski’s visual production stemmed from the creative assimilation of the Surrealist concept of image, which is reflected in the thematic and formal plane, as well as the metaphors of the scene. This is confirmed by his (self)-reflective artworks, where the main topoi are somnambulistic visions, love, and madness, and the methodology of articulation of the visual expression rests on the primitive lexicon, the principle of free association and procedure of simulated automatism. In a series of self-portraits, depictions of female and male characters, figures and situations, Poljanski develops the image of “otherness” of Caucasian Europeans in principle and the Self in particular, raising the issue of artistic freedom, gender relations, and social morality. Even though not manifestly Surrealism, this is a conceptually very similar but autochthonous understanding and presenting of his own persona and reality.

### *Keywords:*

Branko Ve Poljanski, Primitivism, Zenitism, Surrealism, Syncretism, Fine arts, Paris.

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\* This paper was presented in summary form at the SUR/REALISM (1924/2024) international conference, organised by the Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade, 27–29 November 2024.

In the context of the Yugoslav avant-garde, Branko Micić alias Branko Ve Poljanski (Sošice, Jastrebarsko district, Austria-Hungary, 22 October 1898 – Recloses, near Fontainebleau, France, 14 January 1947) was known as a gifted poet and publicist, prominent activist and impresario of Zenitism.<sup>1</sup> *Spiritus movens* of this first original Yugoslav avant-garde movement and editor of its herald – the *Zenit* international review, which was published in Zagreb (1921–1923) and Belgrade (1924–1926), was Poljanski's older brother, Ljudomir Micić (1895–1971).<sup>2</sup> With the intention of establishing the movement as the only avant-garde in the local art context, Micić challenged the authenticity and creative contribution of Yugo-Dada (1922) and the Belgrade Surrealism (1930–1932), and demanded that the Yugoslav associates of the *Zenit* magazine expressly identify with Zenitism. In relations with foreign artists he largely demonstrated flexibility and openness for their innovative concepts and radical experiments. An exception was André Breton's Surrealist faction,<sup>3</sup> towards which he was quite antagonistic. Yet, the results of recent studies confirm that there were informal contacts and working relations between the Micić brothers and certain Surrealists in Paris and Belgrade (see Ilić and Peruničić 2021, 95, 104, 111, 113, 118; Kruljac 2023, 57), especially during the crisis period and the dissolution of Zenitism, following the ban on *Zenit* No. 43 in December 1926, due to the politically provocative text *Zenitizam kroz prizmu marksizma* (Zenitism through the prism of Marxism). Facing the threat of going to prison, Micić was forced to immediately leave Belgrade and emigrate to France, while Poljanski remained in their homeland, idealistically believing that the battle for Zenitism had still not been lost. Alone in this struggle, and resigned to the constant challenging of this poetic talent, in mid-July 1927 he handed out copies of his books of poetry to passersby in Terazije square, as an act of protest, announcing that he no longer wanted to be a poet in an 'evil world'. Following month he joined his brother in Paris, where he started building his career as a painter.<sup>4</sup>

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1 He was also a theatre actor, editor of the *Svetokret* (The world-goes-round, 1 issue, Ljubljana 1921) avant-garde magazine and the *Kinofon* (12 issues, Zagreb 1921–1922) film review, the first of its kind in Yugoslavia. For recent research on the forms of Poljanski's artistic expression and public activity, including reference sources and literature, see Kruljac 2023.

2 The history of the Zenitist movement and the biography of its leader have been the subject of extensive research and considerations in Serbian art historiography (see Golubović and Subotić 2008).

3 Following the failure of the 1922 'Congrès de Paris' and the split within the Dada movement, poets Paul Dermée and Yvan Goll published the *Surréalisme* magazine in 1922, with the idea of bringing together representatives of different pro-Surrealist tendencies (Gale 1997, 198–217), which was supported by Micić (Golubović and Subotić 2008, 38). This faction was opposed and overpowered by Breton and the group of artists gathered around the Parisian magazine *Littérature*, which in 1924 formed the Surrealist movement. The group of Serbian authors, headed by Marko Ristić, who was the leader of the Belgrade Surrealists after 1930, sided with this faction (see Todić 2002; Sretenović 2016).

4 Letters and newspapers clippings from this period are the main sources pertaining to the last months of Poljanski's stay in Belgrade and his public performance, i.e. protest demonstration in Terazije square (see Ilić and Peruničić 2021, 62–138; Kruljac 2023, 56–58, 111).

Poljanski had first visited the City of Light in 1925/26, when, as a representative of the *Zenit* magazine, he promoted Zenitism through programmatic actions and protest demonstrations, while establishing new artist contacts and expanding the circle of associates of the magazine and movement. At that time, Poljanski took the first steps in trying to profile himself as a painter. Judging by the surviving drawing of a female nude with corrections signed by André Lhote in 1926,<sup>5</sup> this *terminus post quem* year marks the beginning of Poljanski's new artistic experiment. However, this nude and a series of others, which resemble study drawings, are not proof that the artist had studied systematically and zealously at L'Académie André Lhote,<sup>6</sup> like the Yugoslav painters that he interacted with in Paris in 1925/26 and after 1927 (Kruljac 2023, 116–117). Since Poljanski's name is not recorded in the existing documents of the Association André Lhote in Paris, it is presumed that he had attended classes at this respectable painting school informally and sporadically. His works created after 1928 do not contain the typical Lhotesque geometric composition construction and form modulation,<sup>7</sup> which leads to the conclusion that Poljanski primarily mastered the formal elements, creative principles, drawing and painting techniques on his own. In establishing himself as a painter, he assimilated and adapted different models of expression that were current on the Paris scene at the time to his fundamentally primitivistic conception of visuality.

In the years after the First World War, strong authorial personalities, numerous groups, associations and movements were active on the internationalised Parisian scene, as exponents of stylistically and conceptually divergent artistic trends. Modern art developed freely, however, during the period of postwar consolidation and in the atmosphere of increased nationalism, the dominant tendency was directed towards restoring traditional spiritual, ethical and aesthetical values. Consequently, the leading movements were Art Deco and 'return to order' (from the French *retour à l'ordre*),<sup>8</sup> the anti-avant-garde phenomenon embodied in the artists associated with

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5 Even though himself a self-taught painter, André Lhote (1885–1962) had made the journey from Impressionism, to Cézanneism and Cubism, to Post-Cubism and interwar Classicism. Starting in 1915/16 he built in parallel a career as a teacher at several 'free' art academies located on Boulevard de Montparnasse and on Boulevard Raspail, and in 1925 he founded L'Académie André Lhote in Paris, at 18 Rue d'Odessa (Bermann Martin 2020, 18–29).

6 Due to Lhote's open teaching approach and the flexibility of the school's study programme, during the interwar period L'Académie André Lhote was considered one of the most popular private art schools in Paris, especially among émigré artists. The Academy's secretary was Nicolas Poliakov, a Russian-born painter and former student of the Art School in Belgrade, which likely contributed to the large number of Yugoslav artists opting to study under Lhote (Marten Mari and Ambrozić 1974, 23–27; Magaš Bilandžić 2017, 91–95).

7 Even though he insisted on the supremacy of composition, geometric form, articulation of movement and harmonisation of formal elements, Lhote respected the individual approach and inventiveness of his students in solving these problems (Merenik 2016, 22–23).

8 The syntagm 'return to order' was introduced into the theoretical discourse by Jan Cocteau in 1926, as the umbrella term for a series of *neo* and *retro* phenomena in art, based on the realistic paradigm and revival of the traditional concept of the painting (Silver 2010, 35).

the School of Paris,<sup>9</sup> along with Lhote as one of its leading proponents. Founded on the reaffirmation of artistic tradition, the renewal of the figure and narration, conventional genres and techniques, this tendency was manifested in a series of different morphological variants.<sup>10</sup> Another parallel tendency was the *avant-garde*. It was extremely unsympathetic towards academic tradition, but endorsing creative freedoms, the power of artistic imagination, and the idea of revolution through art. This artistic formation encompassed aesthetic concepts based on the language of abstraction and geometric matrix (Orphism 1912, Circle et Carré (Circle and square) 1929, Abstraction-Création 1931), Parisian Dada (1919), and its offshoot – the Surrealist movement (1924). In the articulation of the Surrealist concept of image, manual deftness was no longer crucial, but the artists' propensity to oneric or eccentric visual expression and formal experimentation. It was manifested in the stylistic and linguistic heterogeneity of the expression models (ranging from abstraction to figuration), as well as a series of nonstandard operative procedures and artistic creations. In the search for inspiration, Breton and his circle recognised the primitive cultures from Asia and Oceania, the European artistic heritage from the near and distant past, as well as the creativity of mentally challenged persons, children and autodidactic artists, i.e. visual forms devoid of rational logic, academic canons, and Western cultural conventions (Rhodes 1994, 110). The preferred literary templates were the works of Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Isidore Ducasse alias Comte de Lautréamont, Marquis de Sade or Guillaume Apollinaire, and the leading exemplars in the domain of fine arts were Gustave Moreau, Giorgio de Chirico, Paul Klee, and Pablo Picasso, in one word the champions of authentic artistic imaginativeness. Inspired by psychoanalysis, the Surrealist artistic practice introduced therapeutic methods of automatic writing and free association (see Vagnoni and Scopelliti 2024, 26–28; Rousseau 2024, 10–12), while somnambulistic visions, love, and madness became the main topoi.<sup>11</sup> Since newer historiography

9 The syntagm 'School of Paris' was introduced into the theoretical discourse by Roger Allard in 1924, as a designation for émigré artists who were active in Paris at the time, and in 1925 critic André Warnod expanded its meaning to include French authors who had joined this artist association. In the initial phase, its main exponents were Kees van Dongen (1897), Jules Pascin (1905), Amedeo Modigliani (1906), Jacques Lipchitz (1909), Moïze Kisling and Marc Chagall (1910), Chana Orloff (1911), Chaïm Soutine and Tsuguharu Foujita (1913), as well as Mikhail Larionov and Natalya Goncharova (1914). The School of Paris did not have a leader, firm organisation or manifests, nor did it promote any concrete programme or certain style. Even though they were not advocates of *avant-garde* ideas, its proponents also did not abide by academic canons. Some of them had close relations with Picasso and Apollinaire, and most had contacts with *École des Beaux-Arts* and the 'free' academies in Montparnasse (Bouvet and Durozoi 2010, 217–218, 220–221, 227).

10 These were different variants of Realism, ranging from idealist factions of interwar Classicism and Purism, primitivism and oneric visions, to the Naturalism and radical Verism (see Clair 1981, 8–13; Derouet 1981, 196–202; Fer, Batchelor, and Wood 1994, 17, 251–264; Silver 2010, 15–35, 159; Bouvet and Durozoi 2010, 193–214).

11 For more details on the conceptual and formal characteristics of Surrealism see Nadeau 1989; Gale 1997, 173–398; Dufrière et al. 2024.

has mapped and explicated a series of intentions, motivation, orientation and preferences indicating that Zenitism and Surrealism shared a similar conceptual and ideological matrix,<sup>12</sup> the focus of the discussion below will be the analysis of Poljanski's artwork, with the aim of determining, furthering and expanding the existing knowledge on similarities and interferences of the two movements.

As an autodidact painter, Poljanski was unburdened by the convention of a single strictly codified style. In principle, he aligned with the 'return to order' trend, and in 1929 he exhibited alongside members of the School of Paris (Kruljac, 2023, 147–151). Even though his works created between 1928 and 1930 belong to the figurative discourse based on the dominantly realistic paradigm, conventional genres (self-portrait, nude, figural composition), mediums (drawing, painting) and operative procedures, they show clear influences of Surrealism, which are apparent in the thematic, morphological and semantic aspects. The subtext of these works encompass a symbolic dimension that is derived from the intuitive experience and presentation of reality and the Self. Therefore, the concept of Poljanski's painting could be defined as a synthesis of the extrovert 'subjectivist motivation', 'perceptual primitivism', and Surrealist visual logic, which was devoid of history, culture, causality, rational thought, and outward appearance.

In the art of the modern period, primitivism did not represent an organised movement or group with a clearly defined programme or a single style; rather it was a collection of different artist reactions to the idea of the primitive and primitive artefacts. In the Western European context, it emerged from the artists' need to create a true image of Otherness of one's own position, as an alternative to the urban civilisation, through the subversion of the bourgeois aesthetic canons, and cultural and social conventions (see Perry 1994, 3–82). Colin Rhodes distinguishes two basic principles in the articulation of the primitivist visual expression. The first is 'stylistic primitivism', characteristic of Picasso and representatives of the School of Paris (Marc Chagall, Constantin Brancusi, Jacques Lipchitz, etc.), which is based on the conscious assimilation and creative elaboration of the formal aspects of primitive artefacts whose identity disappears in the final result. The second is 'perceptual primitivism', which refers to the process of intuitively achieving primeval models of observation and representation of reality, based on symbolic or mythical sources of artistic imagination. This concept of primitivism is analogous to both Micić's understanding of 'unconscious primitivity' (see Micić 1921, 11–12) and Breton's definition of 'integral primitivism' (see Breton (1928) 2002, 3; Susik 2024, 14–15), and is found in the works of avant-garde artists such as Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee and Jean (Hans) Arp, or Max Ernst, André Masson, Joan Miró, and other Surrealists.<sup>13</sup> Poljanski, whose methodology of developing and rendering

12 For comparative readings of the conceptual and ideological matrix of Zenitism and Surrealism in principle, and the role of women within these movements in particular, see recent studies in Golubović 2007, 245–254; Golubović and Subotić 2008, 34, 203–204; Bukumira 2021, 205–222; Todić 2020, 57–73; Svirčev 2021, 543–561; Subotić 2024, 13–33.

13 The term *primitive* indicates the tendencies of these artists towards the spontaneous, intuitive, primordial and uncoded visual discourse, stemming from their maladjustment or dissatisfaction with

unconventional visual expressions is close to the Surrealist *modus operandi*, belongs to the same discourse. This is supported by the primitivist vocabulary, the process of simulated automatism, the creative principle of free association and illogical juxtaposition, the symbolically coded iconographic motifs, and the semantic polyvalence of his works. The metaphoricity of the scenes and procedures reveal an entire range of emotions, moods and mental states that Poljanski experienced between 1928 and 1930 (Subotić 2007, 202–203). Consequently, in decoding the potential meanings of certain works we relied not only on the ideology of Surrealism and the cultural history of the epoch, but also on the theoretical postulates of psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, and Carl Gustav Jung.

With the intention to imbue Zenitism in France, Micić translated the existing literary texts in French and penned novels in which he conjured the movement's past, with Poljanski involved in defining their visual identity as the author of the illustrations. The difficulty of finding an adequate publisher prompted Micić to disregard previous animosities and attempt to cooperate with the French Surrealists.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that this incited Poljanski to rely on the Surrealist concept of image in creating the illustrations for Micić's novel *Hardi! A la Barbarie* (Onward! To Barbarity, 1928), as well as other artworks. This was manifested in the cancellation of traditional aesthetic norms in the depiction of the human face and figure, especially female nudes, the canonical genre of Academicism (see Ajdačić 2015, 160–161). The motif remains predominantly two-dimensional, while the procedure of simulated automatism serves to construct as well as deconstruct forms.

In addition to glorifying Micić as the originator of Zenitism and his own poetic contribution to the movement, in the illustrations Poljanski focuses on the metaphorical depiction of the ideas and views that form the backbone of the Zenitist programme.<sup>15</sup> These were at the time the current and provocative sociopolitical topics (imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, authoritarianism, revolution, gender relations, etc.), which were infused with self-reflexive and autobiographical content, personal views, opinions and experience of the author. The first series consists of four illustrations where nude female figures personify the materialistically organised and imperialistically ordered Western civilization, whose hegemony and value system Poljanski systematically undermines. Illustration No. 7, *La civilisation danse* (Civilisation dances), is a bizarre depiction of a woman stepping with one foot on human skulls scattered on a mat, while the other, raised foot simulates dancing to

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life in the Western European civilization, which they consider artificial, inhibiting and repressive (Rhodes 1994, 7–9, 59, 107–120, 146–148, 158–164; Fer, Batchelor, and Wood 1994, 180).

14 Despite the principal support, the letter that Philippe Soupault sent Micić on 30 June 1928 indicates that the Surrealists were not interested in printing his untitled manuscript (see National Museum of Serbia, Ljubomir Micić Legacy). This was likely the novel *Hardi! A la Barbarie*, which was published that same year in Paris by Jouve et Cie.

15 These are 17 drawings, rendered in some cases in pencil but more often in India ink and pen, which are kept today at the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade, as part of the Ljubomir Micić Legacy (see Kovačić 1994, 197–206).

the rhythm of the music suggested by the sheet music on the wall. Even though Freud's theory of sexuality points out that the differences between man and women are not biologically defined but socially conditioned (see Fer, Batchelor and Wood 1994, 182, 216), at the time when the illustrations for Micić's novel were created, the prevailing belief was that the male body was rational and spiritual, and that the female body was instinctive and animal, regardless of whether it comes from the civilised or primitive world (Ajdačić 2013, 189–191). This is why it is no coincidence that this and other examples of the reverse side of Western civilisation is personified by the woman – specifically a Caucasian woman. Her body is subject to malformation, manipulation and metamorphose (Subotić 2007, 202), and in the ultimate consequence, the woman is transformed into a grotesque, bizarre, hybrid being or chimera – an emblematic motif in the works of Surrealists such as André Masson and Max Ernst (Sarré 2024, 52–54). In principle, such anti-academic depictions, executed in the manner of modern primitivism, meant disputing the image that Western civilization had of itself. In the aforementioned illustration, Poljanski depicted the female creature with half a head (brain) and exaggerated sexual attributes, in an ecstatic *Danse Macabre*. Even though at first glance it seems like a spontaneous and dysfunctional scribble, the angled line that flows from the sheet music and transects the woman's neck, reaching the mat with the skulls, is actually the trajectory of the dominant system of thought based on manipulation and delusions. Relying on the iconographic motif of the dancer, derived from Picasso's *Les Trois Danseuses* (The Three Dancers, 1925), and the procedure that is reminiscent of the pre-civilisation graffiti, Poljanski builds a metaphorical image of the Pyric victory of Western civilization, prejudicing its carnivalistic death. Illustration No. 11, *Poslednja igra* (The last dance), in which the personification of Europe is holding the flag of peace, which it declaratively supports, as well as a flower with petals containing the French words for freedom, peace, civilisation, art, and philosophy – whose cradle it purports to be. The chimerical nature of the being of European civilisation (the combination of tradition and innovation, spiritual and material, etc.) is indicated by an airplane interpolated onto her head as a symbol of technological prosperity, but it served as an instrument of destruction in the Great War. The two-headed woman holding the globe, from which skulls are falling out into a jug with the word freedom, depicted in illustration No. 15, is *Gospodica Engleska* (Miss England), judging by the inscription on her crowns. From Poljanski's perspective, this country devoted its body and soul solely to its imperialist ambitions and material interests, while humanity, democracy and peace were just dead words on paper. His cynical attitude culminates in the ninth illustration, *Je suis Miss Amérique* (I am Miss America, fig. 1), which represents a grotesque female figure holding in its teeth a lever that moves the world (a globe), waving a flag of peace and its own identity, while defecating on the humanist values that had for centuries been the foundation of civilised society. Illustration No. 10, *Ples pred američkom zastavom* (Dance in front of American flag), shows a woman with a snake neck seemingly harmlessly dancing



Fig. 1. *Je suis Miss America* (I am Miss America), 1928, India ink and pen on paper, 38.8 x 29.7 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_3986)

with a man, who is unaware that he has been ensnared by her seductive charm. It is possible that in this illustration Poljanski refers to the triumphant enthusiasm of the Allies following the First World War, from which America (personified by the chimeric female being) came out as an economic superpower, while the ‘spirit of France’ (personified in the male figure), which nationally oriented intellectuals claimed denoted order, discipline and reason,<sup>16</sup> collapsed under the flood of the American popular and indigenous culture.<sup>17</sup> Generally speaking, this was an appropriation and modification of the Symbolistic concept of the femme fatale, which represents a danger and threat to the spirit and body of the man.<sup>18</sup>

Illustration No. 6, *Žena odrubljene glave* (Woman with severed head), is thematically linked to Zenitism, but in order to decode its meaning it is necessary

to reflect on two other drawings that did not make it into the final selection reproduced in the book. The first, *Zénitisme, moi je suis l'esprit!* (Zenitism, I am the spirit, fig. 2), depicts a grotesque mermaid, a chimeric female body with fins instead of legs, fight for primacy with the personification of the Communist International. While holding in one hand the flag containing the sun (the symbol of life), hammer and sickle – the identification symbols of the proletarian organization, with the other she is pointing to the word ‘zenitizam’ – implying the leftist orientation of the Yugoslav avant-garde movement. Based on the second drawing, *Žena lomi barjak*

16 On the origin of this conceptual construct and its interpretations, see Derouet 1981, 196–202; Fer, Batchelor, and Wood 1994, 3–18; Silver 2010, 20–22, 29, 137–143, 260; Green 2000, 185–230; Bouvet and Durozoi 2010, 193–214.

17 Two other drawings, which were not reproduced in Micić’s book, but thematically build on the analysed illustrations, also belong to this discourse. The chimera-like *Žena sa četiri glave* (Woman with Four Heads) personifies Europe, England and America, along with Peace (identified by a flag). This Peace is projected in accordance with particular interests of superpowers, which are remaining blind to the problems of the ‘other’ or the rest of the world. In the second drawing titled *Europe*, the Old Continent is also depicted as a hybrid of a female figure and a map of the continent. Seated on a gold throne, this chimeric being holding the flag of peace in one hand, while stabbing humanity in the heart with the other. Behind the mask of a peaceful ruler hides a ferocious executioner.

18 For more on the concept of femme fatale in Symbolism see Dijkstra 1986; Mathews 1999, 86–125; Menon 2006.



Fig. 2. *Zénitisme, moi je suis l'esprit* (Zenitism, I am the spirit), 1928, India ink and pen on paper, 29.6 x 38.8 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_4084)

(Woman breaking standard), in which a female figure, personalizing the Yugoslav state authorities, is destroying a hammer and sickle flag, while the humiliated man (likely Poljanski) is trying to prevent her – it becomes clear who is responsible for the collapse of Zenitism. In illustration No. 6, the naked female figure with severed head personifies *nuda veritas* (the naked truth), and since in Freud's theory decapitation represents castration (Fer, Batchelor and Wood 1994, 199) – in this case she embodies aphasia. Accordingly, Poljanski's search for his path to freedom, symbolised by a bird, and the answer to how to move forward after the collapse of Zenitism – led to him abandoning poetry and his homeland.

