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TEMAT TITANIK
THE TITANIC TOPIC

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WHO PERISHED ON THE *TITANIC*? THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL NORMS

Abstract:
This paper seeks to empirically identify what factors make it more or less likely for people to survive in a life-threatening situation. Three factors relate to *individual attributes* of the persons onboard: physical strength, economic resources, and nationality. Two relate to *social aspects*: social support and social norms. The *Titanic* disaster is a life-or-death situation. Otherwise-disregarded aspects of human nature become apparent in such a dangerous situation. The empirical analysis supports the notion that social norms are a key determinant in extreme situations of life or death.

Key words: decision under pressure, disasters, power, quasi-natural experiment, survival, tragic events

Situations of life or death

This paper asks the question: what individual and social factors determine survival in a situation of life or death? The basic idea is that otherwise-disregarded aspects of human nature become more readily visible in the most dangerous situations in which some individuals perish and others save themselves. The specific situation of life or death we analyze is the disaster of the sinking of the *Titanic*.[1] During her maiden voyage on the night of April 14, 1912, the *Titanic* collided with an iceberg and sank two hours and forty minutes later, resulting in the death of 1,517 people – more than two-thirds of her 2,223 passengers and crew. This is one of the deadliest peacetime maritime disasters in history and by far the most famous. The disaster was a great shock to many as the vessel was equipped with some of the most advanced technology of the time, had an experienced crew, and was thought to be (practically) 'unsinkable.'[2]

The myths surrounding the *Titanic* disaster were intensified by the many failed attempts to find her wreck. Finally, in 1985, a joint American-French expedition led by Jean-Louis Michel and Dr. Robert Ballard located it and collected approximately 6,000 artifacts, which were later shown in a blockbuster exhibition that toured the world.

We distinguish five determinants of survival. Three are factors relating to *individual attributes* of the persons onboard: physical strength, economic resources, and nationality; two relate to *social aspects*, communal support and moral norms.[3] Individuals with greater physical, material and communicative resources (through a common language reflected by nationality) are hypothesized to have a greater probability of surviving. While these individual attributes are shown to be important for survival, our focus is on the social determinants. We hypothesize that passengers traveling in the company of relatives or friends have a higher chance of survival because they receive more social support in a situation of life or death. Most importantly, we inquire whether the social norm of 'women and children first' was followed in the case of the *Titanic* disaster. The empirical analysis suggests that this was indeed the case.

Some of our results are in line with what has long been known in the literature (e.g., Fiske and Berdahl, 2007). Thus, in the case of the *Titanic*, it is not surprising that individuals who were endowed with more financial resources had a better chance of being saved. However, other results do not necessarily meet expectations. Despite their stronger physical power, adult males had a lower chance of being saved, which is the opposite of what we would have expected. One would also expect that British subjects would have had a better chance of being saved because the vessel and the crew were British. However, this was not the case; instead, Americans were better able to survive. In a matter of life or death, one would expect that social support in the form of physical and psychological help by relatives and friends would be an advantage for survival. Our analysis, indeed, reveals that individuals traveling alone had a worse chance of saving their lives than those traveling with family, or friends. In contrast, the social norm that women and children should be saved first was upheld.

The data

The tragic event of the sinking of the *RMS Titanic* can be interpreted as a quasi-natural experiment. Every individual was affected by the shock and was unable to put off making a decision. Even if one chose not to participate in the scramble for lifeboat seats, the outcome was the same as it was for someone who did strive for a seat and failed. The great advantage of the natural field experiment is randomization and realism. The participants did not know that their fate would be looked at as being the result of a (natural) experiment; their behavior was therefore unaffected (List and Reiley, 2008).

A detailed dataset can be constructed despite the fact that the event occurred 100 years ago, and the records at the time were not very detailed. Our data consist of 2,207 persons confirmed to be onboard the *RMS Titanic*. The data were gathered from the *Encyclopedia Titanica* and cross-checked against other sources.[4] Table 1 presents the basic facts of the disaster. It reveals that 32 percent of the 2,207 persons onboard survived the disaster, while more than two-thirds died. Although there is some anecdotal conjecture that there may have been others onboard (stowaways) who were unlisted on any manifest or report, the list of survivors corresponds to the 'official' passenger list.[5] There were relatively few women on board (22 percent), and most persons (89

Table 1. Percentages of different categories of persons on the *Titanic*

Survived	32	
Died	68	
Female	22	
Male	78	
Age < 16 (children)	5	
Age 16–50	89	
Age > 50	6	
1st-class passengers	15	22% TRAVELING ALONE, 38% IN COMPANY
2nd-class passengers	13	
3rd-class passengers	32	
Crew	40	
England	53	
Ireland	5	
Sweden	5	
USA	19	
Other nationalities	18	

Sources: The *Encyclopedia Titanica* (2008) was used as the primary source, and the data were cross-checked against the following resources: Beavis (2002), Bryceson (1997), Committee on Commerce (1912), Eaton and Hass (1994), Geller (1998), Howells (1999), Lord (1955,1978,1998), Quinn (1999), Ruffman (2000), U.S. National Archives (2008), Wreck Commissioner's Court (1912).

percent) were of adult age, that is, between 16 and 50 years of age. Of the 2,207 persons onboard, the age of all but 21 individuals is known. Using age in the regression therefore reduces the number of observations to 2,186 persons. Less than 15 percent of all the people on board traveled in first or second class, respectively. A larger majority (32 percent) traveled in third class. 38 percent of the people on board traveled in the company of family or friends – only 22 percent were traveling alone. Forty percent of the people on board were crewmembers, either occupied on the deck, in the engine room, or directly catering to the passengers.

Passenger groupings have been identified by anecdotal evidence taken from family histories and known travel arrangements, ticket numbers, and cabin allocations.[6] Among the passengers, 43 were servants. More than half of the people on board were English with a much smaller share being American (19 percent) and Irish and Swedish (5 percent each). Only limited information (15.2 percent of the cases) is available with regard to the cabin allocation.[7] The subsequent empirical analysis seeks to explain the share of survivors according to the five determinants. The dependent variable is whether or not someone survived the event.

Determinants of survival

Physical strength may well be considered the most obvious personal attribute helping to survive the sinking of a ship. Needless to say, bodily force has always played a dominant role in history, but has been strongly harnessed by institutions such as governments. In an extreme situation of life or death, it may well be expected that physical strength would once again dominate.

Aboard the *Titanic* lifeboats were a scarce commodity. The vessel only had 20 lifeboats, which could accommodate a maximum of 1,178 persons, or 52 percent of the people aboard.[8] Because the *Titanic* at first did not show any signs of being in imminent danger, passengers were reluctant to leave the apparent security of the vessel to board small lifeboats. Consequently, in the beginning, most of the lifeboats were launched partially empty, which increased the demand for lifeboat places when the people still on board later realized that the ship was indeed sinking. In such a situation, individuals with more physical strength, that is, adult males, would have an advantage over all others (women, children, and aged persons) when it came to securing a place on a lifeboat. The hypothesis based on physical strength suggests that adult males had a higher survival probability.

Table 2 shows the influence of individual characteristics, namely physical strength, economic resources, and nationality, on survival using a probit estimate. The columns under 'Physical strength' show estimates of the bivariate correlations between adult males onboard and their chance of survival. The estimates for Regressions (1) and (2) clearly suggest that adult males were much *less* likely to survive the sinking of the *Titanic*. Adult males were disadvantaged compared to women and children both in the case of passengers and crew. According to the marginal effect exhibited, the probability of surviving was more than 50 percent smaller for adult males than for the

rest of the people on board. This result is clearly inconsistent with a hypothesis suggesting that physical strength is a main determinant of survival. Indeed, the 'weaker' sex had a much higher chance of survival. Our empirical analysis suggests, however, that physical strength may have played a role among adult males: Regression (3) indicates that adult male passengers of 55 years of age or more had a lower survival chance than younger, presumably stronger male passengers.