The second series of illustrations indicates Poljanski's preoccupation with the nude body, the erotic, and love, where he tries to explain his complicated and unresolved relations with women.<sup>19</sup> Stemming from personal experience, obsessions and fantasies, this coincided with the prevalence of these issues in the broader sociocultural context. The waning influence of religion and church, the oversight of the human body and sexual life in the modern period was taken up by culture and society. One of the main mechanisms of societal control and oppression was the moral norm of conscious humility, i.e. sexual restraint. The absence of this virtue in the case of women was considered a sign of mental and physical disorder or degeneration. Consequently, two female stereotypes were established, the normal

19 A letter from Anuška Micić, to her husband Ljubomir, in Paris, dated 22 April 1927, indicates Poljanski's latent homosexuality (see Ilić and Peruničić 2021, 124).



Fig. 3. *Mais oui, c'est l'amour!* (Oh Yes, It's Love!), 1928, pencil on paper, 29.6 x 38.8 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_4062)

(mother) and the deviant (prostitute), which were also manifested in art (Fer, Batchelor and Wood 1994, 52, 176–178, 182, 206, 212). From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, female nudity symbolised the rejection of masks, social and moral norms imposed by bourgeois culture, and the issue of the erotic represented a testing point for the freedoms and the self-confirmation of the artist. Understood to be closer to the irrational, unconscious and madness, in the Surrealist discourse the woman existed as a muse, object of sexual desire, fantasy and obsession, or as a symbol of transgression and otherness.<sup>20</sup> Instead of idealised depictions of the erotic seduction of the female body, the Surrealists, who were fascinated by taboos, offered a demonised and dehumanised image of the woman. In their works, female hypersexuality is indicated by deformed facial features and body parts, enlarged sexual attributes, extremities, feet, hands, nails (see Ajdačić 2013, 189–191; Fer, Batchelor and Wood 1994, 52, 176–178, 182, 206; Rhodes 1994, 38, 59, 62, 65). Analogously, in illustration No. 12, *Žena ogromnih stopala* (Woman with huge feet), Poljanec transforming the woman into a bestial being with psychological and physical manifestations of elephantiasis. In other examples, he introduces symbols with ambivalent meaning: from the apple as the mark of sin or offense, and the Baudelairean flower from the garden of evil, like in illustration No. 14, to the spider as a symbol of repressed sexuality and the phallic-shaped vase implying the sexual domination of the woman over the man.<sup>21</sup> It

20 For details on the representation of the female body in the Surrealist discourse, see Fer, Batchelor, and Wood 1994, 185, 212–231; Sowels 2024, 22–23; Watz 2024, 122–124.

21 For more about the meaning of these attributes, see Ajdačić 2013, 245, 261–262.

is irrelevant whether the woman represents the fighting Amazon, demonised Venus, perfidious Salome, or sinful Eve – in Poljanski's drawings she figures predominantly as a factor of threat and misfortune.<sup>22</sup>

With André Masson the pendulum shifts towards provocation, fornication and perversion, and his automatic drawings depicting sexual debauchery were inspired by Marquis de Sade's erotic literature. The fact that Poljanski was aware of this is confirmed by illustration No. 13, *Mémoires de Casanova* (Casanova's memoirs), in which two grotesque female figures are holding a book, the namesake novel by Marquis de Sade that discusses orgies. However, explicit scenes of sex are rare among Poljanski's works. An exception is the drawing *Mais oui, c'est l'amour!* (Oh yes, it's love!, fig. 3), which depicts a prostitute and her client, i.e. Poljanski, in a sexual relation,<sup>23</sup> while their hearts are pierced by Cupid's arrow. The only element that undermines the normality of this scene is a seemingly insignificant detail – the chamber pot containing bodily excretions. It implies that a life reduced to physiological needs does not bring fulfilment and hedonism, but rather causes repulsion towards one's own being and existence at the mercy of urges. In addition to the deeply personal meaning, at another level of interpretation this drawing raises the issue of petit-bourgeois decorum and hypocritical values: at the time Paris was considered the 'new Babylon' due to the legal prostitution (prohibited by law in 1946) and numerous brothels, but 'buying love' was still a taboo subject in French bourgeois society (Bouvet and Durozoi 2010, 396). With this drawing Poljanski openly announces that he uses the services of prostitutes, expressing his right to quite different and new morality, in which the bourgeois hypocrisy and sexual restraint are qualified as a flaw, and open sexuality and the right to choose a partner without prejudice – as a virtue. Due to such a statement he was denounced as a social outcast, even though in essence he was not immoral. His morality ironizes the petit-bourgeois understanding of love in marriage as a lucrative relationship, and affirms remunerated love as proof of sincerity and achieved freedom.

The fourth illustration, *Deux modèles* (Two models, fig. 4), indicates that Poljanski in fact has a desire to establish harmonious relations with women: the male and female standing nudes are depicted in different dispositions, and the double signature suggests that the illustration can be viewed two ways – vertically and horizontally. Questioning the modernist concept of 'pure perception', which implies the vertical arrangement of the viewers body, Rosalind Krauss pleads for the establishment of a horizontal axis that corresponds to the nonlinear perception of four-legged mammals, i.e. the 'optically unconscious' (Krauss 1996, 13–15, 156–157). Viewed in this context, Poljanski's compositional solution could be

22 A similar symbolic depiction of the female body, based on the mythical subtext and primitivist vocabulary, is articulated in 20<sup>th</sup> century Serbian painting by Milena Pavlović Barili and Ksenija Divjak, but with quite different meaning (see Merenik 2006, 46–54).

23 The identity of the actors in this scene is determined based on *La chambre dans mon hôtel!* (Room in my hotel!), an almost identically conceptualised drawing depicting a prostitute on a bed, also from 1928.



Fig. 4. *Dva modela* (Two models), 1928, India ink and pen on paper, 30.5 x 37.9 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_4074)

understood as the return to the primordial vision characteristic of primitive cultures, and the illustration could be interpreted as a depiction of the natural relationship between the sexes, devoid of social conventions.<sup>24</sup> At the time obstacles to love were no longer based on the fear of committing sinning, and psychoanalysis had shifted the identification of the cause of unfulfillment in this respect towards confronting the personality with disorders in relations with the opposite sex (Ajdačić 2013, 214). The separate series of drawings in which Poljanski repeats the image of the female figure alongside the depiction of himself, speaks of an inability to achieve a sincere romantic relationship. In the drawing *Žena sa jabukom i muški lik* (Woman with apple and male face) he narcissistically projects the mirror appearance of his *Ideal-I* (Lacan (1936) 1993, 610), satisfying his own need to prove that he is worthy of

love. In the other two drawings, where he gradually deforms and fragments the female figure and the depiction of himself to the point of unrecognition, we see his intuitive cognition that love is a deception, an illusion – just like the image in the mirror. For this reason the male–female relations in these drawings bear a sign of alienation, not closeness.

Inspired by the myths of Eros and Thanatos, the Surrealist representations of love as a destructive force (Mahon 2024, 144–146) evidently inspired Poljanski's next two drawings. They can also be interpreted starting from Lacanian psychoanalysis, which points to the existence of two primary drives in a person: the life drive and the death drive, with the libido being linked to the latter. In the first drawing the woman is sadistically ripping out the man's bleeding heart, while in the second she is triumphantly standing over his body – having put him to death by stabbing him in the heart. The bloody and wounded body of the male (Poljanski) does not belong to the sphere of Eros, but to the sphere of Thanatos; it is a metaphorical death indicating the loss of desire. However, unlike Masson's scenes of raw passion and brutal sexual relations, Poljanski is satisfied with metaphor and metonymy, the menacing appearance of the woman and the emblematic signs of violence (blood and knife). The drawing with the inscription '*Beby ist müche!*' ('Baby is tired!'), fig.

24 The same problematic discourse includes the drawing of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, whose iconography Poljanski supplements with the motif of the piglet, as a symbol of the corporal aspect of their relationship, and the figure of God the Father, as the spiritual cohesive factor.

5) depicts a woman's head with the mouth open, preparing to swallow a miniature male figure. According to Lacan, the object of desire of the person loving and the person being loved is the same – the body of the beloved. This rivalry is linked to the desire for food (body), which is none other than the sexual drive. Consequently, this scene indicates that the sexual appetite of the woman transform the man, i.e. Poljanski, into the submissive victim. Finally, the drawing titled *Schleim* (Flegm), depicting the anatomical cross section of a male head, with a miniature figure of a man struck in the oesophagus, implies that in establishing normal relations with the opposite sex Poljanski is seeking sanctuary, i.e. support of the father figure, which in his case was his authoritative older brother Ljubomir Micić. To have another within oneself is a cannibalistic superiority over the life of another, Lacan asserts.<sup>25</sup> However, as in this example the subject (Poljanski) identifies with himself as a rival, when internalising the object of one's own wish (body), the struggle with the rival in fact means the struggle with one's self, which results in self-destruction (Krauss 1996, 277–278). From the standpoint of Poljanski's biography, these drawings represent an authentic testimony.

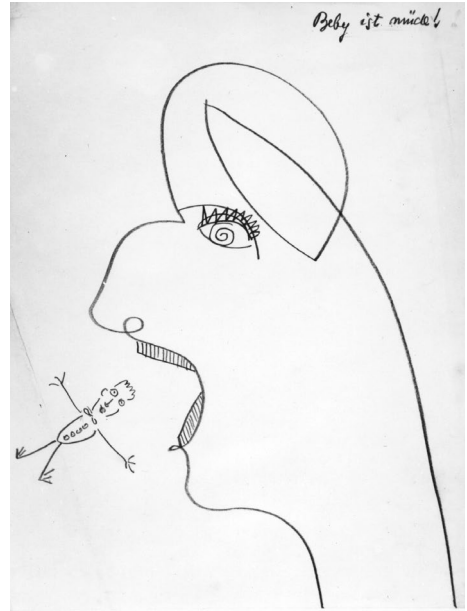


Fig. 5. *Beby ist müde!* (Baby is tired!), 1928, pencil on paper, 38.8 x 29.6 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_3774)

Unable to afford professional models, Poljanski most often draws and paints his own image or figure. The drawing titled *Glava umetnika* (Head of the artist, fig. 6) at first glance appears like a conventional self-representation of an aethereal face. The fluid line resembling a scribble, which starts at the temple and meanders along the left side of the face, is the only disruptive element. Through it Poljanski references the complexity of the mind (his own and humankind's in general), which is unfathomable and intricate, like a labyrinth. This is another of Surrealism's emblematic motifs (see Ottinger 2024, 4–6; Görgen–Lammers 2024, 134–136), and in Carl Gustav Jung's theory the left side and labyrinth symbolise the Dionysian nature of creativity, as well as the deeply repressed demonic forces (Jung et al. 1987, 215, 170–171; Trebješanin 2008, 244–245). The two other self-portraits, executed in aquarelle, are far from physiognomically accurate, conventional depictions of the artist's persona. Actually, they are disturbing depictions of different psychological and psychotic states of his mind. In the first one, the ominous expression and appearance stem from the

25 For detailed insight into the fundamental principles of Lacanian psychoanalysis, see Lacan 1986, 219–222, 271–275, 286, 288, 293–294; Lacan (1936) 1993, 609–612.



Fig. 6. *Glava umetnika* (Head of the artist), 1928, India ink and pen on paper, 27 x 20.8 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_4045)

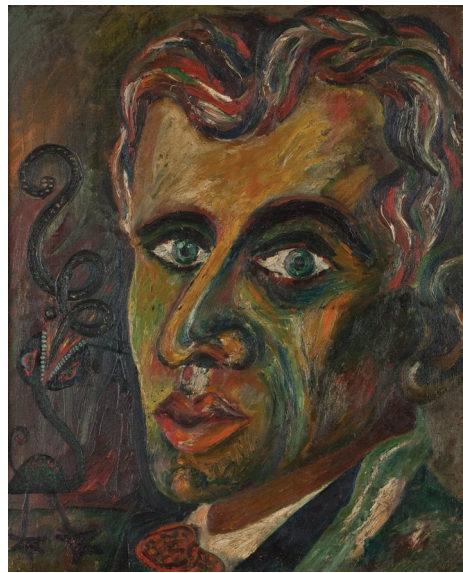


Fig. 7. *Autoportret* (Self-portrait), c. 1928, oil on canvas, 61.2 x 50.3 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 32\_1564)

deformed facial features and the cross-eyed manic gaze. A blade is depicted next to the left cheek, below the eye, suggesting a self-destructive urge, while the right side of the background is made up of complex square and rectangular areas, indicating the rational aspect of the author's psyche (Trebješanin 2008: 95). It vanishes in the self-portrait with an open mouth, implying the artist's descent into irrationality, i.e. the defeat of good and triumph of evil. The state of complete stupor is suggested by the dehumanised facial features with the 'blinded' eyes and bizarre-looking mouth, resembling the jaws of an animal. The intensive colours, devoid of descriptive function and energetic strokes give these self-representations an tone of demonic and ominous, evil fate. Although seemingly hallucinatory, the third painting *Autoportret* (Self-portrait, fig. 7) suggests the moment of Poljanski's awakening, i.e. 'recognition of the shadow' or confrontation with the dark side of the Self (Jung et al. 1987: 168). The barely noticeable black bird-like being with burning eyes and flames coming from its mouth, which is devouring a snake in the background, can be interpreted as a personification of the femme fatale (a certain Héléne) who is capable of confronting the artist's vices – alcoholism and drug addiction – as triggers of his madness.<sup>26</sup> In this example, the conceptual and semantic planes of the painting are once again in harmony with the operative procedure. The depiction of the Poljanski's face in agony

<sup>26</sup> During 1930, when his psychotic states reached dramatic levels, Poljanski was hospitalised and spent several months at a sanatorium in Vaucluse, on an estate that had once belonged to Marquis de Sade (Kruljac 2023: 151).

is achieved through expressive brushstrokes and by contrasting the red lips, whites of the glaring eyes with dilated pupils, and unnaturally green-yellow incarnate, with such visual rhetoric stemming from Matthias Grünewald's representations of Christ's suffering and Hieronymus Bosch's infernal phantasmagoria.

The drawing *Tri lika u pušačkoj seansi* (Three characters in a smoking session), in which Poljanski uses squiggly contours to build a hallucinatory scene resembling the influence of opiates, introduces us to the last series of works with Surrealist features. Devoid of meaning, drawings of male and female characters originating from the artist's imagination. These are more or less complex linear depictions of one or more faces, in which Poljanski simulates the Surrealist automatic method. The image is dominated by curved and sharp forms, executed spontaneously, as a continuous stroke, but with full awareness of the formal experiment's final result.

This series concludes with the drawing *Razigrana forma* (Lively form, fig. 8), in which Poljanski approaches associative abstraction. The same linguistic discourse includes three compositions from 1930, whose semantic plane can be linked to Paul Klee's statement 'The more horrible the world is (as today) the more abstract art will be, whereas a happy world produces a realistic art' (Klee 1961, 463). For this artist, as is the case with Kandinsky and Miró, the entire civilization was irreparably consumed by evil, deception and lies. The cosmos, with its primordial purity and clarity, appeared as the only solution in their search for spiritual sanctuary, which is why their cosmogeny-themed works contain a positive omen (see Frémond 2024, 202–204). Poljanski's *Kosmogonija* (Cosmogony) is also filled with symbolic representations of the sun, stars, planets, all-seeing eye, but they are engulfed in a violent storm, which is suggested by energetic strokes in black and red, giving the entire scene an apocalyptic tone. Even though less dynamic in the execution, the following two paintings appear equally ominous and enigmatic. Despite the encryption of *Ornamentalna kompozicija I* (Ornamental composition I, fig. 9) and *II*, in which the light and ethereal humanoid silhouette is placed opposite the black background containing a multitude of symbols and codes associated with Gnosticism, occultism, alchemy, esoter, etc.,<sup>27</sup> these paintings can be interpreted, based on information from Poljanski's biography, as archetypal images of the artist's soul (*anima*) tortured by mental crisis and immersed

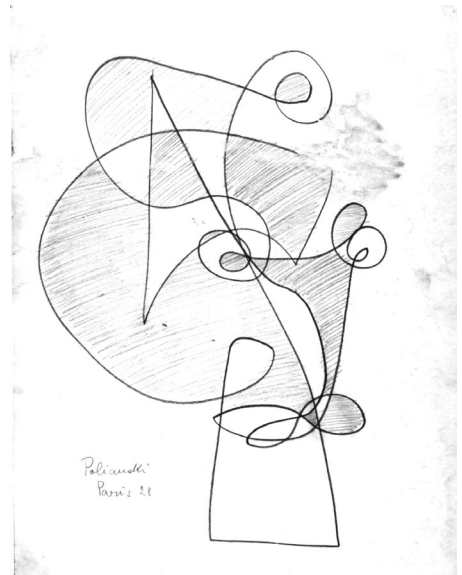


Fig. 8. *Razigrana forma* (Lively form), 1928, pencil on paper, 38.9 x 29.7 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 35\_4080)

27 For more information on the Surrealists' fascination with these topics, see Lepetit 2024, 172–174.



Fig. 9. Ornamentalna kompozicija I (Ornamental composition I), c. 1930, gouache on paper, 63.2 x 25.8 cm (National Museum of Serbia, Inv. No. 32\_1572)

deep into mysticism and the unconscious. Precisely this elusive boundary between the imaginary and real, improvisation and structure, encrypted meaning and recognizable motives, links these works with the Surrealist matrix.

With the desire to gain affirmation in the stylistically heterogeneous and highly competitive art scene in Paris, as an autodidact painter Poljanski opted for the Surrealist concept of image. Aesthetically subversive and conceptually sufficiently flexible, the Surrealist pictorial logic was suitable for his intuitive understanding of visuality, freed of Cartesian rigid structures and rules. This is confirmed by his (self-)reflexive works in which the dominant topoi are somnambulistic visions, love, and madness, while the methodology of articulation of the visual expression is based on the primitivist vocabulary, the principle of free associations, and the procedure of simulated automatism. In the series of self-portraits, depictions of female and male characters, figures or situations, Poljanski raises the question of artistic freedom and the right to difference, and through the open discussion of the erotic, deviant, unconscious aspect of his own being and other taboo themes, he problematizes the dark sides of the modernity of Western society, bourgeois taste and morality. Even though the considered artworks do not represent manifest Surrealism, these are a conceptually closely related but autochthonous representation of Poljanski's own persona and reality through art, which is the closest to Jean Cocteau's unorthodox surrealism.

*Translated by Vuk Tošić*

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**BRANKO VE POLJANSKI I  
NADREALISTIČKA KONCEPCIJA SLIKE**

*Apsirakt:*

U kontekstu jugoslovenske avangarde Branko Ve Poljanski (1898–1947) poznat je kao publicista i pesnik, ideolog i aktivista zenitizma (1921–1926). Tokom postzentitističkog perioda (1927–1947) gradio je karijeru slikara u Parizu, gde je stekao neposredne uvide u idejnu platformu i formalna rešenja nadrealizma. Uprkos animozitetima između lidera ova dva pokreta, znatan deo vizuelne produkcije Poljanskog proistekao je iz kreativne asimilacije nadrealističke koncepcije slike, koja se očitava na tematskoj i formalno-jezičkoj ravni, kao i u metaforici prizora. To potvrđuju njegovi radovi (auto)refleksivnih sadržaja u kojima se kao glavni toposi detektuju snoviđenje, ljubav i ludilo, a metodologija artikulacije vizuelnog iskaza počiva na primitivističkoj leksici, principu slobodnih asocijacija i postupku simuliranog automatizma. U nizu autoportreta, prikaza ženskih i muških likova, figura ili situacija Poljanski gradi sliku „drugosti“ belih Evropljana načelno i *Sopstva* posebno, problematizujući pitanja umetničke slobode, rodniĸ odnosa i društvenog morala. Iako nije u pitanju manifestni nadrealizam, reĸ je o idejno vrlo srodnom ali autohtonom poimanju i predoĸavanju vlastite persone i stvarnosti.

*Ključne reĸi:*

Branko Ve Poljanski, primitivizam, zenitizam, nadrealizam, sinkretizam, likovna umetnost, Pariz

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**PREDSTAVE ODNOSA MODE I  
UREĐENJA ENTERIJERA U ČASOPISU  
ŽENA I SVET (1925–1941)\***

*Apstrakt:*

Časopis *Žena i svet* je izlazio na mesečnom nivou u periodu od 1925. do 1941. godine i bio je namenjen ženskoj publici, sa posebnim fokusom na određene teme kao što su moda, kuvanje i uređenje doma. Dok su javni gradski prostori dugo smatrani dominantno muškim, enterijer porodičnog doma je tradicionalno predstavljao sferu ženskog delovanja, što je ostalo prisutno i u međuratnom periodu. Ono što članke u časopisu *Žena i svet* čini posebno interesantnim i specifičnim jeste preplitanje domena ženske mode i uređenja doma. Ovakav vid transponovanja modnih trendova i ličnog stila na sferu dizajna enterijera predstavlja posebno interesantan i nedovoljno istražen aspekt svakodnevnog života u međuratnom Beogradu, pa je cilj ovog rada da dodatno istraži tu vezu, koja je plasirana u časopisu *Žena i svet*, ali i da potencijalno ukaže na srodne ideje u člancima drugih časopisa i dnevnih listova.

*Ključne reči:*

moda, enterijer, časopis, *Žena i svet*, Beograd

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U patrijarhalno uređenim društvima muškarci su dominirali *prvim* (posao) i *trećim mestima* (javnim gradskim prostorima), dok su *druga mesta* (porodični dom) predstavljala sferu rezervisanu za žene (Čupić 2011, 85; Oldenburg 1999). Uređenje enterijera je za ženu predstavljalo mogućnost kreativnog izražavanja i prostor za lični razvoj (Путник Прица 2021a, 213). U Francuskoj je još od devetnaestog veka samotransformacija kroz nameštaj i enterijer pomerala klasne i rodne granice. To se naročito odnosilo na žene, koje su tretirale nameštaj i enterijer kao ekstenzije njihove ličnosti, birajući boje i tonove koji laskaju njihovom tenu. Čak su postojali stručni saveti koji su sugerisali paletu boja u zavisnosti od boje kose (Lasc 2017, 49). Kako se uloga žene u jugoslovenskom društvu tokom međuratnog perioda menjala, tako se razvijao i njen odnos prema uređenju enterijera. Porast broja zaposlenih i univerzitetски obrazovanih žena uslovio je i njihov drugačiji odnos prema životnom prostoru, što se najpre može naslutiti iz malobrojnih očuvanih enterijera iz tog perioda, fotografija iz porodičnih zaostavština ili periodike, u okviru koje časopis *Žena i svet* zauzima posebno mesto po broju i kvalitetu članaka koji se bave odnosom mode i uređenja enterijera.

Časopis *Žena i svet* formiran je po uzoru na druge evropske časopise namenjene ženskoj publici, sa težištem na modi, uređenju doma, receptima za nova jela, ali i brojnim temama vezanim za prava žena i njihovu emancipaciju (Stefanović 1998, 410). Bio je to prvi časopis ovog tipa u Beogradu, a i šire, koji je nudio kompletan evropski obrazac za ugledanje i može se svrstati u okvire umerenog građanskog feminizma (Поповић 2000, 58; Менковић 2005, 262; Бараћ 2014). Najveći procenat svakog broja činile su ilustracije novih komada garderobe sa detaljnim opisima šta se nosi pre svega u Parizu, ali i drugim evropskim centrima, poput Beča ili Berlina. Ono što posebno čini interesantnim istraživanje članaka u ovom časopisu jeste upravo plasiranje ideje o transponovanju identiteta žene na njen životni prostor i identifikaciju s njim, uz modne trendove koji su se gotovo paralelno razvijali u više modnih sfera, pa i u domenu uređenja enterijera. Kako je navedeno u jednom članku, ta ista moda „menja liniju i kroj ženskih haljina, ta ista moda [...] menja oblik nameštaja, fasade kuća[...]” (T. 1935, 63).

Iako je žena u periodu između dva svetska rata daleko emancipovanija i obrazovanija nego u ranijim epohama, što je podrazumevalo da nije bila isključivo vezana za kuću, uređenje doma se i dalje smatralo njenom odgovornošću (И. 1931, 61; Менковић 2005, 254). U dnevnom listu *Vreme* pisano je o tome kako „žena pre svega treba svim silama da se trudi da stvori radostan i svetli dom” (И. 1931, 4). Nameštaj je često reklamiran direktno ženama kao ciljnoj grupi, i to naročito onima u statusu verenice ili tek venčane supruge, od kojih se očekivalo da će preuzeti odgovornost za uređenje novog doma. Tako se mogu naći reklame poput „Kompletne opreme za zaručnice i mlade snahe” sa porukom „Nemoj se nikad venčati bez Weka pokušva”.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Reklama, *Ilustrovani list* 1 (1928), 39.



Slika 1. Ilustracija, *Žena i svet* 2, 1929. (Narodna biblioteka Srbije)

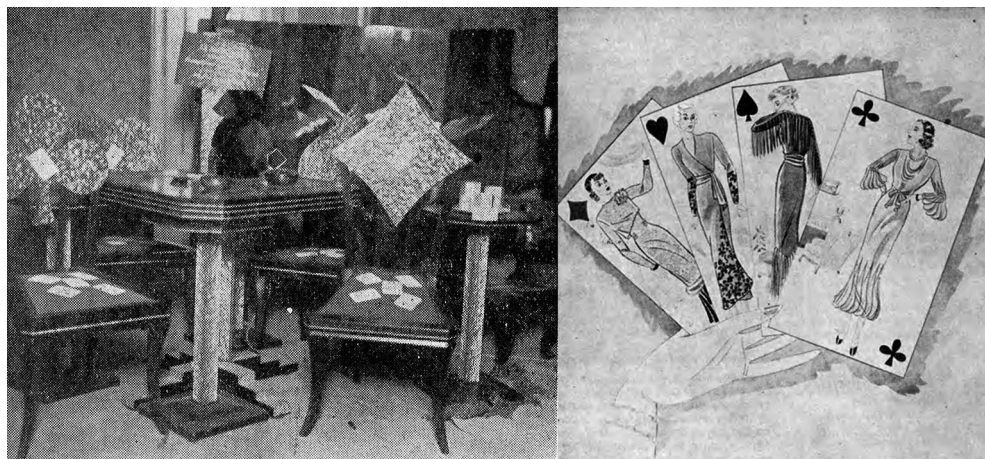
Ovaj ton je prisutan i u člancima publikovanim u časopisu *Žena i svet*, pa se tako isticalo da „Svaka žena od ukusa mora imati zadovoljstvo, kad joj se pruži mogućnost da svojim trudom i malim materijalnim žrtvama može ukrasiti svoj apartman” (Аноним. 1930, 44). Takođe je sugerisano kako na osnovu toga kako je stan opremljen može da se zaključiti dosta o karakteru žene (И. 1931, 61). Primetno je bilo i naglašavanje značaja autentičnosti u uređenju enterijera, pa se u jednom članku navodi: „Vaš stan treba da bude dokaz najličnije i najređe originalnosti. Biti originalan! To je danas tajna pasija žena...” (Аноним. 1925а, 13). Prilikom izveštavanja o nameštaju na Izložbi dekorativnih umetnosti u Parizu 1925. godine, naglašava se da je lična nota „presudna za svaku sobu u kojoj caruje žena” (Аноним. 1925б, 50). Francuskinje su isticane kao primer, pa je tako u jednom intervjuu Francuskinja izjavila: „Svoje salone, svoj kabinet, svoju spavaću sobu i trpezariju uvek spremam zajedno sa devojkom, znajući da samo ukus i ruka jedne domaćice postavljaju stvar na njeno mesto” (Димитријевић Стошић 1932, 1) (slika 1). Ponekad se u člancima išlo toliko daleko da su znanje i stručnost arhitekata pri uređenju enterijera predstavljani inferiornim u odnosu na domaćice (Михајловић 1938, 2). Muškarčev ukus je dolazio do izražaja jedino u prostorijama poput *herrenzimmer*-a, sobe za pušenje ili kabineta (Путник Прица 2021а, 216–218). U jednom članku novinar je načinio paralelu između životnih i društvenih uloga muškarca i žene i njihovog ukusa pri uređenju enterijera (Аноним. 1939а, 16).

Časopis *Žena i svet* takođe je izveštavao o tome kako su poznate žene uredile svoje domove, poput kraljice Marije Karađorđević, holandske kraljice Hortenzije, operске pevačice Milke Trnine i glumice Norme Širer. Navođeni su primeri izbora

boja u enterijeru glumica, pa je tako Džoun Kraford odabrala „staro ružičastu” koja, po mišljenju autora članka, savršeno odgovara njenom tenu i ličnosti. S druge strane, Pola Negri je odabrala crvene, bele i zelene tonove, što je smatrano savršenim izborom za ženu tamne kose. Klizačica Sonja Heni je pak odabrala plavu i belu, koje su bile u skladu sa njenom plavom kosom, tenom i zanimanjem (P. 1938, 49).

Uspostavljanje harmonije između modnih trendova, ličnosti žene i njenog privatnog života je često naglašavano kao važno (Аноним. 1937а, 18). U brojnim člancima je prisutno razmatranje odabira garderobe za različite ambijente i društvene aktivnosti. Primera radi, prilikom opisa upotrebe barskih stolica u kući istaknuto je kako one više priliče savremenoj modernoj ženskoj toaleti „u tankoj svetloj svili”, u kojoj „vitke noge” dolaze do izražaja (Иг. 1928, 24). Ogleдала su takođe bila poželjna, pa je u jednom članku konstatovano „da je stan bez ogleдала, stan bez žene” (Аноним. 1933а, 62). Nameštaj i mobilijar su u tom slučaju interpretirani kao scenografija u službi ženine reprezentacije. Potcrtavano je da „žena ružno neukusno odevena remeti harmoniju”, te da žena kod kuće „treba da je moderna, elegantna” i da „dama uvek voli lepu domaću toaletu” (Аноним. 1927а, 39). Takođe je isticano kako žene i kod kuće moraju biti doterane, kako za supruga, tako i za iznenadne goste (Заза 1932, 8; Аноним. 1941а, 16).

Časopis je izveštavao o tome kako su za sobu u kojoj bi žena primala svoje intimne prijatelje pariski krojači lansirali novu vrstu haljine – toaletu za studio, u formi pidžame ili kućne haljine, sa idejom da se ženama vrati želja da primaju goste kod kuće (Аноним. 1929а, 10). Domaće haljine su predstavljene kao prilika za istinsku samoprezentaciju, pa se sugerisalo da „one boje koje žena ne sme ili neće da nosi na ulici, u slast će nositi kod kuće” (Аноним. 1929б, 47). *Žena i svet* preporučuje pidžama parti za intimne prijateljice, koju dodatno karakteriše kao „čudnu modu, sasvim interesantnu i živopisnu”, dodajući da „žena danas i suviše živi u pidžami”, uz objašnjenje da je to „valjda iz nekog novog i intenzivnog osećaja kućevnosti”. Pidžame se opisuju geografskim odrednicama, pa se preporučuju „vizantijska dalmatika”, „levitska riza od svile” i „kineska tunika” (Аноним. 1925б, 13). Ovaj vid orijentalizacije mode u potpunosti je oličен tih godina i u uređenju enterijera, najpre u sobama za pušenje, nazivanim turski, arapski, bosanski ili pirotski salon, ali ponekad i japanski (Путник Прица 2021а, 220–228). Egzotizacija enterijera potcrtavana je u pojedinim člancima kritički nastrojenim prema „groteskno” obučanim Beograđankama u poređenju sa Bečlijkama ili Parižankama, pa je tako istaknuto da: „voli i Bečlijka te groteskne figure, ali kako? Groteskno izrezane žirafe, miševе i kamile u alevo crvenom i crnom drvetu, da bi ukasila koji šašavi kut svog budoara” (Јовановић 1926, 6). Dakle, povlačila se granica između toga šta je dozvoljeno nositi na sebi, a šta je bilo prihvatljivo u opremanju enterijera i sa kojom namerom. Kako su bridž partije postale izuzetno popularne, ponekad su se posebne prostorije opremale namenski projektovanim nameštajem. Jedan takav primer predstavlja i kartaška soba koju je Margita Predić dizajnirala 1929. godine, sa stolicama koje su imale naslone u obliku simbola karata i stilizovanim kartama

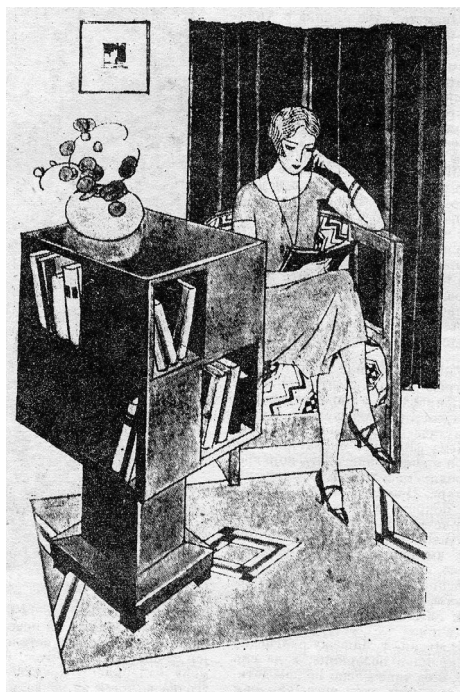


Slika 2. Kartaska soba Margite Predić, *Žena i svet* 11, 1929. Haljine za bridž, *Žena i svet* 10, 1934. (Narodna biblioteka Srbije)

na sedištima (Аноним. 1929в, 10; Аноним. 1929г, 14; Putnik Prica 2021b, 71). Ženska moda se prilagodila tome, pa je stvoren specijalan tip haljine za bridž, koja je uglavnom bila na preklop, ispod kolena, ali ne dugačka, sa skupocenim detaljima (B. 1934, 8) (slika 2).

Čipka je takođe promovisana kao poželjna na garderobi i pri dekoraciji enterijera. Prema autoru članka, čipka pospešuje osećaj udobnosti doma, ističući pritom da se izrađuje „po najnovijim uticajima najmodernije dekorativne umetnosti” (3. 1927, 16–18). Taj uticaj „nove dekorativne umetnosti” aludirao je na ar deko, pa se u jednom prilogu sugerise da se predloženi geometrijski motivi mogu aplicirati na stolnjake i mobilijar, ali isto tako i na garderobu (Аноним. 1926, 56; Просен 2023, 32). Bilo je i osvrta na promenu mode u nameštaju i enterijeru i generacijski jaz kada je u pitanju poimanje nove estetike. Kao problem javilo se čuvanje starog nameštaja koji više nije bio moderan, niti prilagođen savremenim potrebama, a starije generacije su insistirale na njegovom čuvanju i vrednosti (Mer. 1929a, 12). Takvi stavovi nisu išli u prilog minimalističkoj estetici modernizma u uređenju enterijera, koja je takođe propagirana u časopisu *Žena i svet* (Аноним. 1931a, 53).

U priložima o enterijeru, autori su često delili savete poput toga da „utrpanost nije ni moderna, ni prijatna, ali su isto tako isticali značaj manifestacije 'ukusa domaćice'” (Аноним. 1928a, 18). Skupoceni mobilijar nije nužno odražavao dobar ukus, već način na koji je on aranžiran u prostoru (Аноним. 1931a, 53). Sugerisana je i upotreba cveća u dekoraciji doma, takođe klasifikovana u zavisnosti od društvene prilike, ali i u skladu sa tonovima u prostoru (Mar. 1928, 18). U nekim člancima se išlo toliko daleko da su nedvosmisleno nametani imperativi šta žena mora ili ne sme imati u kući, primera radi: „Kada na balkonu jedne kuće u leto nema cveća, znači da u tom stanu nema žene, ili da ta žena nema načina da bude



Slika 3. Ilustracija, *Žena i svet* 2, 1927. (Narodna biblioteka Srbije)

prava domaćica i, ako hoćete, žena sa ženskim osobinama (takvih žena je manje nego što se misli)” (Мапа 1929, 16).

Osim manifestacije ličnosti žene, sugerisano je i kako enterijer može pomoći u pospešivanju njenog izgleda, pa je savetovano difuzno svetlo koje neće bacati oštre senke. O paralelnom razvoju ženske toaleta i uređenja enterijera kao „pozadinskog okvira” pisala je Vera Pavlović za *Ženu i svet*, konstatujući da ženin životni prostor savršeno odgovara njenoj toaleti. Ako je nameštaj mirnih linija, tako je i kroj garderobe, a dekoracija bi trebalo da bude jednostavna i u enterijeru i na garderobi (slika 3). Ipak, ona konstatuje da se garderoba da lako promeniti i prilagoditi modnim trendovima, dok je sa nameštajem to ipak teže (Павловић 1940, 11). U drugom članku se pak ističe da „ništa ne daje toliko lepote ženama, koje su onaj pravi ukras jednog društva, kao ti veliki kandelabri i lampe od kovanog gvožđa, bakra, bronzе, srebra i od kristala” (Аноним. 1929д, 64). Istican je

značaj harmonije između pojedinih predmeta, ali i boja u enterijeru, poput predloga da pepeljare budu u istom tonu kao i zidovi (Аноним. 1928б, 54; Т. 1935, 62). Tridesetih godina, pod uticajem internacionalnog stila, sve je veći bio upliv svetlih i neutralnih boja u enterijer (Аноним. 1934а, 61). Naročito je bio interesantan osvrt na boje u enterijeru i paletu tonova koje žena nosi na sebi, kao i o komplementarnosti s njenim tenom: „savremena dama neće da ima suviše jake tonove u svome domu, u svemu što je okružuje, da bi njen lik bio što življi” (Аноним. 1929ђ, 18). Raspravljalo se i o tome koje boje se preferiraju u zavisnosti od boje kose, kao i kako koja boja utiče na karakter i raspoloženje žene (О. 1934, 55–56; Аноним. 1939б, 10–11).

Sa svetskom ekonomskom krizom tridesetih godina položaj žene se ponovo menja i orijentiše ka tradicionalnim patrijarhalnim vrednostima, te se od nje očekivalo da više vremena provodi u kući, u uređenju i održavanju doma. Kako su brojevi časopisa *Žena i svet* odmicali, sve je veći bio broj članaka koji se bavio upravo uređenjem enterijera, pa je tako čitateljicama sugerisan različit mobilijar sa parolama poput: „mali sto i njegov ukras odaju ukus žene i da ona voli svoj stan” (Аноним. 1927б, 16). Isticana je veza između predmeta u kući i domaćice uprkos ženskoj emancipaciji, pa otud ne čudi ni izjava da „nova žena pokušava da bar u

ponekom času postavi tu intimnu vezu između sebe i stvari” (Аноним. 1927а, 39). Težak i robustan nameštaj je smatran negraciozним, te da se „nikako ne slaže sa ženskim osobinama” (Мег. 1929б, 15). Predlozi za uređenje doma su se mahom bazirali na jednostavnim, a kreativnim rešenjima по principu „uradi sam” i sa argumentom: „mi znamo da manje više nemate vremena, ali da imate živu želju da svoj dom što ljupkije ukasite” (Аноним. 1927в, 56). Davani su brojni predlozi za pravljenje nameštaja, kao i za ponovnu upotrebu starih predmeta i njihovo aranžiranje u enterijeru ili korišćenje materijala od starih haljina za tapaciranje nameštaja ili šivenje jastučićа (Аноним. 1929е, 53; Аноним. 1931б, 32; Аноним. 1934б, 53; Михајловић 1938, 2; Аноним. 1941б, 64). Osim toga sugerisano je da je raspored nameštaja podložan промени shodno gaspoloženju (Аноним 1938а, 66).

Novinarke koje su pisale za časopis naglašavale su kako je žena ta koja mora da se stara o rasporedu nameštaja u svojoj kući, a u istom kontekstu govoreno je i o tome da mora da se stara i o svom izgledu (Стефановић 1933, 9). Otvoreno je potcrtavana povezanost mode i unutrašnje arhitekture (Р. 1938, 49). Usklađenost mode je isticana na svim poljima, pa je tako повратак skupocenih materijala, naglašavanja ženske figure, kovrdžave kose i volana na haljinama u tridesetim godinama bio прапраћен ponovnom upotrebom dekoracije, inspiracijom u istorijskim stilovima, kao i prisustvom volana i draperija u enterijeru (Аноним. 1933б, 60; Р. 1938, 49). То је најбоље opisano ovim citatom: „Kakva srećna pozadina: zastori u uborima, i rojте, i rokoko okviri na ogledalu i kitnjaste ručice na komodima sa fјokama koje nude dovoljno prostora za sve te tričarije što čine sastavni deo ženine toalete.” Čak je naglašavano kako je moderan nameštaj bez duše i udaljen od ženske prirode, te da kao takav ne može imati lični pečat (Р. 1938, 49). Iпак, višestруko je istican značaj transponovanja identiteta žene kroz modne trendove, pa je tako naglašavano kako se svaka „dama danas trudi, da svojim toaletama, svome stanu i uopšte svima stvarima, koje je okružuju da ton svoje individualnosti” (Аноним. 1930, 62).

Usmerenost teme enterijera na žensku čitalачku publiku prisutna je i u drugim novinama, poput *Politike*, u kojoj je krajem treće decenije objavljivana rubrika „Ženski svet”, a krajem четврте decenije u rubrici „Ženski razgovori” redovno je izveštavano o novim trendovima u uređenju stanova (Аноним. 1938б, 20; Аноним. 1938в, 16; Поповић 2000, 56). U dnevnom listu *Vreme* je такође postojala rubrika „Ženski svet”, a kasnije i „O vama i za vas gospođe”, u kojima je bilo reči o modnim trendovima, novim receptima i enterijeru (Аноним. 1937б, 14). U članku „Kakav treba da bude osnovni cilj jedne žene koja stupa u brak da stvori srećnu zajednicu i porodični dom podigne na idealnu visinu”, objavljenom u *Vremenu* 1931. godine, skreće se pažnja na činjenicu da žene često prestaju da paze na svoj izgled u kući, što se kritikuje pre svega u kontekstu dopadljivosti supružniku. Iпак, после ovog usledio je sledeći članak Stefaniје Fran koja je istakla da to da li će u domu biti „svetlosti i vedrine” ne zavisi više samo od žene (Фран 1931, 4). U *Vremenu* je такође sugerisano da se stare haljine iskoriste i pretvore u servijete za trpezarijski sto (Аноним. 1940, 8).

Svetlana Stefanović je zaključila kako je časopis tokom svog postojanja pomogao kreiranju moderne žene kao „stožera doma, porodice i društva” (Stefanović 1998, 412). Iako se iz analiziranih članaka može izvesti zaključak da su saveti pri uređenju enterijera bili namenjeni ženama kako bi osvestile i osnažile svoju ličnost i manifestovale je kroz svoj životni prostor, njihova svrha je pre svega bila usmerena ka poželjnoj reprezentaciji žene u društvu, ali i prema suprugu. Neretko je implicirano da uređenje doma pada isključivo na teret žene i da je njen zadatak da ga uobliči tako da njenom suprugu bude prijatno u tom prostoru, te da je uspešnost braka praktično zavisila od toga (Михајловић 1938, 2). Ovaj ton je naročito prisutan u kasnijim brojevima, odražavajući povratak patrijarhalnim i konzervativnim vrednostima u četvrtoj deceniji. Čak i u člancima koji se bave nameštajem mogu se pojaviti izjave poput: „Он нас одаје, наш писаћи сто, наш карактер и наш начин живота, што као и постављен сто за обед, у час доласка муџа кући” (Аноним. 1938г, 80). Taj dvostruki odnos prema rodnom identitetu žene bio je prisutan tokom читавог postojanja časopisa i odslikava realan položaj žene u jugoslovenskom društvu (Бапаћ 2014).

Poslednji broj časopisa *Žena i svet* izašao je početkom aprila 1941. godine, uoči bombardovanja Beograda od strane Trećeg rajha. Iako je posleratni period doneo mnoge promene u pogledu položaja žene u društvu, određeni obrasci su se zadržali do danas. Ipak, retko koji časopis je na ovim prostorima pružio veći uvid u prirodu veze između mode i enterijera tokom međuratnog perioda, između samoprezentacije i životnog prostora, kao što je to učinio časopis *Žena i svet*. Brojni prilozi i članci svedoče upravo o stepenu svesti o važnosti transponovanja identiteta na životni prostor koji je postojao tih godina, tako da se odjeci te tradicije mogu ispratiti do današnjih dana.