Table 2. Individual attributes of survival

Hypothesis	Physical strength			Economic resources		Nationality	
Sample	Passengers	Crew	Adult male Passengers	Male Passengers	Female Passengers	Passengers	Passengers
Regressions	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Independent variables							
Adult males	−1.409***	−1.571***					
	−18.18	**−5.37**					
	−0.508	*−0.568*					
Ages 55–74			−0.541*				
			−1.83				
			−0.185				
1st class				0.644***	1.860***		
				5.39	**8.58**		
				0.194	*0.402*		
2nd class				−0.112	1.074***		
				−0.8	**6.24**		
				−0.028	*0.243*		
England						−0.309***	
						−3.68	
						−0.113	
Ireland							0.169
							1.18
							0.065
Sweden							−0.094
							−0.62
							−0.035
USA							0.591***
							6.06
							0.227
All others							0.154
							1.55
							0.059
N	1300	886	777	840	460	1300	1300
$p > \chi^2$	0.000	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R^2	0.206	0.035	0.049	0.043	0.224	0.008	0.019

Notes: Dependent variable: Survival (value 1). z- values in bold, marginal effects in italics. The symbols *, **, and *** represent statistical significance at the 5%, 1%, and 0.1% levels, respectively. Adult=Age>15. In the reference group: female (adult and children) and male children (Regressions 1–2), age<55 (Regression 3), male third class (Regression 4), female third class (Regression 5), other nationalities (Regression 6), England (Regression 7).

The two columns in Table 2 under the heading 'Economic resources' exhibit estimates of the correlations between economic class and survival. Individuals commanding *more economic resources* may be expected to have a better chance of surviving disasters. From the beginning, they are in an enhanced position. This also holds true for the passengers aboard the *Titanic.* The 1,316 passengers on the *Titanic* were separated into three different classes. The 325 people in first class clearly had higher in-

comes and/or more wealth than the 285 persons in second class and the 706 in third class. As a result, the well-to-do first-class passengers had better access to information about the imminent danger and were aware that the lifeboats were situated close to the first-class cabins. In contrast, most third-class passengers likely had no idea where the lifeboats were located (the introduction of safety drills for all passengers came as a response to the *Titanic's* disaster) and probably did not know how to get to the higher decks where the lifeboats were stowed.[9] Moreover, the first-class passengers likely tried to obtain the same preferential treatment with respect to lifeboat access that they generally were used to receiving onboard for all other items. People with higher incomes and greater wealth are used to giving orders to employees (in this case the crew), are better informed, and are willing to bargain in the extreme, even offering financial rewards to obtain what they want. The first-class passengers were also in closer contact with the leading crewmembers (in particular, the officers commanding the loading of the lifeboats). The hypothesis based on economic resources suggests that the first-class passengers had a higher survival chance than those in second and third class. As can be seen from Regressions (4) and (5), male and female passengers who had the means to travel first class had a much higher survival chance (19.4 percent for male and 40.2 percent for female passengers) than those in third class.[10] The same holds true for second-class female passengers compared to those females traveling third class (second-class males had a 24 percent higher survival chance). This is in line with the hypothesis developed above. For male passengers (Regression (4)) the situation is different in one respect from the female passengers onboard the *Titanic*. There is no statistically significant difference between the survival probabilities of males traveling second and third class. The effect of economic resources on survival turns out to be greatest for first-class passengers and for women and is somewhat muted for male passengers.

A third individual attribute which may increase the odds of survival in the case of the sinking of the *Titanic* refers to *nationality.* This ship was built in Great Britain, operated by British subjects, and manned by a British crew.[11] It could be expected that national sentiments would be activated during the disaster and that the crew would give preference to British subjects, easily identified by their accents. This would mean that passengers of other nationalities, in particular Scandinavians, but also Americans and Irish, and would be at a disadvantage. The hypothesis based on nationality suggests that persons of British nationality had a better chance to survive. Table 2 (the two columns under 'Nationality') exhibits the probit estimates linking survival probability and nationality. In contrast to the hypothesis that the British had a higher probability of saving themselves, Regression (6) indicates that British passengers had an 11 percent *lower* chance than those of other nationalities. Regression (7) also suggests that passengers of American nationality were significantly more likely to save themselves.

The next two determinants of survival relate to *social,* rather than *individual aspects.* Under conditions of life or death, it may be expected that *social* or *communal support* in the form of physical and psychological help by relatives and friends is an

advantage for survival. The fourth hypothesis suggests that persons traveling in the company of friends, relatives, or acquaintances would have a higher survival chance than passengers traveling alone. Table 3 (the columns under 'Social support') shows the corresponding probit estimates. Regressions (8) to (10) indicate that passengers traveling alone indeed had a lower chance of survival. While the effect is statistically highly significant, its size is quite small. The negative effect is found to hold true for both male and female passengers, although one should note that the coefficient for female passengers is not statistically significant.

Table 3. Social aspects

Hypotheses	Social support (traveling alone)			Social norms (women and children)			
Sample	Passengers	Male	Female	Passengers	Crew	All	Passengers
Regressions	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Independent variables:							
Traveling alone	−0.567***	−0.228*	−0.183				
	−7.4	**−2.25**	**−1.16**				
	−0.205	*−0.06*	*−0.064*				
Female				1.462***	1.858***		
				18.34	**5.5**		
				0.53	*0.64*		
Aged 15 or under (children)						0.444***	
						3.62	
						0.167	
Has children							0.783***
							4.86
							0.373
N	1300	840	460	1300	886	2186	1300
$p > \chi^2$	0.000	0.024	0.247	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R^2	0.0327	0.006	0.002	0.211	0.041	0.005	0.014

Notes: Dependent variable: Survival (value = 1). *z*- values in bold, marginal effects in italics. The symbols *, **, and *** represent statistical significance at the 5%, 1%, and 0.1% levels, respectively. In the reference group: not traveling alone (Regressions 8–10), male (Regressions 11–12), adults (Regression 13), not having children (Regression 14).

Under extreme duress, such as when a ship is sinking, *social norms* may vanish as everyone tries to save his or her own life. According to this argument, morality may be considered relevant under 'ordinary' conditions only. A key social norm under conditions of life or death is that 'women and children are to be saved first'. Similar social

norms can be found in other areas where people need to be evacuated. Humanitarian agencies often evacuate 'vulnerable' and 'innocent' civilians such as women, children, and the elderly first. The Geneva Convention provides special protection and evacuation priority for pregnant women and mothers of young children (Carpenter, 2003). The fifth hypothesis tests whether this social norm was acted upon when the *Titanic* sank.

Regressions (11) to (14) in Table 3 show the influence of the social norm 'Women and children first' on the probability to survive (see the columns under 'Social norms'). Female persons on board the *Titanic* had a much greater chance of surviving than males (more than 50 percent). The result holds for both female passengers and female crewmembers (Regressions (11) and (12)). Regression (13) indicates that children 15 years of age and under had a 17 percent higher chance of survival than adults. Those passengers traveling with children also benefited; they had a 37 percent greater probability of surviving than those not having children accompanying them (see Regression (14)). These results suggest that the social norm of first saving women and children was active even under the conditions of life or death on the *Titanic*. This is a remarkable result not necessarily to be expected.

Jointly testing the hypotheses

The various theoretical hypotheses were tested using a probit estimation model with bivariate correlations. We did not control for possible confounding factors. The five hypotheses can be valid at the same time. Therefore, a joint test of the five hypotheses is in order to see whether the results so far obtained are accurate even if possible interdependencies are taken into account.