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**REPRESENTATIONS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN  
FASHION AND INTERIOR DESIGN IN THE JOURNAL  
WOMAN AND THE WORLD (1925–1941)**

*Summary:*

Journal *Žena i svet* (*Woman and the World*) was published every month between 1925 and 1941, and it was intended for female readers, with a special focus on fashion, cooking and interior design. While the public sphere was long considered to be predominantly male, home interior was traditionally presented as the area of female engagement, which remained actual throughout the interwar period. What makes the articles in the journal *Žena i svet* interesting and specific is the interweaving of fashion and interior design. This method of translating fashion trends and personal taste in the sphere of interior design presents an underresearched aspect of everyday life in interwar Belgrade. Therefore, the goal of this paper is to further explore this connection, which was presented in the journal *Žena i svet*, but also to potentially point out similar ideas in articles of other journals and newspapers.

*Keywords:*

fashion, interior, journal, *Žena i svet*, Belgrade





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## **KOMUNICIRANJE SA STILOVIMA I LIKOVNOST U DELU ARHITEKTE BRANISLAVA MITROVIĆA**

### *Apstrakt:*

Branislav Mitrović je jedan od najistaknutijih domaćih arhitektonskih stvaralaca, profesor emeritus i akademik, a značaj njegovih ostvarenja je potvrđen nizom domaćih i međunarodnih nagrada. Realizacija Mitrovićeovog opusa započela je kolektivnim stambenim zgradama i javnim objektima čiji je naručilac bila država u poslednjim decenijama socijalističke Jugoslavije, a traje i danas, prvenstveno se ostvarajući kroz jednoporične vile, koje predstavljaju najdominantniji deo arhitektonog opusa od početka XXI veka, tako obuhvatajući skoro pedeset godina tokom kojih je došlo do značajnih promena kako društvenih okolnosti, tako i fenomena u umetničkom izražavanju. Izraziti likovni kvalitet Mitrovićevih dela istraživači su prepoznali već na početku njegove karijere, a o značaju likovnosti za svoj rad neretko je govorio i on sam. Zato je cilj ovog istraživanja da se preispita likovnost njegove arhitekture, odnosno da se ostvarenja Branislava Mitrovića analiziraju kroz prizmu raznovrsnih likovnih izraza i povežu sa tokovima prisutnim na arhitektonskoj sceni, kao i u drugim vidovima izražavanja u likovnim umetnostima, poput skulpture ili slikarstva. Prilikom pisanja rada korišćeni su različiti izvori, prvenstveno projektna dokumentacija i fotografije sačuvane u zaostavštini arhitekta, kao i aktuelna teorijska razmatranja iz oblasti arhitekture i drugih likovnih umetnosti, posebno ona povezana sa fenomenima postmodernizma, kritičkog regionalizma i dekonstruktivizma.

### *Cljučne reči:*

Branislav Mitrović, arhitektura, postmodernizam, kritički regionalizam, dekonstruktivizam

## Uvod

Akademik Branislav Mitrović je jedan od najistaknutijih i najnagrađivanijih domaćih stvaralaca poslednje četvrtine XX i prve četvrtine XXI veka. Podaci o njemu i njegovoj arhitekturi nalaze se u pregledima enciklopedijskog tipa (Маневић 2008, 395; Bogunović 2005, 977–980; Perović 2003, 403–404), radovima koji razmatraju pojedina njegova ostvarenja (Kadijević i Prosen 2019, 295–306; Максимовић 2013, 50–55; Popović 1991, 69–77; Denegri 1991, 41–44; Mladenović 1989, 25–28), dnevnoj štampi i stručnim časopisima. Iako nijedan od tih radova ne obrađuje Mitrovićevo kompletno stvaralaštvo, nit koja ih spaja je isticanje specifične likovnosti njegovog opusa. O odnosu prema likovnom, drugim vidovima umetničkog izražavanja i njihovim autorima, neretko je govorio i sam Mitrović, kako u mnogobrojnim intervjuima, tako i u razgovorima sa autorima ovog rada koji su, prethodno proučavajući njegovu stambenu arhitekturu, zapazili odlike koje prevazilaze utilitarnu namenu arhitekture i oblikovanje spoljašnjosti koje predstavlja više od opne za unutrašnji sadržaj. Zbog toga su ciljevi ovog rada da se, kroz razmatranje realizovanih objekata iz Mitrovićevo opusa, detaljnije analizira likovnost njegove arhitekture, kao i pokušaj da se njegova ostvarenja posmatraju kroz prizmu raznovrsnih likovnih izraza i povežu sa tokovima prisutnim na arhitektonskoj sceni, ali i u drugim vidovima likovnog izražavanja. Rad je pisan na osnovu rezultata prethodnih istraživanja, podataka iz dnevne štampe, članaka posvećenih arhitektonskoj teoriji, sačuvane projektne dokumentacije i fotografija i razgovora sa arhitektom.<sup>1</sup> Na početku je data sažeta biografija arhitekta, sa kratkim pregledom njegovih ostvarenja, nakon čega sledi detaljnija analiza stilskih izraza koji se mogu identifikovati u njegovom stvaralaštvu, kao i odnosa Mitrovićeve arhitekture prema drugim vidovima likovnog izražavanja.

## Biografija i arhitektonski opus Branislava Mitrovića

Branislav Mitrović je rođen u Baru, u Crnoj Gori, 1948. godine.<sup>2</sup> Na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu diplomirao je 1974, kod profesora Uroša Martinovića. Od 1977. do 1986. bio je zaposlen u „Srbijaprojektu”, a zatim u Centru za istraživanje i projektovanje (CIP). Docent na Arhitektonskom

1 Projektna dokumentacija i fotografije korišćene u ovom radu čuvaju se u arhivi Branislava Mitrovića. Iskreno mu se zahvaljujemo na poverenju i mogućnosti da njegovu arhivu koristimo za potrebe ovog istraživanja. Deo dokumentacije dostupan je na: <https://www.mitarh.rs/projekti> (pristupljeno: 7. 7. 2025).

2 Biografski podaci arhitekta i podaci o nagradama preuzeti su iz dokumentacije sačuvane u njegovoj privatnoj arhivi, kao i iz prethodnih istraživanja (Bogunović 2005, 977–980; Perović 2003, 403–404; Isaković 1991, 99–102; Kadijević i Prosen 2019, 296–297).

fakultetu je postao 1990, na Katedri za arhitektonsku analizu prostora. Na istom fakultetu je 1995. izabran za vanrednog, 1998. za redovnog, a 2015. za profesora emeritusa. Sopstveni arhitektonski biro „Mitarh” je osnovao 2006. godine. Iste godine je primljen za dopisnog člana Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti i Inženjerske akademije Srbije, a za redovnog člana obe institucije 2012. godine. Za inostranog člana Crnogorske akademije nauka i umetnosti izabran je 2022. godine. Član je više domaćih i međunarodnih strukovnih udruženja i dobitnik niza prestižnih nagrada.<sup>3</sup> Jedna od glavnih karakteristika Mitrovićevog rada jeste i to što je radije stvarao u timu nego samostalno. Zbog toga je, iako je ovaj rad prvenstveno posvećen Branislavu Mitroviću, potrebno imati u vidu da je veliki broj njegovih projekata nastao u koautorstvu. U prvim decenijama stvaralaštva uglavnom je saradivao sa arhitektom Vasilijem Milunovićem, a zatim i sa mnogim drugima, poput Siniše Tatalovića, Dejana Miljkovića, Marine Šibalić, Marije Milinković, Nataše Đurić, Ognjena Krašne, Jelene Kuzmanović, Biljane Begenišić i drugih.<sup>4</sup>

Realizovani opus arhitekta Mitrovića čini skoro 40 objekata.<sup>5</sup> Većina pripada stambenoj arhitekturi, a zatim slede turistički, poslovni, administrativni i objekti obrazovne namene, kao i pojedinačni primeri drugačijih tipologija, o kojima će biti još reči. Objekti podignuti prema Mitrovićevim projektima mahom se nalaze u Beogradu, gde arhitekta i živi, ali i u Novom Sadu, Kragujevcu, Užicu i Štipini kod Knjaževca. Osim u Srbiji, Mitrović je ostvario i sedam objekata u Crnoj Gori i jedan u Bosni i Hercegovini. Prva Mitrovićeva realizacija je kuća „J” u Miločeru, nastala za porodične prijatelje 1978. godine. Za njom je usledilo nekoliko objekata kakvi se ne sreću u njegovom kasnijem opusu: letnja pozornica (1980) i spomen-fontana poginulima u I i II svetskom ratu na Svetom Stefanu (1985), kao i toranj za tehnološku vodu Tec 2 u Kragujevcu (1981). Međutim, kao što je već pomenuto, većina realizacija tipološki pripada stambenoj arhitekturi. Prva ostvarenja su bile kolektivne stambene zgrade iz perioda socijalističke Jugoslavije, u Užicu i Novom Sadu,<sup>6</sup> za kojima su usledile interpolacije iz devedesetih godina prošlog veka, poput

3 Neke od nagrada su: dve republičke (1986, 1991) i jedna savezna nagrada (1991) lista *Borba*, dve velike (1990, 1998), Specijalna nagrada (1990) i Grand pri (2011) Salona arhitekture, dve oktobarske nagrade grada Beograda (1990, 1996), Novembarska nagrada grada Budve (1994), dve nagrade Salona arhitekture u Novom Sadu (1997, 1998), dve specijalne (1989, 1993), Godišnja (1997) i dve velike nagrade za arhitekturu SAS-a (2002, 2003), nagrada ULUPUDS-a za životno delo za celokupno stvaralaštvo i doprinos razvoju primenjenih umetnosti i dizajna (2009), nagrada Inženjerske komore Srbije za životno delo (2009), dve nagrade Ranko Radović (2012, 2016), nagrada Udruženja arhitekata Srbije za najuspešnije delo naših arhitekata realizovano u inostranstvu (2013).

4 Imena koautora za svaki projekat popisana su na sajtu biroa „Mitarh”: <https://www.mitarh.rs/projekti> (pristupljeno: 7. 7. 2025).

5 U ovom radu nije razmatrano nekoliko projekata unutrašnjeg uređenja uglavnom poslovnih i ugostiteljskih objekata, kao ni dva projekta parternog uređenja.

6 Stambene zgrade u ulicama Topličkoj 1 (1981–1985) i 2 (1985–1989) u Užicu i stambene zgrade N-15 na uglu ulica 1.300 kaplara 18–24 i Ive Andrića i N-16, u Ulici 1.300 kaplara 16 (1986–1989) u Novom Sadu.

onih u Ličkoj, Višegradskoj i Kumanovskoj u Beogradu, a u XXI veku i dva objekta u Bloku 32.<sup>7</sup> Osim u Bloku 32, čiji koncept potiče iz ranijeg perioda,<sup>8</sup> Mitrović nakon 2000. godine praktično više nije učestvovao u kolektivnoj stambenoj izgradnji. Svesno se okrenuo jednoporodičnom stanovanju, gde je mogla da postoji bliža i direktnija komunikacija između arhitekta i investitora.<sup>9</sup> Tako je nastao niz objekata u Beogradu, uglavnom u beogradskim naseljima poput Senjaka i Dedinja, koji su projektovani za investitore većih finansijskih mogućnosti i koji podrazumevaju luksuznije sadržaje.<sup>10</sup> Jedinstveni primer stambene arhitekture u njegovom radu predstavlja poslednji izgrađeni objekat tog tipa, rezidencijalni kompleks *Royal Gardens* u Budvi iz 2014, namenjen luksuznom kolektivnom stanovanju. U Mitrovićevom opusu postoje i dva školska objekta, Srednja medicinska škola u Nemanjinoj 148 u Užicu (1985)<sup>11</sup> i zgrada Slikarskog odseka Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti (FLU) na uglu Bulevara vojvode Putnika 68 i Ulice Ljube Jovanovića u Beogradu (1990). Među realizovanim projektima ističu se i poslovni objekti, čija izgradnja započinje 1997. u Beogradu, kada nastaju Jugopetrolova (danas NIS-ova) benzinska stanica u Bulevaru Franša d'Eperea, poslovna zgrada „MPS” na uglu Karađorđeve 75 i Ličke, kao i jedan od najpoznatijih i najistraživanijih Mitrovićevih objekata, Palata „Zepter” u Ulici kralja Petra 32. Još jedna nagrađivana poslovna zgrada, HVB banka (danas Unicredit) u Rajićevoj 27 (2002),<sup>12</sup> takođe je podignuta u Beogradu, a auto-servis „Coning”, sa salonom automobila, u Temerinskoj 106 u Novom Sadu (2003/2004).<sup>13</sup> U Mitrovićevom opusu ima i turističkih objekata. To su hotel „Centar” u Uspenskoj 1 u Novom Sadu (2011) i dva hotela u rodnoj Crnoj Gori, hotel „Queen of Montenegro”, čiju je rekonstrukciju Mitrović projektovao 2006,<sup>14</sup> i hotel „Kamenovo” na istoimenoj plaži, iz 2017. godine. Treba pomenuti i tri realizovana projekta koji ne mogu da se svrstaju ni u jednu od navedenih tipologija, a to su: Hram rođenja Presvete Bogorodice u Štipini kod Knjaževca (2004/2005),

7 Stambene zgrade u ulicama Ličkoj 3 (1987–1992), Višegradskoj 12a (1989–1996), Kumanovskoj 18 (1997–2000) i objekti 3A (2008) i 3B (2015) u Bloku 32.

8 <https://www.unifondzastanove.rs/> (pristupljeno 23. 7. 2025).

9 U razgovoru sa autorima ovog rada arhitekta Mitrović istakao je lične preferencije ka jednoporodičnim objektima.

10 Porodične kuće u ulicama Nike Spasić 10 (1999–2002), Nike Spasić 10a (2003–2007), Augusta Cesarca 27v (2003–2008), Vukice Mitrović 57 (rekonstrukcija i dogradnja, 2005–2008), Mladena Stojanovića 5 (2009–2012), Miloja Đaka 1 (2006–2012/2013), Koste Vojinovića 4 (2010–2012).

11 Izgrađena na osnovu prvonagrađenog rešenja na pozivnom konkursu iz 1982. za Šestu osnovnu školu u Užicu.

12 Objektu je dodeljena nagrada Saveza arhitekata Srbije za najbolji objekat za 2002. godinu.

13 Treba pomenuti da je Mitrović radio i projekat poslovnog objekta na Studentskom trgu 9, koji je već tokom izgradnje prenamenjen u hotel, danas hotel „Square 9”, a za čiju finalnu realizaciju je bio angažovan brazilski arhitekta Isaja Vajnfeld (Isay Weinfeld): <https://www.isayweinfeld.com/en/architecture/hotels-and-resorts/square-nine-hotel/> (pristupljeno: 11. 7. 2025). S obzirom na to da nije u potpunosti realizovan prema Mitrovićevoj zamisli, objekat nije razmatran u ovom radu.

14 Objekat poznat kao Odmaralište „13. maj” podignut je po projektu arhitekta Aleksandra Đokića iz 1976, a poslednjih godina pretrpeo je dodatne izmene i u odnosu na Mitrovićevo rešenje, posebno primetne na eksterijeru.

helidrom u Markovini u Crnoj Gori (2014/2016) i Upravna zgrada Hidroelektrane na Drini u Višegradu u BiH (2014).

Mitrovićevo delo treba posmatrati imajući u vidu društvene okolnosti u kojima je nastajalo, kao i aktuelne arhitektonske prakse na lokalnom i na internacionalnom planu. Može se reći da je njegov opus realizovan tokom dva različita perioda u istoriji domaće arhitekture, poslednje faze izgradnje u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji i prvih decenija nakon društvenih promena 2000. godine. Između te dve celine kao razmeđa stoji poslednja decenija XX veka, obeležena ratovima, sankcijama, inflacijom i opštom ekonomskom krizom. Promene u društvenom i ekonomskom sistemu su dovele i do značajnih promena u izgradnji (Perović 2003, 213–214). Možda i najznačajnija promena ogledala se u tome što glavni investitori gradnje više nisu bili država i njene institucije, već je primat u tom smislu počeo da preuzima privatni sektor. Masovnu stambenu izgradnju zamenile su interpolacije u centralnim gradskim zonama, a rastao je i broj jednoporodičnih kuća, čiji vlasnici su mogli sebi da priušte luksuznije domove (Ђукановић 2025, 147–157). Počele su da se zidaju zgrade manjih gabarita, koje komuniciraju sa svojim okruženjem, vodeći računa o stilu, estetici, primenjenim materijalima (Perović 2003, 220–221). Slična situacija je bila sa turističkim i poslovnim objektima, čija arhitektura više nije bila ograničena zakonski usvojenim normama koje je nametala država, već je zavisila od želja i finansijskih mogućnosti investitora. Luksuz namenjen korisnicima koji su mogli da ga priušte postajao je sve prisutniji i u arhitekturi. Promene u izgradnji koje je taj period doneo mogu se pratiti i u arhitekturi crkvenih objekata među kojima Hram rođenja Presvete Bogorodice u Štipini predstavlja iskorak koji je Mitrović napravio u cilju ostvarivanja komunikacije sa ustaljenim pristupom gradnje pravoslavnih hramova kao citata istorijski nasleđenih prostornih sklopova nasuprot mogućnostima stvaranja novih i drugačijih ambijenata kod sakralnih objekata (Kara-Pešić 2011, 8–12).<sup>15</sup>

### **Komuniciranje sa stilovima: od postmodernizma do dekonstruktivizma**

Hronološki, početak Mitrovićeve delatnosti spada u, tada još uvek aktuelne, postmodernističke tokove, zbog čega je, najverovatnije, jedan broj autora u njima i tražio njegovo stilsko opredeljenje. Iako su Mitrovićeve realizacije iz osamdesetih godina, poput stambenih objekata u Topličkoj 1 i 2 u Užicu, bile nagrađivane,<sup>16</sup>

15 U tom kontekstu pogledati, na primer, i projekat za crkvu Svetih Ćirila i Metodija u Jajincima, koju je Mitrović projektovao u saradnji sa Borisom Podrekom i koja je do danas ostala nerealizovana (Kadijević i Prosen 2019, 303).

16 Stambeni objekat u Topličkoj 1 nagrađen je Republičkom nagradom lista „Borba” za najbolje arhitektonsko ostvarenje na teritoriji Srbije za 1985. godinu, a objekat u Topličkoj 2 Specijalnom nagradom Saveza arhitekata Srbije i Velikom nagradom Salona arhitekture za 1989. godinu.



Slika 1. Zgrada Slikarskog odseka FLU, oko 1990, arhiva B. M.

može se reći da je izgradnja Slikarskog odseka FLU (slika 1), projektovanog u saradnji sa arhitektom Slobodanom Lazarevićem i nagrađenog Saveznom i Republičkom nagradom lista „Borba” i Oktobarskom nagradom grada Beograda za arhitekturu, donela priznanje od strane kolega i stručne javnosti u punom smislu. U to vreme, i najviše u kontekstu zgrade FLU, pojavila su se tumačenja njegove arhitekture kao postmodernističke (Bogunović 2005, 977; Denegri 1991, 42–44). Treba istaći da je Denegri, pišući o projektima na kojima je Mitrović saradivao sa Vasilijem Milunovićem, zapravo svesno izbegavao da ih odredi kao postmodernističke navodeći da „neće biti presudno da li će se njihova arhitektura u jezičkom pogledu videti kao kasna moderna, postmoderna ili moderna posle postmoderne”, ali ipak i da „ova arhitektura poseduje neke osobine onoga što bismo pre nego stilom postmoderne mogli da nazovemo posledicom postmodernog senzibiliteta, čak postmoderne mašte. Mogli bismo to uraditi zbog osobina svesnog eklekticizma, heterogenosti, fragmentarnosti, živopisnosti, sklonosti ka ornamentu, simboličkih projekcija, osećanja za sopstveni *genius loci*, ali i zbog nekih oblikovnih konstanti vezanih u česta korišćenja temeljnih geometrijskih likova (krug, pravougaonik, trougao), koji ovde nisu samo formalni moduli, nego i arhetipski, dubljim podtekstom ispunjeni znaci” (Denegri 1991, 44). Elemente postmoderne u njihovoj arhitekturi prepoznao je i Popović ističući, međutim, da su u pitanju detalji koji su sekundarni u odnosu na rešenja koja su, prema njemu, zapravo kasnomoderna (Popović 1991, 72). Ipak, neophodno je imati u vidu da sam Mitrović svoje stvaralaštvo ne vidi kao postmodernističko. Govoreći o zgradi FLU, izjavio je: „Neke refleksije postmoderne su prisutne. Ne mogu, međutim, da sebe ubrojim u one zagrižene poslenike ili pratioce pa čak ni u učesnike. Pomno sam je pratio, vodio sa njom dijalog. Dijalog je dvosmerna ulica i normalno je da ima nekih refleksija. Likovnu akademiju zovu postmodernom kućom ali ja ne mogu da kažem da je to



Slika 2. Hotel „Kamenovo“, fotografija Relje Ivanića, oko 2018, arhiva B. M

postmoderna. Možda u nekom prozoru [...] Možda je ne bih nazvao postmodernim izrazom ali je svakako jedna spekulacija, analiza koja pripada tom vremenu[...]" (Popović 2001, 8). Slično se odredio i prema poslovnoj zgradi „MPS“, gde je ikonografiju polukružne ugaone kule odredio kao neoklasičnu ističući da se radi o zahtevu investitora uslovljenim širokoprihvaćenim idejama postmoderne aktuelnim u trenutku projektovanja (Алфиревић и Симоновић Алфиревић 2017, 64).

Daleko upečatljivije odlike Mitrovićeve arhitekture predstavljaju svest o duhu mesta i odnos prema istoriji i tradiciji, namerna reinterpretacija citata iz ranijih epoha, razumevanje aktuelnog okruženja, koje dovodi do jasne i otvorene komunikacije sa okolinom, kao i poštovanje i primena lokalnih građevinskih materijala, ali i savremenih materijala i razumevanje savremenih funkcionalnih zahteva. Te odlike se pre mogu tumačiti u okvirima kritičkog regionalizma nego postmodernizma, o čemu je i ranije pisano (Kadijević i Prosen 2019, 295–306). One nisu karakteristične samo za Mitrovićeve arhitekturu, pa ih je Miloš Perović na kraju XX veka prepoznao kao opštu odliku srpske arhitekture, navodeći da je „mikroproces očuvanja kulturnog identiteta i reinterpretacije lokalnih vrednosti u okviru makroprocessa globalizacije tokova kapitala i roba podstakao svest o vrednostima regionalnog nasleđa" (Perović 2003, 223–224). Takvo tumačenje jasno ukazuje na, prema Fremptonu, „lokalnu manifestaciju svetske kulture“, koju istovremeno obeležavaju „topografija mesta" i primena lokalnih materijala, što su sve, prema istom autoru, odlike kritičkog regionalizma (Frempton 2005, 493, 503). I Branislav Mitrović je istakao da je „odnos građene strukture i zatečenog konteksta veoma značajan za kvalitet arhitektonskog dela. Priroda i elementi konteksta određuju budućnost arhitekture kroz korelaciju ostvarene forme i programskih mogućnosti u odnosu na zatečenu geometriju i duh prostora" (Алфиревић 2013, 78), što je neretko primenjivao i u svojoj arhitekturi. Iako takav pristup nije prisutan

na svim njegovim objektima, pojavljuje se na značajnom broju njih, posebno u Crnoj Gori. Primena kamena kao tradicionalnog građevinskog materijala možda jeste najočiglednija odlika, ali nikako jedina. Podjednako važnu ulogu imaju i drugi fenomeni graditeljskog nasleđa Crne Gore, kao što su odbrambeni zidovi, sredomeđe i terase (u lokalnom govoru poznate kao vrtače), tradicionalno primenjivane u Crnoj Gori u cilju kultivacije terena i formiranja obradive površine, a danas prepoznate kao kulturno nasleđe (Mitrović i Mitrović 2023, 297–299). Primena kamena se pojavljuje već od prve realizacije, kuće „J” u Miločeru, kao i na objektima koji su neposredno usledili, letnjoj pozornici i spomen-fontani na Svetom Stefanu, a vrhunac dostiže u realizacijama iz kasnijeg perioda, kao što su hotel na plaži Kamenovo ili helidrom u Markovini, kod Cetinja. Uključivanje stene na kojoj je podignut hotel u njegovu arhitekturu, rešenje čitavog zida ka ulici u kamenu, sa izdvojenim gabaritom koji asocira na kulu (slika 2), jasna su refleksija na lokalnu građevinsku tradiciju sredomeđa i odbrambenih zidova, prvenstveno ruralne grupacije Davanovići, sa kamenom kulom, i Vrijesno, sa nizom kamenih kuća, oba u brdima iznad Kamenova (Mitrović i Mitrović 2023, 303–307). Helidrom u Markovini izgrađen je u sklopu privatnog imanja, a u središtu njegovog koncepta, osim kamena i asocijacija na sredomeđe, stoji još jedan tradicionalni motiv crnogorske gradnje – *gumno*, kružna zaravan u planinskim predelima, namenjena okupljanju (Mitrović i Mitrović 2023, 308–310). Na apartmanima *Royal Gardens* u Budvi, smeštenim u prvoj liniji prema moru, sa direktnim pogledom na marinu, zalučena geometrijska forma u gornjim



Slika 3. Palata „Zepter“, oko 1997, arhiva B. M.

etažama sa terasama jasno asocira na brod sa palubama, dok prostrane terase u zelenilu vuku poreklo od sredomeđa i vrtača, u čemu se lako prepoznaju lokalni i mediteranski uzori (Mitrović i Mitrović 2023, 300–303).

Iako je Mitrović Palatu „Zepter” okarakterisao kao „prvi korak u istraživanju mogućnosti autonomije arhitektonskog prostora u odnosu na uslove konteksta”,<sup>17</sup> on i Milunović i ovde su bili veoma svesni okruženja u kojem je zgrada nastala (slika 3). Posebno su referirali na okolne secesijske objekte, zgradu trgovca Stamenkovića, poznatu kao Kuća sa zelenim pločicama, koju su Nikola Nestorović i Andra Stevanović projektovale 1906. na uglu ulica Kralja Petra 41 i Uzun Mirkove, ili kuću Arona Levija, podignutu 1907. u Kralja Petra 39, po projektu Stojana Titelbaha

17 Preuzeto iz tehničkog opisa zgrade sačuvanog u arhivi Branislava Mitrovića.

(Банковић и Сикошек 2023, 78–79, 104–105). Odnos prema arhitekturi tih objekata autori su izrazili u minucioznoj obradi detalja od nerđajućeg čelika. Oni nisu ostali nesvesni ni ranijih tradicija, zbog čega je na građevini moguće prepoznati i reminiscencije odbrambenih zidova Hilandara (Алфиревић и Симоновић Алфиревић 2017, 60–61; Perović 2003, 224–225; Kadrijević i Prosen 2019, 299–300). Projekat Upravne zgrade Hidroelektrane na Drini u Višegradu (Kadrijević i Prosen 2019, 303–304) neminovno je bio uslovljen postojećim mostom kao delom UNESCO-ve baštine. Zbog mosta je bilo neophodno da zgrada „mora govoriti istim jezikom kao čitavo neposredno okruženje”, a uslovio je i primenu lokalnih i autohtonih materijala, na prvom mestu kamena, ali i drveta, sa ciljem da se stvori objekat koji je „trebalo da predstavi arhetip kuće građene na datom području”. Odnos prema lokalnom i tradiciji dodatno je pojačan time što su za izradu kamenih elemenata angažovani lokalni majstori, majstor Radovan iz Hercegovine sa svojom ekipom klesara.<sup>18</sup>

Drugi, verovatno podjednako važan i prisutan stilski izraz u Mitrovićevom stvaralaštvu jeste dekonstruktivizam, sa jasnim referencama na ruski konstruktivizam.

Koristeći pojam dekonstrukcija, o ovim odlikama Mitrovićeve arhitekture već su pisali drugi autori (Максимовић 2013, 50–55; Vogunović 2005, 978). Milan Maksimović ju je prepoznao prvenstveno u Palati „Zepfer” (Максимовић 2013, 51–53), ali se ona može identifikovati i u mnogim drugim realizovanim objektima. Dekonstruktivizam se u arhitekturi pojavio upravo u godinama kada Mitrović sazreva kao autor, a sam naziv je nastao, prema američkom arhitekti i teoretičaru Marku Vigliju (Mark Wiegly), kao omaž ruskim konstruktivistima, imajući u vidu koliko su se dekonstruktivisti ugledali na njih (Brodbeck 2005, 608–615). Odnos prema ruskom konstruktivizmu kod domaćih arhitekata krajem XX veka takođe nije bio nepoznat (Denegri 1991, 43). Toga je bio svestan i Mitrović, koji sebe vidi „na tragu neokonstruktivizma” i ističe: „Ruski konstruktivisti znali su da eksperiment u prostoru upakuju u pitku priču o tom odnosu ploha, tom kontrastu materijala” (Pajović 1998, 10–13). To što su konstruktivisti primenili u arhitekturi imalo je korena u ruskom avangardnom slikarstvu i radu umetnika poput Kazimira Maljeviča (Казимир Малевич) i El Lisickog (Эль Лисицкий), koji su prešli granicu između dvodimenzionalnog i trodimenzionalnog. Maljević je stvorio *arhitekton*e, trodimenzionalne kompozicije, odnosno horizontalne i vertikalne paralelopipede različitih proporcija i veličina, koji se sjedinjuju i prožimaju pod pravim uglovima. Bio je to „oblikovni estetski eksperiment” koji je sledio iz njegovog suprematističkog slikarstva i koji je uticao na onovremenu rusku arhitekturu i dizajn (Han-Magomedov 2000, 406–407), u potpunosti se ostvarivši u radu Maljevićevih učenika poput Lazara Hidekela (Лазарь Хидекель) i Aleksandra Nikolskog (Александр Никольский), u takozvanom suprematističkom konstruktivizmu, tokom dvadesetih godina prošlog veka (Han-Magomedov 2000, 455–457). Међусобним положајем маса бавио се и El Lisicki,

18 Preuzeto iz tehničkog opisa zgrade sačuvanog u arhivi Branislava Mitrovića.



Slika 4. Auto-salon „Coning“, kuće u Vukice Mitrović 57 i Miloja Đaka 1 (sleva nadesno), 2005–2012, arhiva B. M.

u svojim *prounima*, koji su, kao i Maljevičevi *arhitektoni*, omogućili nove odnose i sredstva u arhitekturi: „međusobno horizontalno i vertikalno pomeranje masa, prepuštanje jednog elementa iznad drugog, postavljanje velikog kompaktnog oblika iznad manje i rasute forme, uzdizanje velike mase u prostor tako da sa donje strane bude oslonjena manjom površinom i slično” (Han-Magomedov 2000, 406–407). Takve ideje oživele su u delu dekonstruktivista, koji su bili upoznati sa radom ruskih konstruktivista i neretko se otvoreno pozivali na njih (Brodent 2005, 608–610). Iako nije upadljiv kao u projektima Pitera Ajzenmana (Peter Eisenman), Bernara Čumija (Bernard Tschumi) ili Zahe Hadid (Zaha Hadid), i uvek u skladu sa prostorom za koji nastaje, dekonstruktivizam je prisutan i u Mitrovićevim projektima. Oглеda se u primeni osnovnih i čistih geometrijskih oblika, na prvom mestu paralelopipeda, primenjenog praktično bez izuzetka,<sup>19</sup> drugih geometrijskih oblika poput kruga ili trougla, ili u sukobljavanju različitih boja. Međusobno sučeljavanje geometrijskih oblika, poput valjaka (odnosno polovine valjaka) različitih dimenzija, prisutno je na poslovnoj zgradi „MPS”-a, a suprotstavljavanje paralelopipeda od pune zidne mase i staklenog polukruga na kući u Nake Spasić 10a. Izobličavanje i ukrštanje oblika, poput isturenih erkera, može se primetiti na auto-salonu „Coning” u Novom Sadu ili na kućama u Vukice Mitrović 57 i Miloja Đaka 1 u Beogradu (slika 4). Suprotstavljene uglovi pojavili su se na kućama u Ulici Mladena Stojanovića 5 i u Miloja Đaka 1, gde osnova u formi trougla, unutrašnje dvorište i istureni erker, koji čak izlazi iz granica parcele, verovatno predstavljaju najupečatljiviji primer takvog pristupa. Ne treba izostaviti ni rešenja u vidu mreže sa linijama postavljenim pod različitim uglovima, koja se

19 U razgovorima sa autorima rada Mitrović je svoju arhitekturu objašnjavao kao kretanje od arhetipske do kubične.



Slika 5. Zgrada u Višegradskoj 12a (levo), škola u Užicu (dole desno) i pumpa „Jugopetrol“ (gore desno), oko 1997, arhiva B. M.

suprotstavljaju punim površinama pod različitim uglovima, kao na Jugopetrolovoj benzinskoj stanici, Srednjoj medicinskoj školi u Užicu ili stambenoj zgradi u Višegradskoj 12a (slika 5). Sučeljavanje geometrijskih oblika različitih boja, pa i materijala, prisutno je na auto-salonu „Coning“ i na porodičnim kućama u Vukice Mitrović 57, Nake Spasić 10 i 10a, Augusta Cesarca 27v, Miloja Đaka 1.

### **Arhitektura Brislava Mitrovića i drugi vidovi likovnog izražavanja**

Ipak, može se reći da se Mitrovićev odnos prema ruskom konstruktivizmu tu ne iscrpljuje. Korisno je skrenuti pažnju da su upravo ruski avangardni umetnici, na koje Mitrović neretko referira, bili ti koji su se usmerili na rešavanje problema sinteze skulpture i arhitekture, osnovavši 1919. godine Sinskulptarh (kasnije Živskulptarh), komisiju koja je taj problem stavila u fokus i koju su činili vajari i arhitekte (Han-Magomedov 2000, 413–415). Govoreći o svom radu, Mitrović neretko referira na vajarstvo uopšte, u nekoliko navrata ističući i težnju ka skulptoralnom. Tako je za Hotel „Centar“ u Novom Sadu i kuću u Koste Vojinovića 4 (slika 6) istakao da su izbrisali granicu između skulpture i arhitekture



Slika 6. Hotel „Centar“ (levo) i kuća u Koste Vojinovića 4 (desno), oko 2012, arhiva B. M.

(Алфиревић 2013, 78). U tom smislu nije nevažna ni njegova izjava da „svi moji objekti na neki način predstavljaju eksperimentisanje formom“ (Алфиревић 2013, 79). Taj fenomen prisutan je od početka njegovog stvaralaštva, od prvog objekta nastalog na osnovu nagrađenog konkursnog rešenja, tornja za tehnološku vodu Tec 2 u Kragujevcu, za koji je izjavio: „Ovde se mogu prepoznati reference ili inspiracija u formi Brankušijevog [Constantin Brâncuși] obeliska neprekinute vertikale i jedne sasvim obične mostovske konstrukcije okrenute u vertikalu. Sigurno je i možda ponajviše na fonu moga horizonta u tom trenutku bila ideja ruskih konstruktivista i ovo bi moglo da se razume kao omaž tom periodu.“ On je kao osnovnu ideju u koncipiranju tog objekta istakao „likovnu-oblikovnu intervenciju”.<sup>20</sup>

Kada se razmatra veza između drugih vidova umetnosti i Mitrovićeve arhitekture nikako se ne sme izgubiti iz vidu i to što se u njegovim intervjuima neretko nailazi na podatak da je odluka da upiše arhitekturu bila kompromisno rešenje između njegove želje da studira na Likovnoj akademiji i želje njegovih roditelja da odabere neko „praktičnije” zanimanje (Lalić 2012, 30). Ljubav prema slikarstvu, nesumnjivi talenat i iskustvo u tom smislu, ali i prve decenije stvaralaštva koje je, skoro isključivo, nastajalo u partnerstvu sa Vasilijem Milunovićem, sinom slikara Mila Milunovića, pa i blisko druženje sa njegovim starijim bratom vajarom Nikolom Koljom Milunovićem (Алфиревић 2013, 78), kretanje u umetničkim krugovima i urođeni umetnički senzibilitet neminovno su uticali na sveprisutnu i opšteprepoznatu likovnost u delu Branislava Mitrovića.

<sup>20</sup> Preuzeto iz tehničkog opisa zgrade sačuvanog u arhivi Branislava Mitrovića.

## Zaključak

Shodno postavljenom cilju, koji se tiče preispitivanja i analize likovnog aspekta arhitektonskih ostvarenja Branislava Mitrovića, rad predstavlja sažet prikaz njegovog celokupnog stvaralaštva, sagledanog kroz prizmu specifične likovnosti autora. Težišni deo rada odnosi se na uspostavljanje relacija između dominantnih stilskih pravaca i realizovanih objekata, kroz koje je stvaralački opus arhitekta Mitrovića okarakterisan ostvarenjima koja sadrže bogat likovni izraz ispunjen različitim nivoima komunikacije sa vodećim stilskim stremljenjima. Njegova dela predstavljaju trag ostavljen u vremenu, koji omogućava čitanje promena kako u pristupu arhitektonskom stvaralaštvu i promišljanju, tako i onih koje su se dešavale u širem kontekstu. Čitanje i razumevanje slojevitosti promena koje su uticale na Mitrovićev rad kreću se od dominantnih arhitektonskih stilova postmoderne i ruskog konstruktivizma, preko kritičkog regionalizma i dekonstruktivizma, do savremenog arhitektonskog jezika i komuniciranja koje se ostvaruje kroz razmenu sa aktuelnim stremljenjima, podjednako na regionalnom i svetskom nivou. Osim toga, treba takođe istaći da je stvaralački doprinos arhitekta Branislava Mitrovića okarakterisan doslednošću u pogledu odbrane fundamentalnih arhitektonskih vrednosti i očuvanja autonomije arhitektonske profesije, pri čemu je osobenost njegovog pristupa bazirana na eksperimentu, istraživanju, ali i provociranju, pomeranju i testiranju granica, kao i variranju i razigravanju bazičnih arhitektonskih elemenata, pre svega zida kao osnovnog segmenta arhitektonskog rečnika. Takođe, Mitrovićev rad sadrži specifičan senzibilitet i širinu razumevanja važnosti detalja u konačnoj pojavnosti objekta, ali i značaja uspostavljanja odnosa prema kontekstu. Njegova usmerenost i koncentrisanost ka važnosti kreiranja mikroambijenta i ugodnosti koju prostor može da pruži kroz izvedenu arhitektonsku minijaturu svoju utemeljenost pronalazi u izrazu Gastona Bašlara (Gaston Louis Pierre Bachelard) da kutak negira palatu, prašina negira mermer, a obični predmeti negiraju sjaj i luksuz (Bašlar 2005, 140).

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## **COMMUNICATING WITH STYLES AND VISUAL EXPRESSION IN THE WORK OF ARCHITECT BRANISLAV MITROVIĆ**

### *Summary:*

Branislav Mitrović is one of the most prominent domestic architects, a professor emeritus, and an academician. The significance of his achievements has been confirmed by numerous domestic and international awards. The realization of Mitrović's oeuvre began with collective residential and public buildings commissioned by the state in the last decades of socialist Yugoslavia, and continues today, primarily with single-family villas, which represent the most dominant part of his oeuvre from the beginning of the 21st century, thus covering almost fifty years during which there were significant changes in both social circumstances and artistic expression's phenomena. Already at the beginning of his career, researchers recognized the distinct artistic quality of Mitrović's architecture, and he often spoke about the importance of art for his work. That is why this paper aims to reexamine the artistry of his architecture, that is, to analyze Branislav Mitrović's oeuvre through the prism of various artistic expressions and connect them with different streams of the architectural scene, as well as in other forms of fine arts, such as sculpture or painting. Various sources were used for writing this paper, primarily project documentation and photographs preserved in the legacy of the architect, as well as theoretical discussion on architecture and fine arts, especially those related to phenomena such as postmodernism, critical regionalism, and deconstructivism.

### *Keywords:*

Branislav Mitrović, architecture, postmodernism, critical regionalism, deconstructivism

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## **THE ART OF CHOICE: PEGGY GUGGENHEIM**

### *Abstract:*

This study examines the intersection of personal affinities and aesthetic strategies in the collecting practice of Peggy Guggenheim. Her decisions provide a foundation for understanding the identity of the collector, the logic behind selection, and the broader meaning of the collection itself. By comparing different approaches to art and collecting, the paper explores how Guggenheim positioned herself as a mediator between artistic eras, often anticipating systems of value that would only later gain institutional recognition. As a collector and patron, she challenged the dominant patriarchal frameworks—not through overt feminist critique, but by shifting the terms of participation. Her investments in art were guided less by financial gain and more by the creation of cultural capital. Through actions that foreshadowed museum-like practices, she helped shape a new artistic landscape governed by its own historical and aesthetic logic. This mode of collecting resists categorization within either modernist paradigms or postmodern micro-narratives, and instead aligns with the layered, oscillating sensibility of metamodernism.

### *Keywords:*

Peggy Guggenheim, collection, collectioning impulse, modern art, metamodernity

## Why Do We Remember Peggy Guggenheim?

In the chapter *Abstract Expressionism: The Grand Gesture 1943–1970* of his popular overview of modern art history *What Are You Looking At?*, Will Gompertz (2016, 263) turns to the figure and legacy of Peggy Guggenheim. He introduces her with the rather contentious claim that Peggy “was a passionate woman defined by her three great loves: money, men, and modern art.” I held an almost identical starting point when preparing a lecture within the framework of *American Culture Week: Heroes* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 2021. Yet the focus—largely rooted in clichés and deeply embedded stereotypes, even prejudices—shifted toward a more fundamental question: why do we remember Peggy in particular? Or, more precisely: why is it her name that most often surfaces among all collectors? It is difficult to argue that the answer lies solely in the tabloid-like combination of sex, money, and (artistic) glamour. Even in popular literature at the dawn of the third millennium, the phrase “defined by” reads as diminishing, especially in the passive voice. In fact, one could argue that Peggy Guggenheim herself defined the relationship to money, to men, and most importantly, to modern art—but also to much else besides.

Most of her contemporaries were confined to one of two roles: either private collectors or institutional founders. Peggy went further, acting in hybrid ways—as collector, gallerist, patron, and activist. She established galleries and a museum; she financed artists directly through grants or indirectly through services; she bought and exhibited works in turbulent times, particularly during World War II; and she took part in shaping the contemporary art scene by anticipating emerging contexts and concepts, as well as by creating what has become the heritage corpus of what we today call modern art. Above all, she intuitively and bravely selected art that was not yet “proven,” that was experimental or shocking—placing herself among the rare few who not only recognized but actively created artistic value.

Equally important: Peggy was a woman in the male-dominated world of art and the art market, at a moment when women had little access to capital, galleries, or curatorial authority. Her behavior was open, often provocative, and libertarian – destabilizing social codes in itself, and it is precisely this stereotype that Gompertz reproduces nearly a century later. Unlike Isabella Stewart Gardner, who built her collection within the norms of institutions and bourgeois ethics, or unlike her contemporaries who collected art primarily as an aesthetic or scholarly value, Peggy did more than accumulate art – she fashioned her persona as an artistic project in real time (Acker 2004, 83), and through her autobiography (Guggenheim 1980). Her approach demonstrates that collecting is an experimental form of knowledge; that the boundaries between private and public, amateur and professional, museological and affective can be productively unsettled; and that a collection can function as an epistemological machine: shaping gazes, identities, and aesthetic norms.

Peggy Guggenheim, therefore, is not merely one of the historical figures of collecting—she is a theoretical model. Yet this model resists conventional methodologies: her professional biography cannot be separated from her personal rises and falls, just as her private episodes – no matter how closely we examine them – fail to produce a unified high-resolution image. Peggy Guggenheim as a theoretical model demands interpretation in a constant oscillation between subjectivity and objectivity, naivety and knowledge, the personal (even the intimate) and the public, enthusiasm and irony, hope and melancholy, and finally, creation and heritage. Which is meta-modern in its essence.