Table 4 lists the joint probit estimates of all five hypotheses. Regression (15) suggests that the results are qualitatively the same and of similar magnitudes compared to when the hypotheses were tested sequentially. Female passengers and the crew (Regression (17)) had a substantially higher chance of being saved than males on the ship. The marginal probability is about 50 percent higher for women to survive than for men. The hypothesis that physical force determines survival under conditions of life or death is thus rejected.

Passengers endowed with greater economic resources, that is, traveling first class, have a much higher chance of being saved than passengers traveling in second and third class. The marginal probability is slightly lower than 40 percent for first-class passengers and somewhat less than 20 percent for second-class passengers when compared to persons traveling in third class. This is consistent with the hypothesis that persons of higher social means are more likely to survive a disaster.

Passengers of British nationality had about a 10 percent lower chance of surviving than those of other nationalities as shown in the joint estimate of Regression (15). In contrast, Americans had about a 10 percent higher chance of being saved than those of other nationalities (Regressions (16) and (17)). The hypothesis that British passengers garnered sentimental advantages by a likewise British crew can be rejected.

Table 4. Testing hypotheses jointly

Sample Regressions	Passengers (15)	Passengers (16)	All (17)
Independent variables:			
Female	1.444***	1.444***	1.474***
	16.58	**16.39**	**17.36**
	0.523	*0.523*	*0.536*
Aged 15 or under (children)	0.336*	0.347*	0.334*
	2.39	**2.44**	**2.37**
	0.129	*0.134*	*0.124*
Has children	0.445*	0.437*	0.444*
	2.28	**2.23**	**2.26**
	0.173	*0.170*	*0.167*
1st class	1.022***	0.983***	0.989***
	10.01	**8.47**	**8.60**
	0.388	*0.373*	*0.374*
2nd class	0.455***	0.431***	0.416***
	4.11	**3.77**	**3.67**
	0.174	*0.165*	*0.154*
England	−0.249*		
	−2.40		
	−0.090		
Ireland		0.247	0.191
		1.43	**1.17**
		0.094	*0.069*
Sweden		0.088	0.054
		0.51	**0.32**
		0.033	*0.019*
USA		0.287*	0.241*
		2.32	**2.23**
		0.108	*0.087*
All others		0.258*	0.217*
		2.16	**2.01**
		0.097	*0.078*
Traveling alone	−0.048	−0.057	−0.049
	−0.52	**−0.61**	**−0.52**
	−0.018	*−0.021*	*−0.017*
Crew			0.666***
			5.63
			0.235
N	1300	1300	2186
$p > \chi^2$	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R^2	0.287	0.288	0.211

Notes: Dependent variable: Survival (value = 1). *z*- values in bold, marginal effects in italics. The symbols *, **, and *** represent statistical significance at the 5%, 1%, and 0.1% levels, respectively. In the reference group: Regression (15): male, adult, not having children, 3rd class, not from England, not traveling alone. Regressions (16) and (17): male, adult, not having children, 3rd class, England, not traveling alone.

Rather, the estimates are consistent with the notion that the British behaved according to the rules of 'gentlemen.'

Passengers traveling in the company of friends, relatives, and acquaintances benefited from this social support and had a higher survival chance than those traveling alone, but the effect is not statistically significant, and also small. The hypothesis that social support is a decisive factor for survival is not supported by the data in the case of the *Titanic* disaster.

The estimates also allow us to reject the hypothesis that social norms vanish under conditions of extreme duress. The results indicate that women and children indeed had a much higher chance of survival. According to Regressions (15)–(17), children and passengers with a child had a 13 and 17 percent higher chance, respectively, of being saved than adults. These results correspond with previous estimates reported in Table 3. They suggest that the norm of 'save the women and children first' was indeed followed when the *Titanic* sank.

Conclusions

The empirical analysis of the Titanic disaster allows us to analyze the effects of personal attributes of passengers and crew as well as of social factors under conditions of life or death. The use of individual data produced some results that were expected, while it also gave us some that were rather unexpected. It is not particularly surprising that those with greater economic resources were more likely to survive. In contrast, it is difficult to predict which nationalities were more likely to save themselves. That the British were less likely to survive than the Americans is an empirical result in need of a serious theoretical explanation. Similarly, it is not *a priori* clear whether it is advantageous to travel alone or to travel in the company of family and friends. The result that social support was indeed beneficial in surviving the *Titanic* disaster is therefore of interest.

It is also debatable whether social norms, in particular, the saving of women and children first, are indeed followed under conditions of extreme duress. One could also argue that adult males' stronger physical power could be a decisive factor under these circumstances, but that did not appear to be the case. In the case of the *Titanic* disaster, the women and children indeed had a much higher chance of being saved than adult males.

The sinking of the *Titanic* is, of course, only one example, although a most prominent one, of the many situations of life or death in which people are compelled to act.[12] It will be interesting to see whether the results obtained for the sinking of the *Titanic* can be replicated for other shipping disasters and other situations of life or death, and for other periods of time.

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Endnotes:

1. For accounts of the event see, for example, Lord (1978, 1998), Eaton and Haas (1994), Quinn (1999), Ruffman (2000), as well as the *Encyclopedia Titanica* (www.encyclopedia-titanica.org) and the information provided by RMS Titanic, Inc. who was granted 'salvor-in-possession' rights to the wreck by the U.S. Federal Court (www.titanic-online.com).

2. In contrast to popular mythology, the *Titanic* was never described as 'unsinkable' without qualification. The notion entered the public consciousness only *after* the sinking (Howells, 1999).

3. A rational choice analysis is, of course, not inconsistent with assuming the existence of social norms. See e.g. Arló-Costa and Perdersen (2010), Bossert and Suzumura (2007), Elster (1989a, 1989b), Hechter and Opp (2001), Horn (2001), and contributions in *Rationality and Society,* such as Heckathorn (1989), Kroneberg *et al.* (2010), and Mehlkop and Graeff (2010).

4. The cross-checked resources include: Beavis, 2002; Bryceson, 1997; Eaton and Haas, 1994; Geller, 1998; Howells, 1999; Kuntz, 1998; Lord, 1955, 1998; NSARM, 2008; Quinn, 1999; Ruffman, 2000; U.S. National Archives, 2008; Wreck Commissioner's Court, 1912.

5. This suggests that any unlisted 'illegal' passengers did not survive and may not have competed with 'official' passengers for lifeboat spaces.

6. Based on an inspection of the literature we assume that for those passengers where the evidence is unclear or unknown, they were traveling alone.

7. The data also indicate that this information has been mainly provided by the survivors and therefore is likely to be biased. Thus, we are not able to control for the cabin locations (e.g., closeness to exits and lifeboats).

8. There were more lifeboats than required by the rules of the British Board of Trade, which were drafted in 1894 and which determined the number of lifeboats by a ship's gross register tonnage, rather than the number of persons aboard.

9. The *Titanic*, like most passenger vessels of the day, employed guards to make sure that the lower classes were kept away from the decks allocated for the higher classes, thus ensuring that third-class passengers were ignorant of the upper decks (the lifeboat deck being the uppermost deck). However, the results of the inquiry testimony indicate that no such guards were restricting access on the evening of the disaster. This is in contrast to the scene shown in the highly popular and award-winning film *Titanic* (1997, produced by James Cameron and featuring Leonardo Di-Caprio and Kate Winslet) where the access to the boat deck by third-class passengers was shown to be made impossible by a closed door.

10. First-class cabins were located closer to the lifeboat deck so that first-class passengers found it easier to reach them. Their higher survival probability should, however, not only be attributed to this fact because the same situation applied when the *Lusitania* sank, but in this case the first-class passengers did not have a higher survival chance (Bailey, 1935).

11. However, the Ocean Steam Navigation Company, popularly known as the 'White Star' line because of the white star appearing on the company flag, was under the control of the industrial giant J. P. Morgan. Nevertheless, the *Titanic* was perceived by the public as a British ship.