### **Peggy Guggenheim as a Theoretical Challenge**

The question remains open: with which concept of collecting can we compare hers – that of her contemporaries, or that of today’s collectors? Undoubtedly, Peggy bridges epochs, even different philosophies of collecting: was she the last great patron, or the first global cultural entrepreneur who moved freely among markets, cities, and avant-gardes (Prokopoff 1980, 11–12)? In the period 1930–1960, a number of significant collectors and patrons were active, among them: Gertrude Stein, collector and writer, known for discovering Pablo Picasso and Cubism in Paris, equally provocative to society through her life choices; Albert C. Barnes, founder of a family foundation, collector of French modernists and African art; Katherine Dreier, founder of the *Société Anonyme* with Marcel Duchamp, collector and promoter of modern art in the United States; Duncan Phillips, founder of the *Phillips Collection* in Washington, the first museum of modern art in America; and, the aforementioned Isabella Stewart Gardner, who belonged to a generation before Guggenheim appeared on the “collecting” scene, but can still be considered relevant for comparison. Peggy Guggenheim shared with Stein and Dreier an avant-garde mission of actively promoting artists on the margins of the market, particularly Abstract Expressionism and the European avant-garde: “She was among the first to support Pollock, Rothko, and other artists who would later define American Modernism, and at a time when they had very little institutional or market recognition” (Prokopoff 1980, 33–35). With Stein she also shared intense personal and romantic relationships with artists, which significantly influenced her collection. Guggenheim connected the European and American scenes, but unlike Barnes and Dreier she was not supported by a systematic theory. It could be said that she had instinct, taste, courage, and, in the beginning, advisors: “At that time, I did not know how to distinguish things in art. Marcel [Duchamp] tried to educate me. I don’t know what I would have done without him. He made a plan for my exhibitions and gave me advice. I have to thank him for my entry into the world of modern art” (Guggenheim 1980, 35). Among the above-mentioned examples there were collectors similar to Peggy, but only she so radically combined private

and public, personal and institutional, while being open to contemporary currents. Finally, the spontaneity and paradoxical nature of her actions led Guggenheim to highlight contradictions, the boundary as construct – she did not engage much (if at all) in theory, but her activity shaped canons, because “meaning arises from the structure of the collection, and not necessarily from theoretical articulation” (Pierce 1995, 193). Thus, in the end, her collection is not a sum of artworks, but a set of meaning-bearers that connect almost irreconcilable codes of reality, even symbolic ones that can be read not only from the collection but also from the working models through which it came into being (Pomian 1990, 7–10).

On the other hand, we can compare Peggy Guggenheim with contemporary collectors such as Dakis Joannou, Eli and Edythe Broad (*Broad Collection*, Los Angeles), Maja Hoffmann (*Luma Foundation*, Arles), Charles Saatchi (*Saatchi Gallery*, London), François Pinault (*Palazzo Grassi / Bourse de Commerce*, Paris), and many others (Altshuler 2005, 5–12), who are highly significant in the ecosystem of supporting, developing, and presenting contemporary art. If our focus is on motivation and role in the artistic ecosystem, we might argue that today’s system is mostly based on market investment and social prestige (Thornton 2008, 155–160), but also that contemporary collectors are systemic actors in the market, founders and patrons of foundations, and even of cultural quarters and districts (Velthuis & Baia Curioni 2015, 15–20). What distinguished Peggy was her sincere and almost irrational devotion to art beyond market logic, but, on the other hand, also a lack of long-term strategy and institutional sustainability in the earlier phases of collecting.

Contemporary collecting trends base their selection on expertise, databases, market analyses, and consultations with curators and galleries (Stallabrass 2004, 130–135), while relationships with artists are often distant and institutional. Peggy Guggenheim understood artistic work as a living process, often developed in synergy with artists, best illustrated by her relationship with Jackson Pollock (Jones 1996, 231–235; Bishop 2012, 15–18). Her decisions were highly personal, even impulsive. Contemporary collections are almost immediately positioned through public foundations, cultural platforms, and museums, or globally through biennials, fairs, and digital platforms. The opposite is complete invisibility or concealment from the public eye, the so-called *Duty Free* or *Container Art* (Steyrer 2017, 20). In project-oriented and economically appealing language, the advantage of contemporary collectors lies in the professionalization of management and international visibility, while the main critique refers to the increased focus on branding, within which both artists and collectors become part of the celebrity system, with artistic content pushed into the background (Graw 2009, 156–160).

Finally, we could also turn to the semantic and epistemological potential of the collection. “New” collections are often thematically diverse, globally oriented, and sometimes without a unifying narrative, unlike Peggy Guggenheim’s, which is characterized by a clear narrative of the development of modern art, as well as personal and aesthetic coherence (Pearce 1995, 26–27, 30). Continuing in the same (economic-project) spirit, one could say that Peggy Guggenheim’s collection is almost

a museological narration of an era, while contemporary ones reflect flexibility, accentuate (even favor) pluralism, and flirt with the idea of postcolonial consciousness (Stokes Sims 2005, 154; Velthuis & Baia Curioni 2015, 15–17). Although we can criticize Peggy's focus on white male authors of Western art, contemporary collectors can be criticized for potential superficiality or compliance with fashion rather than vision (Thornton 2008, 20–23). In the contemporary context, her model of individualized cultural expression is almost unrepeatable in its radicalism, but at the same time represents a critical framework through which we can observe the limitations of contemporary, often market-oriented collecting (Belting 2001, 268).

### The Stereotype of Reading Biographies

Many have written about Peggy Guggenheim<sup>1</sup> in different ways, yet her autobiography<sup>2</sup> – partly adapted into a documentary film<sup>3</sup> – remains perhaps the best testimony. Peggy is brutally honest and unburdened by taboos or clichés when speaking about herself. She is acutely aware of them, and shocks even more with an almost psychopathic detachment from her own experiences. This is not merely the distant recollection of a woman who lived a turbulent and dynamic life. Rather, it is a matter of character – not overly interested in everyday life, but intensely focused, almost ruminative, on love, intimacy, or art – which, in Peggy Guggenheim's case, are nearly identical.

The first exhibition she organized in her London gallery (*Guggenheim Jeune*) was dedicated to Jean Cocteau. The very first work shown was the drawing *Fear Gives Wings to Courage*. This became almost a motto for all of Peggy's subsequent work. In her attempt to approach her family and obtain support for an exhibition dedicated to Kandinsky in 1938, she turned to Hilla von Rebay, herself a collector and abstract artist, and at that time the director of the Guggenheim Foundation (from the following year the *Museum of Non-Objective Painting*, and from 1952 the *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum*, founded by Peggy's uncle). The reply she received was brutal:

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- 1 Here are several important publications: Rudenstine, Angelica & Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. *Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice*. New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation & Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1985; Weld, Jacqueline B. *Peggy: The Wayward Guggenheim*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1986; Dortch, Virginia M. (Ed.) *Peggy Guggenheim and Her Friends*. Milan: Berenice Art Books, 1994; Gill, Anton. *Art Lover: A Biography of Peggy Guggenheim*. HarperCollins Publishers, 2002; Dearborn, Mary V. *Mistress of Modernism: The Life of Peggy Guggenheim*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004; Davidson, Susan & Rylands (Eds.) *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century*. Venice: Peggy Guggenheim Collection, 2004; Prose, Francine *Peggy Guggenheim. The Shock of the Modern*. Yale University Press, 2015.
  - 2 Guggenheim, Peggy. *Out of This Century: The Informal Memoirs of Peggy Guggenheim*. The Dial Press, 1946 i Guggenheim, Peggy. *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict*. Universe Books, 1980.
  - 3 Documentary feature: *Peggy Guggenheim: Art Addict*, dir. Lisa Immordino Vreeland, (Submarine Entertainment), 2015.

“Dear Mrs. Guggenheim Jeune,  
Your gallery would be the last one to which our foundation would turn if we were to acquire a historically important painting... It is extremely unpleasant to see the Guggenheim name, which today represents an ideal in art, used for commercial purposes... It is sad to see how you promote mediocrity, if not garbage. You will soon discover that non-objective art does not grow on trees so that you can make your business profitable. For that reason, the trade in true art cannot exist.”

Although Peggy Guggenheim’s gallery operated at a considerable loss, her answer was no less courageous:

“Dear Baroness Rebay,  
Your letter amused me greatly... I think you have a completely wrong idea about my art gallery. For the last sixteen years I have lived and associated with artists. My motives are pure. I do not make money, I help artists.  
Yours,  
Marguerite” (Guggenheim 1980, 41).

The quality that best characterizes Peggy is always courage – even when it was not explicitly manifested, even when her interpretations might “smell” of frivolity. After her plans for opening a museum of modern art in London, her marital troubles, her intense purchases of artworks in Paris up until mere hours before the occupation, her dramatic crossing of the Atlantic<sup>4</sup>, and her turbulent personal experiences upon arriving in the United States, she opened the *Art of This Century* gallery on October 20, 1942. The gallery combined Surrealist and abstract art in separate spaces and was the first international gallery to present European and American art together on equal terms. But it was not only this “geographical” innovation that contributed to its success. The abundance of programs—still considered progressive today—that focused on the Black community, children, marginalized artists, women, as well as a collecting impulse toward peripheral geographies and/or colonies<sup>5</sup>, shaped both the gallery and the art-historical narrative.

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4 “There were eleven of us – one husband, two ex-wives, one future husband, and seven children [...] The clipper voyage was very boring, except for one hour we spent in the Azores, where I bought a huge hat that the journalists wanted to photograph me with in New York” – another example of Peggy Guggenheim’s interesting storytelling and her relationship to reality. Documentary film: *Peggy Guggenheim: Art Addict*, dir. Lisa Immordino Vreeland, (Submarine Entertainment), 2015.

5 This is best illustrated by the exhibition held in Venice in 2020, which testifies to Peggy’s turn during the 1950s and 1960s toward collecting works by artists from Africa, Oceania, and South America. See more details at: <https://www.guggenheim-venice.it/en/whats-on/exhibitions/migrating-objects/> (19.06.2025).

Just a few months after opening the gallery, in January 1943, Peggy Guggenheim organized *Exhibition by 31 Women*—the first exhibition devoted exclusively to women artists, featuring participants from both sides of the Atlantic. Works were selected by Duchamp, Breton, and Ernst, together with Peggy herself. A curiosity for the Serbian art scene is that Milena Pavlović Barili was among those included. Without delving into Peggy’s later private relationships with some of the selectors and artists, she laconically commented after the exhibition: “*I said it should have been 30 and not 31 women*”<sup>6</sup> Eighty years later, Jenna Segal recreated this exhibition at the very site where *Art of This Century* once stood.<sup>7</sup>

The ways in which Peggy Guggenheim collected, selected works for exhibitions in her galleries, or commented on them publicly (let us not forget, she was a public figure) often gave rise to controversial interpretations. Susan Pearce has written: “Where women have engaged in [this type of] collecting, research suggests that it has usually been related to a husband or family prestige, or unrelated to essential meaning, as in the case of Peggy Guggenheim, who seems to have collected most of her paintings as souvenirs of various artist lovers.” (Pearce 1995, 2016). Although citing the *Autobiography*, it is evident that Pearce fails to grasp Peggy Guggenheim’s ironically honest tone. The narrative is (mis)used in order to suggest an absence of aesthetic and intellectual autonomy, to emphasize pseudo-secondary motives, and to discredit her curatorial vision. As an illustration of a similar attitude, one might mention the exhibition *Contemporary Sculpture* that Peggy Guggenheim organized in London at the already mentioned Guggenheim Jeune gallery. In her *Autobiography* we read:

“[The English] customs authorities did not want to accept all the works together as an art exhibition. It was up to the director of the Tate Gallery, J. B. Manson, to decide what was art. He did not confirm it, so the exhibits could only enter the country as individual pieces of bronze, marble, wood... The case ended up in court at the House of Commons. Manson lost the case, and soon after his position as director as well.” (Guggenheim 1980, 42).

Peggy was almost continuously challenged, both as a woman and as a collector. The role of patroness was (cynically) taken for granted, given the intersection of her social status and artistic interests. Yet, when considering all three aspects simultaneously, she can be seen as a disruptive force within an art system fundamentally male in principle and often upheld by women as well. Peggy, with the help of her own resources and undeniable charisma, created space for a different visual and value system. Moreover, she used her personal lifestyle to participate authentically in the artistic avant-garde as part of its code and mythmaking: she

6 Film *Art Addict*.

7 The 31 Women Collection, <https://www.the31women.com/home> (17.06.2025)

did not merely observe, reflect on, or collect art from a distance, but generated and constituted her own persona through and within the artistic system, which is an identificatory act (Jones 2012, 15 and 23).

Finally, Peggy—following Linda Nochlin’s view—can be understood as a “proto-feminist figure.” Peggy herself stated this explicitly: “*I was a liberated woman long before there was a name for it.*”<sup>8</sup> Certainly, she did not articulate a feminist position theoretically, but she embodied it in her practice. Essentially, Peggy Guggenheim’s contribution should not be seen exclusively through the field of art production and collecting, nor solely through her “scandalous” private life, but also in connection to the contemporary intellectual currents reshaping the artistic field (Nochlin 1971, 22–39, 67–71).

### **The “Bilbao” Effect of Peggy Guggenheim?**

The Bilbao effect is a question of identity. After critical acclaim and the local community’s enthusiasm for the city’s economic parameters, Bilbao began to awaken “after the fireworks.” The question of identity remained from the moment the word gentrification was increasingly heard – to whom did the newest Guggenheim museum branch actually belong? Being the “black sheep” of her family, the question of the identity of Peggy Guggenheim’s collection manifests itself in an opposite way at every stage of its creation and exhibition. The reason lies precisely in Peggy and her decisions, while perception can be decisive in evaluation. Although Peggy was a contemporary of modernist metanarratives, conventional worldviews were not particularly favorable to her. Peggy Guggenheim died with the first signs of postmodernism. Yet even a society enjoying simulacra and bricolages, relentless “critique” and (self-)reflection, intelligent and then banal irony, did not have the capacity to think about Peggy Guggenheim more sincerely.

From a historical perspective, both the novel and the museum are peers and belong to the period of the birth of the modern era (Popadić 2014, 137). Peggy claimed to be both a collector and a writer, as evidenced by the way she signed dedications in catalogues. And since heritage is not a verifiable or probable version of our past, it is a confession of faith in that past (Lowenthal 1998, 78). Following Peggy Guggenheim’s path, it can be argued that she confessed faith in the present, more precisely in contemporaneity, whose future is to become heritage, and she wrote about it in a very unconventional way. The question of the relationship between contemporaneity and the past is clearly reflected in the two versions of her *Autobiography*, separated by about thirty years.

Although the previously mentioned collector Dakis Joannou flaunts his expensive yacht named *Guilty*, designed by Jeff Koons, this does not mean that his

collecting impulse lacks the same features as Peggy's – the development of personal relationships with artists, recently mostly on the beautiful island of Hydra.<sup>9</sup> Since her arrival in Venice, Peggy did not boast about anything, but rather built the memory potential of her collection. The first version of the *Autobiography* (1946) shocks and provokes, while the one from the last year of her life is an honest confession of a woman who lived life the way she wanted, could, and knew how. This second version has become an integral part of how we consider her collecting path, and thus an inseparable part of the interpretation of the historical-artistic canon she created.

After the end of the war and the closure of her New York gallery, Peggy moved to Venice. Long before she officially became part of the Guggenheim museum conglomerate, criticisms had turned into praise and recognition. It could be said that this was more about her collection than Peggy herself. She was first presented at the Venice Biennale in 1948 at the Greek Pavilion (Ereš 2020, 103), which was also visited by the then President of Italy, Luigi Einaudi. The following year she was permanently housed in the Palazzo Venier dei Leoni. London's Tate hosted her in 1965 (Stephenson 2018), the museum of her late uncle in 1969, and Paris' Orangerie in 1975. Nevertheless, Peggy's collecting contribution is more fascinating during the period from 1930 to 1948 than after her "settling" in Venice.

If compared to Joannou, despite friendships with artists and attempts to understand creation, his approach appears institutionalized, deliberate, and structured – all the while his collecting impulse is intertwined with the *Déste* Foundation (colloquial Greek: *Look! See!*). Peggy's approach, in contrast, is almost cinematic, fictional, yet real: It oscillates between naivety and irony (generally toward the world around her, and thus toward collecting), private and public, hope (for recognition) and doubt (in her own assessments), faith in her choices (Pollock) and cynicism (*Exhibition by 31 Women*). These codes are not necessarily opposed to one another, and even linear movement between them is not obligatory. Peggy cannot be placed in a single trajectory; she is in constant, random movement. This seems to describe her collecting path. She demonstrates a utopian desire for meaning, authenticity, and emotion – yet she is liberated by the (un)awareness of the illusion that goals are fully attainable.

If we could ask both the same question – "Do you believe that the act of engagement and attempt, even if perhaps unsuccessful, has meaning in itself?" – we would very likely get different answers. Joannou's path is post-postmodern, while Peggy Guggenheim traverses into metamodernity. Relying on Elsner and Cardinal (1994, 1), Milan Popadić notes: "It is important to pay attention to one essential thing – classification precedes collecting" (*trans. aut.*) (Popadić 2021, 33). However, in the case of Peggy Guggenheim, this is not entirely true – her collecting led to classification and its continuous refinement. Thus, Peggy Guggenheim's

9 Dakis Joannou interview in Hydra, <https://www.lux-mag.com/dakis-joannou-interview-in-hydra/>, Lux, Responsible Culture (19.06.2025)

collecting is the process lead mostly by intuition, rather than conformity to existing classifications. It is almost a “structure of feeling” as a way in which a period or phenomenon is emotionally perceived (Williams 1977, 128–135). The sensibility of metamodernism, if such a term can even be used, balances or “travels” between two values: the coldness and detachment of postmodern irony and the sublimity and dogmatism of modernism (Vermeulen & van den Akker 2010). This structure of feeling, in Peggy Guggenheim’s case, is still deconstructed, unsystematized, and unclassified. But this is no longer a problem, rather a possibility for a new paradigm of collecting.

Through collecting, Peggy interprets art (of selection) and, through the interpretation of art, she also collects her own life choices. “Between the most common understanding that interpretation is any story about art, and the exclusive understanding that interpretation is a discourse about being itself, there is no classical opposition. Between these two formal poles arise, freely chosen, yet always in some way legitimate, different forms of narratives about art” (*trans. aut.*) (Bulatović 2016, 68). And one of the most legitimate stories of recognizing the value of new art, which withstands time and tastes, is undoubtedly that of Peggy Guggenheim.

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**UMETNOST IZBORA:  
PEGI GUGENHAJM**

*Apstrakt:*

Rad se bavi odnosom između ličnih afiniteta i estetskih izbora u kolekcionarskoj praksi Pegi Gugenhajm. Njeni potezi predstavljaju temelj za promišljanje identiteta kolekcionara, selektivnih strategija i samog koncepta zbirke. Upoređujući njene pristupe umetnosti i kolekcionisanju, analiziraju se načini na koje je uspešno delovala kao posrednica između umetničkih epoha, često prepoznajući vrednosti koje će tek kasnije dobiti institucionalno priznanje. Kao kolekcionarka i mecena, Gugenhajm narušava dominaciju patrijarhalno oblikovanih kanona – ne toliko otvorenom feminističkom kritikom, koliko suštinskim promenama u načinu delovanja. Njena ulaganja u umetnost – lična i finansijska – nisu bila vođena profitom, već stvaranjem kulturnog kapitala. Kroz modele delovanja bliske muzejskim praksama, oblikovala je novi umetnički pejzaž, utemeljen na sopstvenim istorijsko-umetničkim i estetskim principima. Taj impuls ne odgovara savremenim modernističkim ili postmodernim tumačenjima, već se uklapa u složeniju strukturu koju možemo opisati pojmom metamodernosti.

*Ključne reči:*

Pegi Gugenhajm, zbirka, kolekcionarski impuls, moderna umetnost, metamodernost

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KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK

ORIGINALAN NAUČNI RAD



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### **REVISITING *APRIL ENCOUNTERS*: ENACTING ALTERNATIVES**

#### *Abstract:*

Inspired by the student-led program developed during the recent five-month occupation of the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade, an integral part of the wider student protests in Serbia, this paper revisits the *April Encounters* as a key manifestation that marked a formative and conceptually significant phase in the history of the Centre. Through an analysis of its programs, ideas, discussions, and art practices, the text seeks to explore the potential resonance of *April Encounters* within contemporary student struggles. The programs, with their numerous international and Yugoslavian participants, explored the new logic of artistic production that inherently aimed at transforming the institutional framework. Today, the question of institutional forms and their possible alternatives emerges as a central concern for a new generation of students, pointing to the continued relevance of examples and knowledge created within our neo-avant-garde tradition.

#### Keywords:

April Encounters, Student Cultural Centre, institutional change, neo-avant-garde, students' protests, engagement

## Introduction

The five months long occupation of Students Cultural Centre (SKC) in Belgrade in 2025, organised by students, within the wider student and social movement in Serbia, revived questions related to the nature of cultural institutions, their role and function within society. Within the struggle marked with dominant social demand for greater participation, transparency and democratisation of institutions, the implications of such a demand for the art system became an urgent issue. Critique of the existing, still-dominant institutional structure is being articulated, while new possible designs for alternatives are yet to be defined. Summarizing the study *The Imaginary Institution of Society* by Cornelius Castoriadis (Castoriadis 1987), Simon Sheikh points out the imaginary character of the institutions and adds: “Institutions are part of symbolic network, and as such not fixed or stable, but constantly articulated through projection and practice” (Sheikh 2005, 19). This imaginary potential to reinvent an art institution through practice has been revealed in the activities of students in the occupied Student Cultural Center.

Five months of active production of space, knowledge, program, community and public manifested the constitutive process of shaping an alternative through collective action. This process also confronted us with the image of an institution which, after decades of poor management, had been effectively erased from the map of youth cultural spaces. The students’ occupation, or to use their more precise term – liberation of the space, demonstrated the capacity to transform the institution with numerous events, productions, concerts, exhibitions, experiments, conversations, plenums, encounters, exchanges and communal living. The analysis of this experience, including the analysis of implemented programs, established relations, organisational logic, work ethics, communal living practices, and other aspects of the process that shaped the occupation, will hopefully become the subject of future research. Here we will just briefly outline a few visible characteristics. The inner logic of governing the space reflected the organizational logic of the wider students’ movement, decisions were made within the plenum of *SKC in Blockade* (SKC u blokadi), and tasks were distributed within working groups. The center’s program was fully created by students and numerous concerts, film projections, performances, workshops, open dialogs and exchange sessions, exhibitions and festivals were organized. Students launched the *SKC in Blockade* internet radio station, and published 11 issues of the SKC paper.<sup>1</sup> Under the slogan *Students’ Space to Students* (Studentski prostor studentima) (image 01) SKC, once again, became a platform for learning, practicing skills, exploring ideas, doing, organizing, producing, negotiating, planning, and intensive exchange between young people themselves and with numerous audiences, visitors, and direct or indirect participants of the programs.