12. See e.g. Albala-Bertrand (1993), Chamlee-Wright and Storr (2009), Drabek (1986), Howard (1980), Quarantelli (2001), Ripley (2008).

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KO JE NASTRADAO NA *TITANIKU*? ZNAČAJ DRUŠTVENIH NORMI

Sažetak:
Rad teži empirijskom utvrđivanju faktora verovatnoće koji značajnije utiču na mogućnost preživljavanja u situacijama smrtne opasnosti. Na primeru tragedije Titanika unakrsno se analiziraju tri faktora vezana za individualne karakteristike putnika (fizička snaga, ekonomska moć i nacionalnost) i dva faktora vezana za društvene aspekte (neposredno okruženje i društvene norme). Dakle, reč je o realnoj „život-ili-smrt" situaciji koja pruža okvir za precizno uočavanje onih aspekata ljudske prirode koji su istinski vidljivi tek u takvim momentima. Istraživanje je pokazalo da su društvene norme ključna odrednica u ovakvim ekstremnim prilikama.

Ključne reči: odluka pod pritiskom, katastrofe, moć, kvazi-prirodni eksperiment, preživljavanje, tragedije

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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ICEBERG, RIGHT AHEAD! BELEŠKA O TITANIKU (I FUTURIZMU)

Apstrakt:
Namera teksta je da povodom stogodišnjice katastrofe Titanika na prigodan način podseti na taj važan i višeznačan događaj, pre svega u svetlu njegovog prerastanja u jedan od najuzbudljivijih i najrasprostranjenijih modernih mitova zapadnog sveta. Ukazuje se na osnovne pretpostavke i osobine toga mita. U kontekstu drugih zanimljivih zbivanja iz vremena oko 1912. godine, „slučaj Titanik" doveden je u izvestan odnos sa (umetničkom) ideologijom italijanskog futurizma, pokreta koji je upravo tada u intenzivnoj fazi svog delovanja. Iznosi se uverenje da je potonuće tada najvećeg broda, simbola tehnološkog progresa modernog doba, događaj koji bi, nezavisno od neuspeha i tragičnih posledica, morao privući futuristički senzibilitet, te da između Titanika i futurizma u osnovi postoji odnos familijarne srodnosti.

Ključne reči: Titanik, mit, moderna umetnost, futurizam, tehnološki progres

Ovaj rad nastao je u okviru projekta „Tradicija i transformacija" Ministarstva prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije (ev. br. 47019).

Za mnoge aktere, poštovaoce i ljubitelje Sveta moderne (savremene) umetnosti, sa 2010/11. godinom započela je decenija obeležavanja zaista uzbudljivih godišnjica, i to ne bilo kojih već stogodišnjica. Ona je možda simbolički najavljena već sa 2009. godinom, kada se navršilo sto godina od objavljivanja čuvenog Marinetijevog osnivačkog manifesta futurizma u pariskom Figaraou. To jeste dobra najava, ali je ona „ništa" u odnosu na ono što sledi. Ta druga decenija 20. veka zaista je bila pravo „ludilo" od pokretačkih i prekretničkih događaja na terenu umetnosti. Nećemo nabrajati sve, setimo se makar par stvari. Krajem godine 1915. izložena je rodonačelnička i amblematska slika suprematizma, za mnoge neka vrsta „ikone" čitave moderne umetnosti, znameniti *Crni kvadrat* Kazimira Maljeviča. A posle dve godine, 1917, odigrala se čuvena Dišanova revolucionarna akcija, „neuspešno" izlaganje običnog pisoara pod imenom *Fontana*, i pod firmom umetnosti, na izložbi Društva nezavisnih umetnika u Njujorku. U popularnom, za ovu priliku prikladnom, tabloidno-žurnalističkom žargonu, trebalo bi reći da posle ove dve stvari ništa u modernoj umetnosti više nije bilo isto. Začudo, možda je to stvarno istina. Ma kakav Pikaso!

Ali sada smo, avaj, tek u 2012. godini i moramo pristati na neizvesnost oko naše svedočanstvene participacije u obljetničkim uzbuđenjima što slede do kraja ove decenije. Ipak, i 1912. je bilo važnih zbivanja u svetu umetnosti, kao i u svetu van sveta umetnosti. U ovom drugom, setimo se ponečega, nastala je Republika Kina, dogodile su se američke invazije na Honduras, Nikaragvu i Kubu, izbio je Prvi Balkanski rat, u Stokholmu su održane 5. Olimpijske igre... Zanimljivo je da su se na ovoj Olimpijadi takmičile i umetnosti, to jest umetnici: zlatnu medalju za slikarstvo osvojio je italijan Karlo Pelegrini za sliku *Zimski sportovi*, dok je za skulpturu zlato pripalo amerikancu Volteru Vajnansu (koji je osvojio medalju i u streličarstvu!) za rad u bronzi *Američki kasač*. Juna 1912. u Beču je premijerno izvedena Deveta simfonija Gustava Malera, a krajem godine pojavila se prva iz serije novela o Tarzanu Edgara Rajsa Barouza.

Na likovno-umetničkom terenu Pikaso i Brak rade prve *papiers colles*, kolaže i asamblaže, italijanski futuristi izlažu u Parizu, objavljuje se Boćonijev *Tehnički manifest futurističke skulpture*, knjiga Gleza i Metsenžea *O kubizmu*, manifest ruskih futurista *Šamar društvenom ukusu*, teorijski ogled Kandinskog *O duhovnom u umetnosti*.., da ne spominjemo brojna pojedinačna dela koja istorija umetnosti „podvlači" kao važna. Te godine su kubizam i futurizam, „poslednji" moderni(stički) i „prvi" avangardni pokret, praktično bili u punoj snazi, čak možda u naponu snage. Nakon perioda indikativnog uzajamnog preplitanja, razmene i uticaja, futurizam je na svom vlastitom putu iskoračio u (spoljašnji) svet, i to na nov način, aktivistički, antagonistički i negativistički. S druge strane, taj pokret obožavalaca novog i mrzitelja starog radosno se otvorio uplivu savremenosti kao jedinom medikamentu koji spašava umetnost od propadanja u živom blatu prošlosti i tradicije. Istina, još su impresionisti u drugoj polovini 19. veka pravili svoju umetnost iz neposredne (nekritičke) recepcije modernosti, slikali su prizore građanskog, urbanog života, trgove, ulice i izletišta, bistroe i barove, balerine i konjske trke, železničke stanice, vozove i mostove... Futuristi, njihovi sledbenici u mnogo čemu, dopunili su impresionistički svetonazor glorifikacijom, sada

FUTURISTI U PARIZU 1912. GODINE: RUSOLO, KARA, MARINETI, BOĆONI I SEVERINI

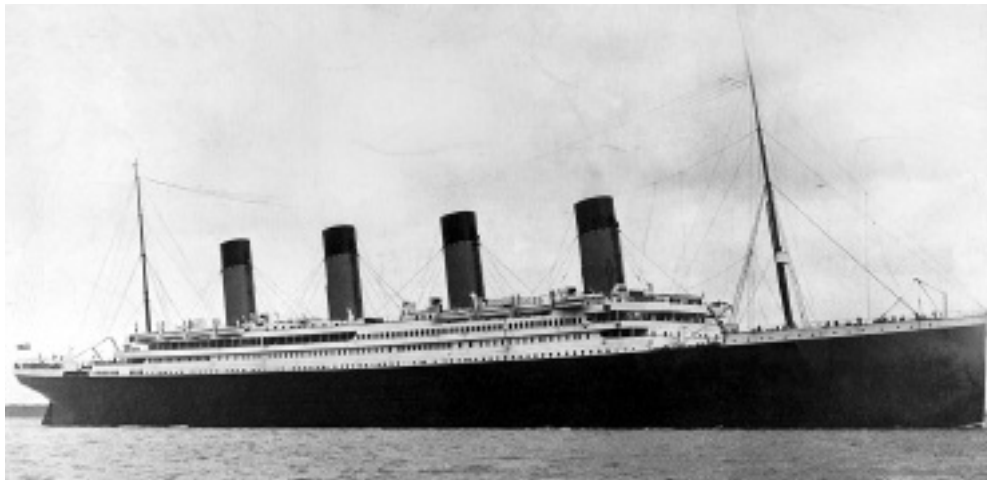
programskom i deklarativnom, trijumfalnog progresa nauke kao glavnog pokretača transformacije sveta i senzibilnosti modernog čoveka. Slaviti današnji svet, živeti sa čudima savremenog života, po svaku cenu se još intenzivnije sjediniti sa bodlerovskim, brzim i fragmentarnim modernim životom, to su neki od futurističkih slogana na koje bi trebalo da se odazovu umetnik i umetnost ako žele da budu u skladu sa svojim vremenom. Kada tome pridodamo tehnološki optimizam i egzaltaciju naučnim otkrićima, tehničkim izumima, svetom brzine i mašina, automobilima i avionima, te interes za pojave i proizvode masovne kulture, kao i vanslikarske, tehničke medije poput fotografije, hronofotografije ili filma, vidimo futurizam kao prvi ambiciozni pokušaj razgrađivanja modernističkog mita o autonomiji, samodovoljnosti i (medijskoj) čistoti umetnosti. Međutim, odbacivši (pozno)antičku skulpturu boginje Nike u korist trkačkog automobila, to jest prošlost u korist savremenosti i budućnosti, futuristi su samo zamenili predmet obožavanja, kao što su i u praksi slikarstva promenili predmet slikanja (automobil umesto taljiga), pri tom suštinski ne menjajući postojeće konvencije slikarske (mimetičke) reprezentacije. Sa istim intenzitetom, ako ne i većim, sa istim neupitnim divljenjem uživali su u novinama umesto starinama, slavili su pobedu asfalta nad zemljom, kulture nad prirodom, električnog osvetljenja nad sunčevom svetlošću... Ni Prvi svetski rat, koji će ubrzo započeti, nije ih omeo niti pokolebao u slepom verovanju u usrećiteljski kapacitet tehnološkog progresa. Štaviše, nekolicina ih je spremno učestvovala u toj, kako su je nazvali, jedinoj higijeni sveta, a neki su i položili živote na oltar svojih ideoloških uverenja.

Svet, to jest onaj njegov manji deo koji se(be) naziva zapadnim ili modernim, te je 1912. godine, kao uostalom i mnogih prethodnih i budućih, živeo u znaku futurizma kao jedne vrste opšteg (ne usko umetničkog), stalno otvorenog, nenapisanog projekta izgradnje bolje i srećnije budućnost, koja neizbežno dolazi na krilima pobedničke

modernizacije, to jest akcijama menjanja, prepravljanja i popravljanja svega shodno našim potrebama. Upravo je to menjanje, (pre)oblikovanje životnog okruženja, prirode/sveta, ono što bi, shodno „klasičnoj" (samo)percepciji modernosti, trebalo da razlikuje ljudska stvorenja od drugih, ne-ljudskih, ili kulturnu od biološke evolucije. Od prvog zamaha industrijalizacije nadalje, sa svakim novim korakom na putu tehnološkog progresa, sa svakom novom pobedom nad moćnim silama prirode kao respektabilnim suparnikom, rastao je optimizam jedne kulture, neka vrsta uživanja u ostvarenom, ponosa onim što se stvaralo. Tom optimizmu i nepokolebljivoj veri nisu škodili neuspesi i porazi, čak ni oni sa razmerama katastrofa i tragedija koje su, štaviše, primane kao neizbežne i neophodne žrtve. I tehnološkoj i umetničkoj avangardi, istraživačima, eksperimentatorima, izumiteljima, projektantima novog, zajednički je kult žrtve-heroja, agonističkog žrtvovanja i posvećivanja zarad onoga što dolazi, budućnosti. S druge strane, pretvaranje poraza u pobede, tragedija u trijumfe, padova u uspone i slično, spada u inspirativne i indikativne sadržaje one vrste (popularnih) kulturnih konstrukta koje zovemo mitovima.

Da iste te 1912. godine, 15. aprila u 2 sata i 20 minuta posle ponoći, nije potonuo u ledenim vodama Atlantika, RMS (Royal Mail Ship) Titanic, tada najveći čovekovom rukom napravljen pokretni objekat na Zemlji, brod ploveći grad, apsolutni vrh ondašnje tehnologije, verovatno bi nakon svega nekoliko decenija, i ko zna koliko putovanja do Njujorka i nazad, završio onako kako inače završavaju stvari kojima istekne rok, na nekom otpadu, u starom gvožđu, u žrvnju reciklaže. Ovako, shodno savremenom teorijskom konsenzusu, postao je moderni mit *par excellence*, najpre mit jedne lokalne, edvardijanske ili britanske kulture, koja početkom veka ulazi u krizu, a onda, zahvaljujući pre svega masmedijskoj distribuciji, i mit čitave moderne zapadne kulture, zapadnog sveta.[1] A možda će postati, ako već i nije, i globalni mit. Kolika je njegova stvarna rasprostranjenost u popularnoj kulturi nije previše važno, niti je to moguće pouzdano izmeriti i utvrditi. Isto tako, bilo bi neumesno popularnoj kulturi natovariti breme odgovornosti za negovanje i širenje zabluda, poluistina ili neistina, što obično prati kolokvijalno shvatanje mita. Naime, mitovi nisu ni istiniti ni lažni, a sa tog stanovišta potpuno je svejedno da li im se ironično podsmevate ili ih „napumpavate" ili „podgrevate". Kao što većinom uče savremene teorije, u mitovima nije reč o onome što se zaista desilo u stvarnosti, o tzv. činjenicama, već o pričama ili verovanjima o onome što se desilo, ili se nije desilo a trebalo je da se desi. Utoliko mitovi pre svega govore o svojim autorima, participatorima i distributerima, koji su pak uvek kolektivni ili masovni, a ne individualni. Zato mitovi sami po sebi ne mogu biti „odgovorni", odgovorni su jedino pokretači i održavaoci. U mitovima je uvek važna pozadina, ono „između redova", što nije vidljivo na prvi pogled, što nije eksplicitno rečeno. To važi i za pomenutu tvrdnju da je Titanik moderni mit, koja se i sama u ovom slučaju može uzeti kao sadržaj ili ishod života jednog mita. U vezi sa mitovima se ne radi o „počiniocima" i „izvršiocima", već o „stratezima" i „komandnoj odgovornosti".

Tako je Titanik postao mit, legenda tek posle „smrti". Trebalo je najpre da „umre" da bi postao besmrtan i slavan, kako se inače u životu većinom dešava. Ali to



TITANIK, APRIL 1912.