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1 More on activities of *SKC in Blockade* with all issues of SKC paper available online on: <https://skc.news/>. Last accessed August 23, 2025.

Inspired by the students' attempt to constitute a new form of institution through practice, this paper examines the history of the Student Cultural Center's most notable manifestation, the *April Encounters*, as a platform that initiated wide debate on the role and function of the art institution, shortly after the students' protests of 1968.

### Student Cultural Centre (SKC)

The generation of '68 was granted the Student Cultural Center as a result of students' protests, but also as a way to silence their struggle against the "red bourgeoisie", the term students used to address the party elites.<sup>2</sup> They were given the fully renovated building, originally the *Officers' Club* (Dom oficira) and later the seat of *State Security Administration* (Uprava državne bezbednosti), in which the government had invested significant resources to adapt it for its new purpose (V.Š. 1971). In 2025, the situation is somewhat different. Students had to occupy the building, bring in their own equipment and realize all their programs with the only support being modest donations from citizens, only to be evicted by police five months later. Public institution, intended for the development and practice of youth and students' culture, returned to its state of hibernation, emptied of any relevant content, program and, most importantly, students.

Although the Centre and the programs it housed may have lost relevance for students over the past few decades, its rich history remains alive, as a living, active legacy that continues to shape new generations. This is reflected in the numerous events organized in the SKC within the five months of students' liberation, most specifically the *April Encounters* festival, a clear reference to the avant-garde movements that defined the institution during the seventies.



Students Space to Students, Student Cultural Centre, Belgrade, april 2025, photo Milica Pečić

2 More on the implications for the potential of political organizing and the work of student organizations after the protests of '68 in: Imširović Pavluško, „U susret studentskim nemirima, omladinski pokret u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji, juče i danas”, *Novi Plamen*, 20. oktobar 2012. Dunja Blažević, the first editor of the visual arts program at the Student Cultural Center, also speaks about the abolition of student organizations. The interview is available at: <https://vimeo.com/149264527>, Last accessed August 23, 2025.

### ***April Encounters (Aprilski susreti)***

In her introduction to the *Journal of Modern Art History Department*, dedicated to the art legacy of '68, Jasmina Čubrilo refers to the global event of the '68 protests as an unfinished event: "since all the questions which were raised, the confrontations and questioning of the existing order, remain just as relevant today as they were at the moment they erupted. In the case of '68, these were questions of democracy, representation, civil and minority rights, the distribution of power and capital, ecological awareness, and a fascination with leftist ideas."<sup>3</sup> (Čubrilo 2018, 7) This statement can be extended to issues regarding the nature and the function of art, as well as the nature of an institution of art. This is why it is important in the current moment to revisit the legacy of *April Encounters* as the manifestation through which we can follow different ideas, challenges, experiments, and their effects regarding the topics discussed and shared among students, artists and curators from Yugoslavia and different parts of the world in the seventies.

*April Encounters* was first established and organized in 1972, as a manifestation celebrating Students' Day with a program oriented toward, as stated in the introduction of the *Bulletin* (Bilten) of the first issue of *April Encounters*, critical practices, creating a working environment for experiments and research.<sup>4</sup> Encounters were organized six years in a row, from 1972 to 1977, within the broadly defined thematic framework of expanded media. They served as a platform for exchange, intensive dialogues and theoretical reflection on the role and position of art in society, as well as for experiments, production, and realization of a large number of works by both local and international artists. It was an international, interdisciplinary manifestation which merged film, theatre, performance, visual arts, dance, and music in an intensive and vibrant program. Modest in production, with limited means available but lots of enthusiasm and connections with international artists and curators built by program editors, *April Encounters* represented a unique manifestation. At the time when British/German film director and artist Lutz Becker could not present his documentaries on the soviet avant-garde "*Malevich Suprematism*" and "*Art and Revolution*", neither in the East nor the West, as stated by program editor of SKC gallery at the time Dunja Blažević, on the third *April Encounters* it was projected five days in a row.<sup>5</sup> The number of participants throughout the years is impressive and here, as an

3 Author's translation.

4 As a part of manifestation, each year, a Bulletin was issued following the events, announcing programs, participants, publishing comments, some of the transcripts of the discussions which took place within the program and essays on the topics in question. These Bulletins represent one of the major prime sources offering insight in the nature of the manifestation.

5 Interview with Dunja Blažević by Milica Pekić and Stevan Vuković within the project "Conversations about New Artistic Practices of the 70s in Serbia" available online: <https://vimeo.com/149264527>, 19:29–21:00. Last accessed: August 25, 2025

illustration of the scope of the event, I will list just some of their names: Gina Pane, Paul Pignon, Luciano Giaccari, Goran Trbuljak, Slavko Matković, Sanja Iveković, Marina Abramović, Raša Todosijević, Era Milivojević, *The People Show* collective, theater *Pekarna*, Nuša and Srečo Dragan, Luigi Ontani, Ilija Šoškić, Vladan Radovanović, Milenko Pajić, *Bosch+Bosch* collective, Joseph Boeys, Gill Eatherley, Tim Jones, Dubravko Detoni, Vladimir Gudac, *Arte Viva* collective, Katalin Ladik, Joe McEwan, Achille Bonito Oliva, Nena Dimitrijević, Germano Celant, Barbara Reise, Vladan Radovanović, Giancarlo Politi, Endre Tôt, Walter de Maria, Natalia Lach-Lachowicz, Ulrike Rosenbach, Iole de Freitas, Natalia Lach-Lachowicz, Nicol Gravier, Hans Otte, Herve Fisher, Ida Biard, Fernando de Filippi, Zdzislaw Sosnowski, Janusz Haka, Rosetta Brooks, Diego Cortez, Nancy Kitchen, Katharina Sieverding, Irina Subotić, Wolfgang Weber, Radomir Damnjanović Damnjan, Oskar Davičo, Mladen Stilić, Ješa Denegri, Zorica Mršević, Eugene Carl, Miroslav Miša Savić, Ulay, Miško Šuvaković, Ursula Krinzinger, Hans Haacke, Neša Paripović, Slobodan Šijan, Zoran Popović, Jovan Čekić, Čedomir Vasić, and Oto Bihalji Merin. Among the members of the editorial team of the manifestation were Dunja Blažević, Biljana Tomić, Božidar Zečević, Petar Ignjatović with the occasional participation of Jasna Tijardović, Bojana Pejić, Ješa Denegri, Jadranka Vinterhalter and others. In the words of Dunja Blažević:

“...all of us, who were working with certain artists and developing a certain kind of art, we all knew each other. It was an international circle where we were all equals since we did stuff simultaneously.”<sup>6</sup>

Situated in Yugoslavia, as a socialist and communist country outside the Eastern Block, whose citizens could freely travel in most of the countries across the globe without visas, *April Encounters* represented a platform for exchange, a working international lab where different ideas could meet, where capitalist critique can be shared, where revolutionary potential of art could be discussed and where ideas could be presented, tested, performed, produced and practiced.

### **Expanded media**

The general topic of all issues of the manifestation was the notion of ‘expanded media’ (prošireni mediji). As mentioned by Božidar Zečević during the final discussions on the second issue of *April Encounters*, the editorial team found inspiration for the topic in Gene Youngblood’s concept of ‘expanded cinema’, which, according to Zečević, covers the joint movement of different media toward new forms and possible synthesis. Zečević further elaborates the notion as:

6 Ibid, 22:08–22:18.

“the beginning of a new, collective understanding of art as a general necessity, in which the border between the producer and the audience disappears; in which past era’s understanding of individual and exclusive rights to artistic goods is irreversibly lost.”<sup>7</sup> (Zečević 1973)

One of the key instruments for communicating the theme of the manifestation and encouraging artists to experiment with the notion of expanded media was an open call for submissions, first introduced at the inaugural *April Encounters* and maintained as an integral part of the program through to the sixth and final edition. Statements by jury members, published in *I April Encounter’s Bulletin*, give an insight into how the notion was understood. Art historian Matko Meštrović argues that the transcendence of traditional artistic media, along with the opening of an unlimited repertoire of artistic means, renders the classification of artistic techniques and procedures impossible. This, he claims, justifies the use of the umbrella term ‘expanded media’ and highlights the fact that the formulations of artistic messages could not be predicted since:

“...they may take the form of a document, a shock, an invitation to participate or play, a construction project, a staged event, or any more or less complex and open-ended process typically aimed at engaging the viewer’s, observer’s, participant’s, or fellow citizen’s entire sensory or cognitive apparatus, whether they are invited, provoked, or simply caught off guard.”<sup>8</sup> (Meštrović 1972)

Ješa Denegri points out that shifts in modes of aesthetic communication also imply a transformation in the social status of art, which moves toward “a further democratization of artistic exchange, primarily driven by free and equal individual choices.” (Denegri 1972) Božidar Zečević highlights the element of play as the most vital characteristic of the new practices, one that recognizes no external limitations and without which it becomes impossible to confront “a world of fixed relations and immutable codes.” (Zečević 1972)

In the introduction of the *II April Encounter Bulletin* Dunja Blažević expands on Denegri’s view by introducing a dichotomy in the interpretation of the concept of expanded media: art as an end in itself versus art as a means. The former refers to the shifting of formal boundaries within art itself, while the latter points toward the “socialization” (podružtvljanje) of art, where expanded media serves as a tool in that process. (Blažević 1973)

On the final day of the second *April Encounters*, a discussion was held on the concept of expanded media, with the aim of examining the cultural and social

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7 Author’s translation.

8 Author’s translation.

profile of the manifestation, as well as offering a theoretical articulation of its thematic framework.<sup>9</sup> In his presentation, artist Vladimir Radovanović emphasized that expanded media should not be regarded as an artistic style or movement, arguing instead that the term must also encompass an expanded attitude toward both art and the medium itself. Jovan Ćirilov noted that questions surrounding media expansion had already been raised in the fifties through the experiments of John Cage, Anna Halprin, and Allan Kaprow, practices later referred to as happenings or mixed media. Ješa Denegri points out that for contemporary practice, articulation of certain attitudes, expressible through almost any available means, is more important than the choice of means or media used for communication. He concludes that it is no longer appropriate to speak of expanded media, but rather of new media, or “simply of attitudes on the basis of which anyone can choose and use those means they consider adequate to their expressive purpose.”<sup>10</sup> (Denegri 1973)

The discussion of the third *Encounters*, notable for Joseph Beuys’s visit and numerous international participants, was entitled *Information – Expanded Media or New Arts* (Informacija – prošireni mediji ili nove umetnosti). According to Ješa Denegri, the discussion, involving numerous Yugoslavian and international participants, was marked by intense ideological confrontations and diverse viewpoints, covering a thematic range from commercialism in art and ideological premises of art to the possibilities and forms of critical practice. (Denegri 2003, 34) Artist Vladimir Gudac, for example, views dominant artistic practice as an activity of the elite for the elite, and defines the aim of new art as making it widely accessible, not through the ‘democratization of art’ (demokratizacijom umetnosti), but through the ‘cultivation of life’ (kultivacijom života), enabling creativity as a way of living for all. (Gudac 1974)

The fourth April Encounters, as part of its discussion program, opened the topic of the position of women in art through a debate entitled ‘*Women in Art*’ (Žene u umetnosti). The debate was announced in the *Bulletin* as a conversation prompted by the statement: ‘*This artwork by a female artist is so good, as if it were made by a man*’ (Delo ove umetnice je tako dobro kao da je delo muškarca).<sup>11</sup> The discussion featured a notable group of female artists and curators from Yugoslavia, alongside participants from Germany, Brazil, France, and Poland. Among participants were Gisliind Nabakowski, Ulrike Rosenbach, Natalia Lach-Lachowicz, Iole de Freitas, Katharina Sieverding, Nicol Gravier, Dunja Blažević, Irina Subotić, Jadranka Vinterhalter, Marina Abramović, Ida Biard, Nena Baljković, Jasna Tijardović, Borka Pavićević, and Biljana Tomić.

9 Authorized transcripts of the participants’ presentations were published in: *Билтен 09, II априлски сусрет*, СКЦ, Београд, 1973.

10 Author’s translation.

11 As announced within the program of the Encounters in: *IV Априлски сусрети, Билтен 04, 09.05.1975*, 5.

The fifth *April Encounters* brought the critique of the development of new art forms and their inadequate institutional appropriation, shifting the conversation toward the revolutionary potential of art and its role in society. The Yugoslav model of self-management provided a conceptual framework for the discussion, further inspired by the exhibition *October 75*, curated by Dunja Blažević at the SKC Gallery in October 1975.<sup>12</sup> Aware of the risks posed by the commodification of conceptual and new art, which could easily reduce it into a mere artistic style, artists and curators on the local scene revisited Marxist ideas and the notion of self-management as a distinct feature of Yugoslav socialism. An unsigned text published in the *Bulletin*, entitled *Is the Fate of New Art an -ism?* (Da li je sudbina nove umetnosti izam), described self-managing art as follows:

“Self-managing art is, therefore, the kind of art that demonstratively envisions the future, art that already enacts, in the making, that future. It plays, reveals, performs, teaches, and lives precisely that.”<sup>13</sup>

While international critique was directed toward the institutional assimilation and neutralization of avant-garde and conceptual art, local critique targeted the rigidity of the art bureaucracy, the dogmatism of postwar Yugoslav modernism, and the anomalies in the implementation of the self-management ideology. The potential of art to induce change within the dominant system shaped the discussions of the sixth *April Encounters*, within the thematic framework entitled *Electronic Media in Social Change* (Elektronski mediji u društvenim promenama). Electronic media were approached as an open channel of communication which should ensure the right of working people to share information and be informed. The discussion addressed the nature of electronic media, their emerging new functions, mechanisms of information distribution as both one-way and two-way processes. Topics discussed included contact programs, communicators, concepts such as mass communication, channel, medium, message, and others.<sup>14</sup>

As presented in this brief overview, the main concerns of artists, curators, cultural workers and audiences of *April Encounters* within its six editions were fully directed toward avant-garde explorations regarding new, conceptual, expanded, and experimental art practices of the seventies and their social and political potential. But the discussions were also inspired by the productions presented, performed and tested within the program of *Encounters*. Ješa Denegri, in his presentation at the second *April Encounters*, highlights the audience’s full participation as the most

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12 More on the exhibition *October 75* in: Vesić, Jelena. “SKC (Student Cultural Centre) as a Site of Performative (Self-)Production: October 75 – Institution, Self-organisation, First-person speech, Collectivization”, *Život umjetnosti*, no 91 (2012): 30-53, [https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU\\_91-2012\\_030-053\\_Vesic.pdf](https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_91-2012_030-053_Vesic.pdf). Last accessed: August 25, 2025

13 „Да ли је судбина нове уметности изам“, *Билтен 02, V априлски сусрет*, СКЦ, Београд, 1976, Author’ translation

14 More in *Билтен 06 VI априлски сусрет*, СКЦ, Београд, 1977

significant achievement, emphasizing how their active involvement both shaped the events and inspired the artists. (Denegri, 1973)

## New art

Artists were active participants in all of the discussions but were also continuously, during the program of *Encounters*, producing and performing works, testing them in direct contact with other artists, curators and audiences. During the first edition in 1972, Gina Pane performed her body performance *Life Death Dream* and Era Milivojević performed *Long Live the First of May* (Živeo 1. Maj).<sup>15</sup> These works, along with some earlier performances by Era Milivojević, inspired and announced a series of performative actions and experiments by a circle of artists linked to SKC during the seventies. The notion of the art work and its mode of production, as well as the relationship between artist and audience, were explored by many artists through various approaches. At the second edition in 1973, Goran Đorđević and Vojislav Radulović set up a piece called *The Performance* (Predstava), as an action exploring audience participation. The gallery was divided into two sections, and the audience into two groups. The first group entered and was hidden behind a curtain with soft music playing. Then the second group was seated opposite them. When the curtain was pulled back, both groups realized they were facing each other, being simultaneously audience and performers. Reactions ranged from discomfort to acceptance and mutual interaction.<sup>16</sup>

During the third edition of the *Encounters* Gergelj Urkom performed a destruction of a chair as an incidental artwork, Marina Abramović performed her piece *Rhythm 5*, laying inside a burning star, Braco Dimitrijević staged a fictional *Reception* from his *Casual Passerby* (Slučajni prolaznik) series, and Ida Biard and Goran Trbuljak conducted an interview that Trbuljak later claimed as his own artwork:

“Ida Biard: Why do you sign the interview as your own work?  
Goran Trbuljak: Because an artist’s interview has a social and cultural function, the same function as an exhibition or the work itself.  
This interview can also be recognized as my work because my awareness of it is such.”<sup>17</sup> (Biard 1974)

15 For more details about first performances by Era Milivojević through his own perspective in interview by Milica Pekić and Stevan Vuković within the project “Conversations about New Artistic Practices of the 70s in Serbia” available online: [https://kioskngo.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Era-Milivojevic\\_English-subtitles\\_1.mp4?28960](https://kioskngo.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Era-Milivojevic_English-subtitles_1.mp4?28960)

16 Description of the work with reflection on audience reaction in: *Билтен 07, II априлски сусрет*, СКЦ, Београд, 1973.

17 Full interview is published in Encounter’s Bulletin, and here is part of it in authors’ translation: Биард, Ида. „Интервју – Горан Трбуљак и Ида Биард“, *Билтен 05 III априлски сусрет*, СКЦ, Београд, 1974

Artist Radomir Damjanović Damjan realized the action *Free Artwork* (Besplatno umetničko delo), handing out his works on office forms to the audience, questioning authorship and the nature of artistic labor. Under the slogan *Free Art* Katalin Ladik, two years later, during the fifth edition of *Encounters*, realized an action with an audience entitled *Exchange Art – Art of Exchange, Alteration, and Change* (Exchange Art – umetnost razmene, izmene i promene). She created a sort of the marketplace within the gallery space, inviting the audience to take part in the free exchange of things and ideas. (Ladik 1976)

During the fourth *Encounters* Raša Todosijević performed his work *Art and Memory* (Umetnost i memorija), in which, for several hours, with a scarf over his mouth, he recited the names of artists from art history he could remember. The artist later stated:

“The original of the piece *Art and Memory* exists only in the mind and memory of the people who were present on the occasion of its realization... For me, there’s only the art history that is registered in my memory.” (Sretenović 2002, 33)

Within the program of the same edition of *Encounters* Ilija Šoškić performed his work *Coexistence* (Koegzistencija), bringing a snake from the zoo into the SKC Gallery as a form of critique of the art institution:

“I attack art institutions, galleries, because they are outdated. I see galleries only as a form of polemic. An artist can do anything in a gallery. Tonight I’m bringing a snake, an intellectual and aggressive snake, and I’m creating a pathetically aggressive situation that no gallery can exploit.” (Šoškić 1975)

Unfortunately, it seems that exploitation remains the dominant mode of operation inherent to the art system itself, as it was in the seventies, and still is today. Galleries continue to be the most prominent exponents of this representational and deeply commercial logic of art circulation. During the third edition of *Encounters*, one of the works, selected through the open call, by Milenko Pajić and Zoran Danilović, entitled *Basketball in The Gallery* (Košarka u galeriji), involved installing a basketball hoop inside the gallery and inviting the audience to play with a ball as a method of exploring the possible transformations of the gallery space. In the same year, 1974, artists Goran Đorđević and Slavko Matković developed the idea of the *Expanded Gallery* (Proširena galerija). During the *Encounters*, they decided to open galleries in their own rooms, as a first step in building the network of room-based galleries. Interested participants were invited to leave their addresses at the Student Cultural Centre, allowing the network to expand. All members would collectively

organize a “permanent, unconventional exhibition taking place simultaneously in various towns and villages around the world.”<sup>18</sup>

It was interesting to witness one of the first events organised by students in February this year, after overtaking SKC, which opened the same polemic topic on the nature of the gallery space and consequently the nature of the institution of art. In the words of the students:

“Participatory performance 48 Hours is an event that uses the operational logic of the blockades and direct democracy, and translates it into the gallery context. The framework invites people to intervene in the gallery space over a 48-hour period. There is no specific author of the installation, instead, every visitor contributes to the collective creation and exhibition of the content. The framework itself is set by the program working-group, a fluid structure without permanent members, and thus not subject to the conventional logic of authorship.”<sup>19</sup>

## Conclusion

It is evident that students today are continuing the struggle their colleagues started almost sixty years ago. The capacity of an institution of art to resist the changes that transformations in art production induce, evident in the case of the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade, reveals the effects of institutional resilience and rigidity. In the contemporary context, the full extent of these effects is manifested in the decay of SKC as a centre for youth and students’ culture, the commercialization of its functions, and the resulting irrelevance of its programs for new generations. This, however, was not enough for the current generation of students to forget or abandon the idea of public institutions as available infrastructure that should, at least nominally, serve the needs and creative capacities of youth and students. Although brief in duration, the five month liberation of the Centre provides us with new arguments and evidence based insights for much needed reflection on the current role and function of public art institution. It also opens space for new projections and broader debate on how we envision, negotiate and redesign our institution through collective processes.

As an institutional manifestation marking the inception of the Student Cultural Centre, the *April Encounters* offered a pathway toward institutional transformation. To paraphrase the aforementioned remark on self-managing art from the *Bulletin* it “demonstratively envisioned the future”. It played, revealed,

18 As stated by artists in the: *Билтен 04 III априлски сусрет*, СКЦ Београд, 1974.

19 As stated by students in the first issue of Students paper: *SKC list*, 25. 02. 2025.

performed, taught, and lived the future, but was soon assimilated and silenced. Today, however, a new generation of students is once again bringing the future to our doorstep. Revisiting the rich tradition of student struggles, their achievements as well as their failures, can empower and inspire us all as we confront present and future challenges, and as we enact and test possible alternatives.