nije bilo dovoljno, ne odlaze svi mrtvi u legendu. Trebalo je da se „namesti" još štošta. Na primer, da se tragedija dogodi baš na prvom („svadbenom") putovanju, da neuspeh bude prilikom „premijere", već na početku, da se upravo prvo iskustvo pretvori u debakl. Trebalo je, nažalost, i da život izgubi toliko veliki broj ljudi, mnogo veći od broja preživelih, i da među njima bude izvestan broj veoma bogatih, dakle uglednih, sa statusom i imidžom džentlmena, koji će odlučiti da umru upravo kao džentlmeni. Trebalo ja da uzrok nesreće bude udar u ledeni breg, dakle sudar sa prirodom koja se slučajno, možda i zloslutno, isprečila na slavodobitnom novotehnološkom putovanju u progres. A pošto slavni postaju svi koji se nađu na putu slave, tako je i ovaj iceberg postao slavan, te je o njemu snimljen i zaseban dokumentarni film (The Iceberg That Sank the Titanic). U tom je filmu ledeni breg glavni lik, istražuje se njegova priroda i prati neka vrsta njegove biografije, njegove sopstvene tajne istorije. Mesto njegovog rođenja je Greenland, od kojeg se u odgovarajućim klimatskim uslovima otkinuo, odlomio, i onda počeo da pluta Atlantikom. U filmu se iznosi fascinantan zaključak, izveden na osnovu sprovedenih istraživanja, da se ovaj ledeni breg (the most famous iceberg in history!) odvojio, dakle „rodio", nastao, otprilike u isto vreme, 1909. godine, kada je počela gradnja Titanika. Trebalo im je, jednom i drugom, tri godine da bi se sreli te hladne, mirne i kobne noći 14. aprila 1912. godine u 23 sata i 40 minuta. I upravo tim susretom su jedan drugog, u neobičnoj, sudbinskoj uzajamnoj sprezi, premestili u mit. Da nije bilo Titanika-broda ne bi bilo brega-mita, da nije bilo brega-leda ne bi bilo Titanika-mita. Ili, drugačije rečeno, da se nisu sreli na takav način i sa takvim ishodom, nestali bi, izgubili bi se, svako na svom putu, u sopstvenim zaboravima

Trebalo je da ta prekookeanska lađa bude tako velika i da bude nazvana tim imenom. „Size does matter", bio je glavni slogan iz trejlera za jednu od verzija čuvenog japanskog filmskog serijala o ogromnom morskom čudovištu zvanom Godzila. Veličina je odista važna, to neće niko sporiti, i to u mnogim stvarima koje se tiču naših,

ljudskih života. Titanik i ribarska barka nisu isto, kao što ni neka bara, nastala posle malo obilnije kiše, i Atlantski okean nisu isto. Skoro da se sve najvažnije u vezi sa Titanikom povezuje sa veličinom, iskazuje u dimenzijama, razmerama, brojevima... „Everything on this ship is oversize, titanic", kaže se u komentaru iz jednog od mnogih dokumentarnih filmova posvećenih najluksuznijem plovilu onog vremena. Ideja veličine, ogromnosti, titanstva, gigantstva, grandioznosti, snage, jačine, moći, sadržana je već u njegovom imenu. U prevodu mogli bismo ga zvati *Ogromni*, *Titanski* ili *Divovski*. Kakav je bio, zaista zaslužuje da bude smatran simboličkim potomkom antičkih grčkih giganata i titana, ili pak modernim ekvivalentom čuvenih megalitskih spomenika iz davnih vremena. Samo njegova dužina iznosila je nešto preko 268 metara, što je, kažu, dužina dva ipo fudbalska igrališta. Na jednom reklamnom crtežu kompanije White Star, vlasnika broda, Titanik veličinom nadmašuje Keopsovu piramidu, baziliku Svetog Petra u Rimu i Woolworth Building u Njujorku. Više od dve godine gradilo ga je oko 3.000 ljudi. Ta izmerljiva, vidljiva, fizička veličina, nešto prema čemu uvek ispoljavamo divljenje i (straho)poštovanje, što nas najčešće veoma uzbuđuje i ushićuje, prva je pretpostavka jedinstvenosti, posebnosti ovog objekta. Međutim, Titanikova *sestra-lađa* (sister ship), sa imenom Olimpik, porinuta godinu dana ranije, bila je praktično isto tolika i isto takva, stručno gledano strukturno i mehanički istovetna, pa ipak se nije našla u carstvu mitova. To govori da je postajanje mitom proizvod uplitanja, preplitanja i ukrštanja raznovrsnih činilaca, nikako nešto jednostavno, jednodimenzionalno i providno.

Trebalo je da bude (smatran za) nepotopiv nakon što je potonuo, jer bi u protivnom, ili bez toga, potonuće bilo nešto sasvim „normalno" i obično. Ovo zvuči veoma logično, makar utoliko što nije baš uverljivo da priča o nepotopivosti nastane nakon što brod zaista potone. Međutim, izgleda da se baš tako dogodilo, barem sudeći prema istraživanjima i tumačenjima koje se mogu smatrati više nego solidnim i ozbiljnim. Pri tom, naravno da nije reč o stvarnoj nepotopivosti, već o verovanju u to ili mišljenju o tome. Dakle, zaključak glasi da je to verovanje u stvari retrospektivno, da je nastalo i počelo da se širi prostorom popularne kulture Britanije, Amerike i zapada tek nakon tragedije, postajući jednim od glavnih konstituenata mita o Titaniku. Da postoji neka ozbiljna, možda suštinska veza između verovanja u nepotopivost i potonuća pokazuje na kraju krajeva i to što takvo verovanje nije pratilo pomenuti Olimpik, po svemu skoro potpuno isti brod, koji međutim nije potonuo već je dočekao poznu starost i regularnu penziju. Treba li reći da Olimpik nije potonuo zato što nije smatran nepotopivim?! Naknadna priča o nepotopivosti upisuje u sam događaj, to jest potonuće, dodatno značenje/smisao, dodaje mu „težinu" neophodnu za stvaranje aure ekskluzivnosti, jedinstvenosti, oneobičava ga, očuđuje, ispunjava uzbuđenjem.

Trebalo je da se još kockica rasporede na određena mesta da bi ispalo tako kako je ispalo, da bi nastao taj monumentalni mit, čijem se povodu, evo, približava stogodišnjica. Ali, nema potrebe da ovde dalje pričamo o tim kockicama. Vratimo se futurizmu, koji nam je na početku spontano pao na pamet pri pomisli na toliko iščekivano obeležavanje jednog veka od stradanja Titanika. Ima li u stvarnosti onoga vre-

DŽEJMS KAMERON, *TITANIK* (1997)

mena ikakve druge veze između futurizma (i moderne umetnosti uopšte) i Titanika osim one koja se tiče naprosto vremenskog paralelizma, premda ni taj paralelizam, njegov simbolički sadržaj, nije za potcenjivanje. Trebalo bi, očekivalo bi se da bude. No nema opipljivih, upečatljivih tragova. Najpre, koliko je poznato piscu ovog sastava (što inače nije bog zna koliko respektabilan argument), u brojnim savremenim futurističkim dokumentima, manifestima, programima, pamfletima, izjavama i slično, nema direktnog spomena Titanika i brodoloma. Nema ga ni kao „vidljivog" povoda ili reference u konkretnim praksama i radovima. Automobil i avion bili su, očigledno, mnogo atraktivnije i uzbudljivije mašine za futuriste, iako se brodogradilišta i parobrodi pominju u Marinetijevom manifestu, zajedno sa fabrikama, železničkim stanicama, lokomotivama i mostovima, kao predmeti (o)pevanja futurističke poezije. Ipak, neobično je da prekookeanski *lajneri*, tvorevine grandioznih razmera i zadivljujućih izgleda, dika i ponos ideologa i praktičara tehnološkog progresa, nisu na neki način neposredno doticali senzore razbarušenih futurista i raspaljivali njihovu imaginaciju. Havarija ne bi trebalo da bude razlog jer futuristički razum i osećanje simpatišu vizuelne spektakle i atraktivne događaje svake vrste (pa i one sa nesrećnim ili rušilačkim ishodima, poput rata) kao manifestacije oslobađanja kinetičke energije. Ako se Titanik spolja i može videti kao neka glomazna i troma zver, koja baš zbog nedostatka okretnosti i hitrine ne može da izbegne *iceberg* koji se podmuklo isprečio, u njenoj utrobi sve kipti od vatre i dima, napinju se i huče parni kotlovi, odzvanja buka osovina i klipova, odvija se, jednom rečju, vrhunski tehnološki performans. U svim do sada snimljenim igranim filmovima ili serijama o Titaniku (a ima ih već preko desetak) upravo nezaobilazne sekvence koje prikazuju rad tog unutrašnjeg pogona, svu silinu brodske mašinerije, najuverljivije i najdoslovnije predočavaju amblematsku sliku sveta futurističkog kinetizma i dinamizma. No samo potonuće, koliko god značilo masovnu smrt nedužnih, ipak ostaje spektakl nad spektaklima, apsolutno neuporediva vizuelna atrakcija, prizor jedinstvene dramske snage i uzvišenosti, zbog kojeg se, nezavisno od

DŽEJMS KAMERON, *TITANIK* (1997)

manje ili više privlačnih narativnih zapleta, svi ti filmovi na kraju krajeva i gledaju. Skoro na način hičkokovskog *suspensa* iščekuje se sa zebnjom, uzbuđenjem i neizvesnošću taj poslednji čin, koji svemu drugom udahnjuje smisao. Propinjanje krme, zadnjeg dela broda povučenog uvis tonjenjem pramca, a potom njegovo strmoglavo poniranje i nestajanje u dubinama i tmini okeana, predstavlja klimaks, vrhunac napetosti, i istovremeno pražnjenje, olakšanje. To je trenutak trijumfa u tragediji, promocija heroja i pobednika koji podnosi žrtvu na nezaustavljivom trku progresa i prosperiteta. Zbog toga katastrofa Titanika ni za futuriste nije mogla da znači šamar upozorenja euforičnom, nekritičkom tehnološkom optimizmu. Štaviše, žrtvovanje, institucija žrtve uvećava značaj, veličinu i uzvišenost željenog postignuća, onoga čemu se žrtvovanje posvećuje.

Nikoga od futurista nije bilo na lađi, mada ih je lako tu zamisliti, kao uostalom i na svakom mestu gde se demonstriraju dostignuća i moć modernog čoveka u nadmašivanju i savladavanju tvorevina prirode. Možda su propustili odličnu priliku, ne mnogo manje atraktivnu od Prvog svetskog rata. Uopšte, izgleda da nije bilo umetnika i umetnosti na brodu Titaniku, barem nema sačuvanih podataka o tome. Postoji samo jedan bledi, indirektni trag koji vodi ka umetnosti, a to je smrt uglednog putnika prve klase, američkog plejboja i biznismena Bendžamina Gugenhajma, oca kasnije veoma poznate i uticajne Pegi Gugenhajm, koja je na različite načine, pre svega kao galerista i kolekcionar, sudelovala u kreiranju slike moderne umetnosti posle Drugog svetskog rata. Osim toga, ime jednog drugog člana brojne i moćne dinastije Gugenhajm, Solomona R. Gugenhajma, ostaje zapamćeno u svetu moderne umetnosti po njujorškom muzeju sagrađenom prema čuvenom projektu Frenk Lojd Rajta. Ali ovaj izostanak umetnosti na stvarnom Titaniku, u onom vremenu, nadomešten je u kasnijim mitotvornim masmedijskim nadgradnjama, pre svega, naravno, u čuvenom filmu Džejmsa Kamerona.[2] Setimo se, Džek Doson, glavni muški lik, je talentovani mladi (siromašni) umetnik sa iskustvom boemskog Pariza. Njegova nesrećna ljubav, Rouz, je ne samo ljubitelj već i poštovalac umetnosti, čak

DŽEJMS KAMERON, *TITANIK* (1997)

one modernističke. Prilikom raspakovanja stvari, posle ukrcavanja na Titanik, videli smo u njenom vereničkom prtljagu nekoliko slika poznatih evropskih modernista kao što su Mone, Dega ili Pikaso, za koje verenik mlade Rouz kaže da su bile jevtine. Nasuprot ironičnim komentarima nadobudnog i tupavog verenika, Rouz nalazi da su slike fascinantne, a povodom jednog Pikasovog analitičko-kubističkog portreta i slike koja izgleda kao jedna od skica za Gospođice iz Avinjona, njen spontani oštroumni istorijsko-umetnički komentar glasi da tu ima istine ali nema logike. Šta je posle bilo sa ovim slikama, ne vidi se, ali je logično da su se „udavile". To uostalom nije bitno za njihovu ulogu. Filmska priča odvela nas je u drugom pravcu: neposredno pre kobnog udara o ledeno brdo, naga Rouz, sa dragocenim „Srcem okeana" oko vrata, pozira ispred Džekovog umetničkog pogleda, i taj traljavi crtež biće pronađen na dnu Atlantika.

Ova površno i na brzinu opisana pojava umetnosti u Kameronovom *Titaniku* nudi, naravno, mnoštvo povoda za zanimljive teoretizacije, utoliko pre što u ranijim filmovima o nesreći veka uopšte nije bilo umetnosti. Međutim, sve bi, čini se, bilo još intrigantnije da se, umesto impresionističkog i kubističkog stilističkog i idejnog registra, u filmu našao futurizam, u ma kakvom liku i obličju. Ništa, možda u nekom budućem filmu. Ali nije stvar ni u filmovima ni u mitovima, već u stvarnosti. A kada je o tome reč onda... Na kraju krajeva, zauvek ostaje žal što se niko iz družine italijanskih budućnjaka nije našao na tom brodu. Iz hiljadu razloga tamo im je bilo mesto. Svi bi iz toga profitirali, i mit o Titaniku, i futurizam, i moderna umetnost, i čitav dvadeseti vek.

Napomene:

[1] Vidi: Richard Howells, *The Myth of the Titanic*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1999.

[2] Vidi na primer: David Gerstner, „Unsinkable Masculinity: The Artist and the Work of Art in James Cameron's *Titanic*", *The Titanic in Myth and Memory. Representations in Visual and Literary Culture*, Ed. by T. Berfelder and S. Street, I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London – New York, 2004, 173-185.

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ICEBERG, RIGHT AHEAD!
NOTE ON THE TITANIC (AND FUTURISM)

Summary:
The intention of this text is to offer a timely reminder of the significance and multifaceted nature of the tragedy of the Titanic during its centenary, and primarily so within the context of its having grown into one of the most exciting and most widely spread modern myths of the Western world. Attention is called to the basic hypotheses and characteristics of this myth. Contextualized within other interesting events occurring around 1912, the "Case of the Titanic" is being connected with the (artistic) ideology of Italian Futurism, a movement which was then at its peak of activity. A belief is put forward that the sinking of the then greatest ship and *the* symbol of the technological progress of the modern era, was an event that would, regardless of the ship's failure and tragic circumstances, be bound to attract the Futuristic sensibility, thereby creating an essentially familial bond between the Titanic and Futurism.

Key words: Titanic, myth, modern art, futurism, technological progress

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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"A MARVELLOUSLY DRAMATIC SUBJECT": HITCHCOCK'S *TITANIC* PROJECT

Abstract:
This paper focuses on the Titanic film that Alfred Hitchcock was scheduled to make as his first Hollywood production in 1939, and considers, with the help of archival research, both why it was not made, and what form it might have taken. Its central strategy is the creation of a scene-by-scene shadow version of the unmade film, using shipboard sequences from a wide range of films that Hitchcock did make between 1926 and 1944, and constructing a narrative with a clear beginning, middle, and end (shipwreck and rescue). While this strategy is a playful one, it also aims to make serious points about Hitchcock's affinity with the subject, linking it closely to – for instance – the pair of films he made shortly before his move to Hollywood (*The Lady Vanishes*, 1938) and shortly after (*Foreign Correspondent*, 1940), both of which put their characters through severe ordeals in the course of a journey. Finally, it is argued that the Titanic story, whose ending we know in advance, is not at all at odds with the concept of suspense as Hitchcock understood and practised it.