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Зечевић, Божидар. Билтен I Априлски сусрет, Студентски културни центар, Београд, 1972

Milica Pekić  
Kiosk Platforma za savremenu umetnost, Beograd

**PONOVNO PROMIŠLJANJE APRILSKIH SUSRETA:  
IZVOĐENJE ALTERNATIVA**

*Apstrakt:*

Inspirisan programom koji su studenti osmislili tokom nedavne petomesečne okupacije Studentskog kulturnog centra u Beogradu, integralnog dela šireg studentskog protesta u Srbiji, ovaj rad razmatra *Aprilske susrete* kao ključnu manifestaciju koja je obeležila formativnu i konceptualno značajnu fazu u istoriji ovog centra. Kroz analizu programa, ideja, diskusija i umetničkih praksi, tekst nastoji da istraži potencijali odjek *Aprilskih susreta* u savremenim studentskim borbama. Programi, sa brojnim međunarodnim i jugoslovenskim učesnicima, istraživali su novu logiku umetničke produkcije koja je u svojoj suštini težila transformaciji institucionalnog okvira. Danas se pitanje institucionalnih formi i njihovih mogućih alternativa ponovo javlja kao centralna preokupacija nove generacije studenata, ukazujući na trajnu relevantnost primera i znanja stvorenih u okviru naše neoavangardne tradicije.

*Ključne reči:*

Aprilski susreti, Studentski kulturni centar, institucionalna promena, neoavangarda, studentski protesti, angažman

**PRIKAZI**

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REVIEWS





Mirko Kokir  
Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, Novi Sad

### **PRIKAZ IZLOŽBE DAVID HOCKNEY: OD PAPIRA DO EKRANA**

Održana u periodu od juna do avgusta 2025. godine u beogradskom Muzeju savremene umetnosti izložba *David Hockney: Od papira do ekrana* predstavila je publici odabrane radove jednog od najznačajnijih britanskih umetnika današnjice. Iako mala po obimu i broju radova, izložba je publici predstavila grafike i crteže iz šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka, kao i najnoviju praksu digitalnih slika nastalih na iPad-u, time pružajući usmeren uvid u višedecenijsku Hocknijevu umetničku praksu. Izložba je nastala kao proizvod saradnje Muzeja i Britanskog saveta, a izloženi radovi nalaze se u zbirci Britanskog saveta.

Izložbu otvaraju četiri ciklusa radova, tačnije 25 bakropisa i akvatinti iz serije *Ilustracije za šest bajki braće Grim* iz 1969. godine. Kako se navodi u pratećem deplijanu, Dejvid Hokni je ovu seriju započeo nakon prve serije bakropisa iz 1961. i 1962. inspirisan pričom o *Cvildreti*. Krajem iste decenije, Hokni izrađuje novu seriju ilustracija sa bajkama braće Grim sa sledećim literarnim predlošcima: *Mali morski zec* (*The Little Sea Hare*), *Nađena ptica* (*Fundevogel*), *Žlatokosa* (*Rapunzel*), *Dečak koji je otišao od kuće i upoznao strah* (*The Boy Who Left Home to Learn Fear*), *Stari Rinkrank* (*Old RinkRank*) i *Cvildreta* (*Rumpelstilskin*), od kojih su poslednje četiri prikazane publici uz same bajke na proširenim legendama. U grafikama, Hokni prenosi atmosferu i likove implementirajući u pojedinim radovima rukopise i prakse starih umetnika kao vizuelne reference, kao što su Paolo Učelo u bakropisima *Stari Rinkrank*.

Izložba se nastavlja crtežima iz sedamdesetih godina, koji nastaju u periodu Hocknijevog života između Los Anđelesa, Londona i Pariza, u kojima su često prikazani njegovi prijatelji i poznanici, u radovima kao što su *Man Ray* (1974), *Lila de Nobilis, Paris* (1973), *Celia, Paris* (1973), *Nick, Hotel de la Paix, Geneva* (1972) i *Ossie Reading in Munich* (1972), ili mesta boravka poput rada *Louvre Window, Contrejour Paris* (1973).

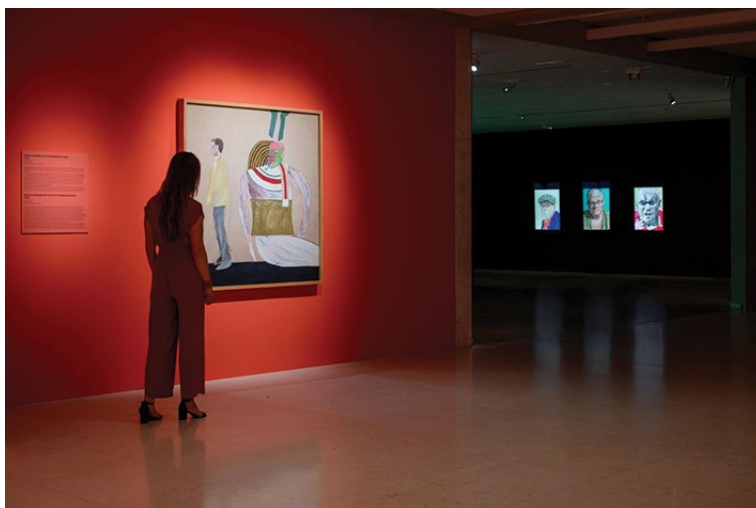
Naredna serija prikazanih radova na izložbi obuhvata ciklus grafika *Napredovanje razvratnika* (*Rake's progress*) iz 1961–63. godine. Hokni zasniva ove radove na istoimenim grafikama Vilijama Hogarta, koje su objavljene 1735. godine i poseduju izraziti moralni podtekst. Ovu seriju grafika počinje da radi nakon

povratka iz Njujorka 1961. godine, a objavljena je kao luksuzno, limitirano izdanje u produkciji *Editions Alecto* 1965. godine. Za razliku od Hogarta, Hokni objavljuje ukupno 16 grafika, numerisanih od 1 i 1a do 8 i 8a, kako bi listovi pratili Hogartovu strukturu od osam grafika. Kao i kod Hogarta, glavni lik je prikazan kako je u nizu radnji i scena, u velikom gradu, naveden na otkrivanje života. U Hoknijevim radovima, on je smešten u Njujork i predstavlja poluautobiografski lik, koji se na kraju priče utapa u bezličnu masu, za razliku od Hogartovog lika, koji postepeno gubi razum. Obe serije grafika poseduju jasno etičko viđenje svakog od autora i kritički pogled usmeren ka savremenom društvu i vrednostima.

Više od decenije nakon ove serije, Dejvid Hokni počinje sa radom na novoj mapi grafika pod nazivom *Plava gitara (Blue Guitar)*. Tokom boravka u ateljeu braće Alda i Pjera Kromelinka u Parizu, između 1973. i 1975. godine, započinje sa radom na novim grafičkim tehnikama. Postupak rezervaša (sugar lift) primenio je na navedenoj mapi grafika, inspirisanih pesmom *Čovek sa plavom gitarom* američkog pesnika Volasa Stivensa. Direktno slikanje na ploči, što mu je tehnika rezervaša omogućavala, dozvolilo je umetniku da spontano radi i zadrži tragove četkice. Pesma, nadahnuta Pikasovom slikom *Plavi gitarista* iz 1903. godine, interpretirana je na radovima slobodno, u muzičkom maniru, sa referencama na Pikasa i poetičko-humorističkim nazivima radova. Mapa sadrži ukupno dvadeset radova i objavljena je u ograničenom tiražu u izdanju *Petersburg Press-a* u oktobru 1977. godine.

Naredna serija radova prikazanih na izložbi obuhvata ilustracije za četrnaest pesama Konstantina Petrona Kavafisa iz 1966/67. godine. Na izložbi je prikazano pet radova u tehnikama bakropisa i akvatinte iz ove serije: *Portrait of Cavafy in Alexandria, Beautiful and White Flowers, According to Prescriptions of Ancient Magicians, Two Boys Aged 23 or 24* i *In an Old Book* iz 1966. godine. Kavafisova poezija kao literarni predložak iskorišćena je zbog svoje senzualnosti, a likove na grafikama, pored samog K. P. Kavafisa, čine i umetnikovi prijatelji. Na navedenim radovima, više no na drugim, istaknut je Hoknijev kvir pogled na muško telo i njihove odnose, a pozicija kvir umetnika, koju je Dejvid Hokni jasno zastupao, uticaće na tematski repertoar i tokom kasnijih decenija.

Jedino ulje na platnu na izložbi nosi naziv *Čovek u muzeju (ili u pogrešnom si filmu)* iz 1962. godine i nastalo je neposredno nakon što je Hokni diplomirao na Kraljevskom koledžu umetnosti, gde je već tada bio zapažen od strane kritičara. Navedeno delo nastalo je tokom posete Muzeju Pergamon u Beču gde je Hokni zapazio svog prijatelja Džefa Gudmana kako stoji pored jedne egipatske skulpture i njihov odnos mu se učinio zanimljivim, te je nakon povratka u hotel načinio nekoliko crteža koje će preneti u sliku velikog formata. Nedovršenost i direktan crtež na platnu u obradi figure muškarca u profilu, na levoj partiji slike, ukazuje na uticaj Frensis Bejkona i Rona Kitaja. S druge strane, egipatska skulptura u desnoj partiji slike oblikovana je različitim bojanim segmentima i paternima i, imajući u vidu naziv dela, predstavlja reprezent prošlosti, dok je umetnik, u njihovom saodnošenju u potrazi za svojim mestom u muzeju, u sadašnjosti.



David Hockney: *Od papira do ekrana*. Foto: Bojana Janjić. Ljubaznošću Muzeja savremene umetnosti, Beograd

Izložba se nastavlja sa još nekoliko primera grafika: *Rue de Seine* (1972) *Flowers Made of Paper and Black Ink* (1971), *Picture of a Landscape in an Elaborate Gold Frame* (1965), *Picture of Melrose Avenue in an Ornate Gold Frame* (1965), *Tree* (1968), *Rocks Nevada* (1968) i *Landscape* (1966), rad koji se nalazi u Zbirci inostrane grafike i crteža Muzeja savremene umetnosti.

Zaključni segment izložbe bavi se najnovijom Hoknijevom umetničkom praksom – digitalnim slikama i crtežima, nastalim na iPad-u, koje umetnik počinje da radi neposredno nakon što je iPad predstavljen na tržištu. U serijama autoportreta, portreta, mrtvih priroda ili pejzaža, kao što je *Radanje proleća*, Dejvid Hokni istražuje formalne i plastičke mogućnosti novih tehnologija, pritom ostajući dosledan tradicionalno slikarskom pristupu u radu. U tom smislu, iako nove tehnologije, usavršeni programi i alati omogućavaju nastanak savršene i precizne slike, umetnik ne teži takvom radu. Sasvim suprotno, Hokni zadržava isti način rada menjajući medij, istražujući i poigravajući se drugim sredstvima.

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Katarina Kuč  
Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd

### **PRIKAZ IZLOŽBE** **ZDRAVKO JOKSIMOVIĆ: SVETLUCAVO PRIJATELJSTVO**

Na četiri nivoa Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, od 8. maja do 25. avgusta 2025. godine, održana je retrospektivna izložba umetnika Zdravka Joksimovića pod nazivom *Zdravko Joksimović: Svetlucavo prijateljstvo*. Na izložbi su predstavljena umetnikova ostvarenja od kraja osamdesetih godina prošlog veka do najnovije produkcije, koja pored skulptura i objekata obuhvata crteže i *readymade* slike. Zdravko Joksimović (Buče, Crna Gora, 1960) diplomirao je i magistrirao na Vajarskom odseku Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu, u klasi profesora Nikole Jankovića. U izlagački život ulazi u sklopu Likovne radionice Galerije Studentskog kulturnog centra, nakon čega, 1992. godine, počinje da radi na Fakultetu likovnih umetnosti, gde i danas predaje.

Već skoro četiri decenije njegovo stvaralaštvo okrenuto je istraživanju heterogenog sveta materijala i predmeta, kako standardnih, vajarskih, tako i atipičnih, uglavnom pronađenih, kao i eksperimentisanju sa različitim postupcima i procedurama kolažiranja/asambliranja njihovih tekstura, oblika, namena, estetskih i upotrebnih sadržaja. Iako retrospektivna, izložba *Svetlucavo prijateljstvo* svoj retrospektivni pregled ne uspostavlja kroz linearnu, hronološku naraciju o razvoju ovog pristupa, već kroz paralelne tematske fokuse umetnikovog interesovanja. Stoga je izložba koncipirana u jedanaest celina: od istraživanja izražajnih potencijala likovno-plastičkih principa, kroz materijale i tehnike (Crteži, pasteli, *readymade* slike; Kultura materijala; Zdrava hrana; Lečenje umetnošću; Asamblaži), preko bavljenja fenomenima telesnog, biomorfološkog i erotskog, kao i preispitivanja religiozne ikonografije i simbolike (Fiziološki status; Iskustvo biljaka; Erotski ciklus; Pijete), do ličnih, svojevrsnih omaža bivšoj Jugoslaviji i opusu umetnika Bore Iljovskog. Jedan od ključnih idejnih momenata izložbe jeste otvorena struktura postavke, sačinjena od odvojenih prostornih jedinica koje mogu funkcionisati kao zasebni izložbeni prostori, tretirajući svaku tematsku celinu kao potencijalnu samostalnu izložbu, a kako od drugog do petog nivoa Muzeja postoji šest odvojenih „kubusa“, odabrane teme podeljene su na dve zasebne postavke, čija se izmena dogodila na prelasku iz meseca juna u jul.

Iako se postavkom na drugom nivou Muzeja obuhvataju i tri Joksimovićeve skulpture – *Sada se sve vidi* (2015), *Drugog puta nije bilo* (2016) i *Svest o obliku* (2025) – koje predstavljaju njegove eksperimente sa klasičnim skulptorskim materijalima i njihovog odnosa prema konkretnom izlagačkom prostoru, prva tematska celina *Crteži, pasteli, readymade slike* obrađuje umetnikovo intenzivno bavljenje specifičnim slikarsko-skulptorskim zahvatom. Započeto tokom devedesetih kroz crteže i pastele, njegovo istraživanje fenomena slike i njene dvodimenzionalnosti nanovo je oživljeno kroz recentne takozvane *readymade* slike, poput *Dva minuta tišine* (2024), *Bakteriološki ispravan* (2024) i *Toliko o trepavicama* (2006), nastale korišćenjem različitih industrijskih materijala (sintetička koža, klingerit, guma itd). Kao zaseban ciklus u okviru serije *readymade* slika, i njen produžetak u drugoj postavci, izdvaja se ciklus *Omaž Bori Iļjovskom*. Izrazito dvodimenzionalni motivski sadržaj slikarskog dela ovog umetnika, koji je u svom višedecenijskom stvaralaštvu izgradio autonoman likovni izraz karakterističan po ritmičnosti linija, boje i oblika kao materijalizacije uticaja muzike/džeza, Joksimović prevodi i interpretira u trodimenzionalni, skulptorski jezik, ispitujući granice i mogućnosti ornamenta kao prostorne strukture.

Fenomen tela i telesnog u umetnosti Zdravka Joksimovića, koji nastaje iz umetnikovih promišljanja, sa jedne strane, nasleđa klasičnog skulptorskog jezika i tradicije vajarstva, a sa druge, povratka telesne figure u skulpturu osamdesetih godina, predstavljen je kroz segment *Fiziološki status*, na trećem nivou Muzeja. Ovi telesni „komadi” – *Pamtim* (2001), *Pusti da prostruji* (2012), *Torzo* (1997) – rađeni uglavnom od terakote, i neretko situirani unutar različitih asamblažiranih celina sačinjenih od raznovrsnih prirodnih materijala i upotrebnih predmeta, za cilj imaju da pokrenu niz tema i pitanja o egzistenciji uslovljenoj koliko biološkim toliko i socijalnim faktorima, o konzumerizmu i njegovim posledicama na fiziološki i duhovni sklop ljudskog bića. Razmišljanja o fizičkim, psihološkim, emotivnim, prostornim i vremenskim dimenzijama našeg bivstvovanja umetnik pokreće i u segmentu *Iskustvo biljaka*, na istom nivou. Ovi radovi, poput *Iste smo visine* (1991), *Skulptura o čaju* (2004), *Samo za spoljašnju upotrebu* (1998), približavaju nam umetnikovu fascinaciju kompleksnim, dinamičnim sistemom flore, kroz koji sagledava i pristupa podjednako kompleksnom i dinamičnom sistemu ljudskog tela. Zajedno, *Fiziološki status* i *Iskustvo biljaka* služe kao uvertira za skulpture i crteže Joksimovićevog *Erotskog ciklusa* u sklopu druge postavke. Takođe rađene od terakote i situirane unutar različitih asamblažiranih celina, ovi „erotski komadi” – *On, Ona, Ono* (2016), *Arp posle pedesete* (2013), *Jednom godišnje* (2008) – upućuju na dualizam erosa i tanatosa, na zarobljenu energiju, na otuđenost od sopstvenog tela.

Četvrti nivo Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, sa celinama *Iskustva bivše Juge* i *Pijete*, ostao je neizmenjen. U prvoj, Joksimović objedinjuje radove izrađene u svom karakterističnom pristupu asamblažiranju predmeta, materijala i tradicionalno modelovanih skulptura i koncipirane kao zbir refleksija na lična iskustva nekadašnje Jugoslavije. Delima *Slatko i slano – plavi voz* (1993), *Tatin mali anđeo* (2002), *Svetlucavo prijateljstvo* (2024) i drugim, kroz priče o mentalnoj i fizičkoj



Zdravko Joksimović, postavka izložbe *Svetlucavo prijateljstvo*, Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd, 2025. Fotografija: Bojana Janjić

transformaciji jednog društva, o simbolima i kultovima, o opasnostima i ironijama rata i nekadašnjim savezništvima, umetnik pokušava da odgovori na sopstveno pitanje: „U kakvoj sam ja to državi živeo?” U drugoj celini pak Joksimović pokušava da odgovori na pitanja: „Da li se može postaviti pitanje odgovornosti umetnika u odnosu na društvo u kojem živi? [...] Da li umetnik može na sebe da preuzme ulogu žrtve?” Referišući na vizuelnu predstavu Bogorodičinog oplakivanja mrtvog Hrista, segment *Pijete* objedinjuje radove poput *Zemlja, voda, vazduh* (2012), *Classic Professional II* (2006) i *Korišćeno* (2012), koji u prvi plan ističu ljudsku figuru, čiji položaj glave sugeriše nedefinisano stanje između sna i smrti, a sam lik predstavlja svojevrsan umetnikov autoportret, sa ciljem da preispitaju poziciju pojedinca u savremenom društvu, ali i umetnikov lični doživljaj današnjeg trenutka.

Kao tematsko polazište za seriju skulptura *Zdrava hrana* (2019), Joksimoviću je ponovo poslužila slika današnjeg konzumerističkog društva, ali i pitanje pozicije same umetnosti unutar njega. Radovi nastali kombinovanim materijalima, a po uzoru na kulinarske TV formate pripremanja jela, teže da demonstriraju nastanak jednog malog skulptorskog dela, da zapravo razotkriju svakodnevne forme „prodavanja magle“ kojima smo kao potrošači izloženi, otvarajući istovremeno i pitanje o ulozi umetnosti kao prostora moguće slobode. S tim u vezi, sopstvena promišljanja o terapeutskom dejstvu umetnosti umetnik je izrazio kroz seriju skulptura i objekata pod nazivom *Lečenje umetnošću*. Ovi svojevrsni reljefi – *Tik tok tik tok* (2002), *U skladu sa mnom* (2023), *Lečenje umetnošću I* (2019) – kao inicijalnu referencu u istraživanjima forme uzimaju dobro poznat oblik tablete. Ovi, kao i do sada pomenuti radovi nastali su Joksimovićevim svojstvenim eksperimentisanjem sa različitim vrstama materijala (drvo, koža, olovo, metal, guma) i njihovim kombinovanjem sa upotrebnim predmetima. Prepoznatljiv za njegovu poetiku još

od prvih radova, postupak kolažiranja/asamblažiranja, koji za umetnika postaje način mišljenja i vrsna stvaralačka filozofija, zasebno je obrađen kroz tematske celine i na prvoj i na drugoj postavci na petom nivou Muzeja. Uz *Zdravu hranu* i *Lečenje umetnošću*, na drugoj postavci predstavljen je i segment *Asamblaži*, odnosno raznovrsni asamblaži – *Ovde otvoriti* (2012), *Lovačka priča* (1995), *Lacoste* (2025) – u čijim novoformiranim sklopovima svaki deo/predmet, koji Joksimović tretira kao svojevrsan materijal, unosi svoj oblik, boju, funkciju, priču i istoriju. Njegovu skulptorsku praksu preko tri decenije karakteriše, zapravo, trajna zaokupljenost istraživanjima materijala i njihovih potencijala u kontekstu likovnog i značenjskog oblikovanja. Stoga, pored radova u kojima se poigrava sa materijalnošću raznolikih predmeta, u Joksimovićevom opusu brojni su i oni koji u jednostavnim, igrivim kombinacijama oblika, boja i funkcija ističu raznolike vrednosti metala, kože, konjske grive, kozmetičkog pudera, platna – *Mediterranska kuhinja* (2001), *Bezazlene promene na koži* (2014), *Import from China* (1994) – a izloženi su u sklopu tematske celine *Kultura materijala* na prvoj postavci.

Posredstvom duhovitih komentara, ironičnih opaski i poetskih sažimanja, radovi Zdravka Joksimovića suočavaju posmatrača s promenljivom prirodom materijalnog sveta koji ih okružuje, suptilno reflektujući dimenzije svakodnevne egzistencije. Paralelno, izložba *Svetlucavo prijateljstvo*, kroz sekvencu dve postavke, teži da na specifičan, igriv način tu promenljivost istraži kroz dijaloške odnose između odabranih tematskih celina, ne samo reflektujući Joksimovićev pristup asamblažiranju kao filozofiji stvaranja već i demonstrirajući kako kustoska praksa, u ovom slučaju izvedena od strane kustosa Miroslava Karića, može postati produžetak umetničke metodologije.

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Čupić, Simona (ed.). *The JFK culture: art, film, literature and media*. Belgrade: Faculty of Philosophy, American corner, 2013.

Primeri za knjige sa dva ili tri autora:

Денегри, Јеша и Симона Чупић. *Петар Добровић у тридесетим. Уметник и социјално окружење*. Београд: Музеј савремене уметности, 2005.

Harrison, Charles, Francis Frascina and Gill Perry. *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

Primeri za knjige sa četiri ili više autora:

Foster, Hal et al. *Art since 1900: modernism, antimodernism, postmodernism*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004.

Poglavlja i tekstovi objavljeni u knjigama i zbornicima radova

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Мереник, Лидија. „Далеко од разуздане гомиле: уметничко приватно у хиперполитизованом југословенском друштву после 1945.“ у *Приватни живот код Срба у двадесетом веку*, ур. Милан Ристовић, 706–730. Београд: Слио, 2007.

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