Key words: Alfred Hitchcock, Titanic, David Selznick, suspense, disaster movie, classical Hollywood

Hitchcock's Hollywood career began so successfully with *Rebecca* that it's easy to forget that David Selznick had originally brought him from England with an altogether different project in mind. To quote John Russell Taylor's authorised biography:

> "In May 1938, when Hitchcock was in the middle of shooting *The Lady Vanishes*, Selznick put forward [for the first time] a concrete proposal: he would like Hitch to come over to Hollywood forthwith to start work on a production based on the sinking of the *Titanic*."[1]

This was still the intention six months later, to judge from an interview published in an English film magazine on 5th November in which Hitchcock called it "a marvellously dramatic subject for a motion picture"[2]. By this time, however, Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* had been published. Selznick bought the rights and suggested it could become Hitchcock's second film for him. There were various delays in getting the *Titanic* film set up, they started with *Rebecca* instead, and Hitchcock never did make *Titanic*.

A wide-ranging three-day conference about the *Titanic* was mounted at the University of Southampton in July 2000, close to the port from which the ship set out on its first and last voyage towards New York in April 1912.[3] Many of the conference papers referred to existing film versions of the story, the main emphasis not surprisingly being on the 1997 production by James Cameron. I volunteered a paper on Hitchcock's unmade *Titanic* film, thinking that I could just about fill 20 minutes with some speculative remarks, but the slot allotted was a one-hour plenary, and suddenly it was too late to protest. How could one talk for this long about a film which was not just unmade, but little documented? There is, in fact, rather more documentation than I realised at the time, but ignorance of it is understandable, since it shows up hardly at all in the main Hitchcock and Selznick literature. Leonard Leff's definitive study of the two men's collaboration has only two minor references to the *Titanic* project, and it goes completely unmentioned both in David Thomson's recent biography of Selznick and in Jane Sloan's massive Hitchcock bibliography.[4] There is not much more in the standard biographies of Hitchcock by Taylor and Spoto, or in the more recent one by Patrick McGilligan[5]. There is nothing surprising about this, since Hitchcock never got down to serious work on a *Titanic* script, and there is, after all, a lot more to write about in the shape of richly documented projects which he and Selznick did succeed in realising, both separately and together.

We do, however, have not only some quotations and documents which throw light on how the project was, in a very preliminary way, being approached, but also a fair bit of material, actually filmed by Hitchcock, which provides an additional angle on how he might have developed a *Titanic* story. Seeking out an appropriate boat scene or two to show from among the films directed by him, I came to realise that there were enough such scenes to put together into a narrative with a beginning, a middle, and an end. If Hitchcock was inconsiderate enough never to have made his *Titanic* film, one could, in a sense, do it for him. Ten minutes of the one-hour slot were therefore gratefully taken up with a film compilation, and from that point the paper effectively

wrote itself. The film was fun to put together, and I think the audience enjoyed it too. Copyright factors prevent it being more widely circulated, but readers familiar with at least some of the originals will be able to reconstruct it in the mind's eye; indeed, those with access to the right prints have every chance to put together more polished alternative versions. What follows is a summary of the compilation, and then a version of the paper based on it .

Ten-Minute *Titanic*

Hitchcock director credit against background of waves and rocks (*The Manxman*). Title indicates destination: "America". Couple leave house, take train, embark, enter cabin (*Champagne*). Another couple embark, fail to get a cabin (*Foreign Correspondent*). A third couple, Fred and Emily, embark; ship leaves (*Rich and Strange*). Wife waves from shore to departing husband, who settles on deck (*The Pleasure Garden*). Hitchcock on deck of a ship at sea (*home movies*). Descriptive sequence of shipboard life (Fred looking ill). Title: 'Night at Sea'; Emily on deck with attentive older man (*Rich and Strange*). Stormy night, couple on deck, love scene (*Foreign Correspondent*). Fred in bed in cabin: nauseous response to sight of the menu (*Rich and Strange*). Another young man on bed in cabin, looks out at the sea (*Downhill*). Ship in collision, is holed, starts to sink, Fred and Emily trapped: water seeps under cabin door… then they escape via porthole (*Rich and Strange*). Men and women struggling to stay afloat in the ocean (*Foreign Correspondent*). Man rescues woman from water (*Number Seventeen*). More struggling in the water (*Foreign Correspondent*). Ship's funnel sinks beneath waves – debris floats past. Lifeboat with survivors, one of whom speaks of "the sea, so big and terrible". Hitchcock's second cameo, via newspaper slimming advertisement (*Lifeboat*). Survivors spot ship steaming towards them and identify it as American (*Foreign Correspondent*). The End: a Selznick production (*Rebecca*).

Cumulatively, I think this set of extracts does two things. Firstly, it confirms that Hitchcock was extremely interested in setting stories, or key elements of stories, at sea: the *Titanic* story would in many ways have been an absolute natural for him. Secondly, it helps to suggest some ways in which he might have been inclined to shape a film about the *Titanic*. *Might have, would have, could have*... formulations of this kind will inevitably recur, but I hope that such speculation is sufficiently grounded to make the exercise worthwhile.[6]

From the *Odyssey* and the book of *Exodus* onward, and no doubt before, journeys have been a central feature of narrative, for obvious reasons. The physical journey can function as a symbolic or spiritual journey: the passage from place to place, or from continent to continent, can function as a national, and/or personal, *rite* of passage. Hitchcock was always ready to exploit this in the classic manner. In the days before World War 2, sea journeys were, like train journeys, a much more central feature of life than they have since become, train and boat having been so much displaced, in films as in life, by car and aeroplane; in doing a lot of boat travel himself, and featuring it in his films, Hitchcock was not, for someone of his generation, unusual. But he does

BOARDING – *CHAMPAGNE* (1928)

MID-OCEAN – *RICH AND STRANGE* (1931)

SINKING – *LIFEBOAT* (1944)

HITCHCOCK'S APPEARANCE – *LIFEBOAT* (1944)

THE COUPLE – *RICH AND STRANGE* (1931)

THE COUPLE – *FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT* (1940)

seem to have had a particularly strong feeling for it. His major script collaborator of the 1930s, Charles Bennett, has testified that when Hitchcock felt that a script was not developing in the right way, he once hired a large boat to take them down the Thames for a floating script conference[7]. The place he chose to propose marriage to Alma Reville, at the outset of their joint careers in the mid-1920s, was on board ship, at night, in the middle of a channel crossing[8]. And I think analysis would confirm that watery settings of various kinds, oceanic and otherwise, are at least as prominent in Hitchcock's films as in those of any other film-maker. (Think ahead, for instance, to *Strangers on a Train*, 1951, where the killer stalks his victim by boat, and subsequently escapes the same way; to *The Birds*, 1963, where the first attack on Melanie Daniels takes place at the end of her complacent two-way boat journey across a lake; to *Marnie*, 1964, where key scenes in the relationship of Mark and Marnie are played out at sea, on the honeymoon cruise; and to early and late scenes between Paul Newman and Julie Andrews in *Torn Curtain*, 1966, set on passenger ships in Scandinavian waters).

But let's go back and look in more detail at the earlier films used in the compilation, in the chronological order of their production:

The Pleasure Garden (1926), Hitchcock's first film as director, supplies the scene of the woman waving as the boat departs. It is carrying her husband back to his job in Africa, and the physical distancing is also an emotional distancing, as his flirtatious behaviour on deck already begins to suggest. *Downhill* (1927), Hitchcock's fourth film, supplies the shots of the young man (Ivor Novello) lying on his bed, and looking out of the porthole: he is on his way back home to his family after traumatic experiences in France. *Champagne* (1928) contributes the first scene, of the rather sinister older man taking the heroine, Betty Balfour, onto the boat. It's an strongly Oedipal story, much of which is played out at sea, on two separate Transatlantic crossings, one in each direction. *The Manxman* (1929) simply provides Hitchcock's director credit, against a suggestive background of water and rocks. The story is set on the Isle of Man, and a sea journey to South Africa and back is a key factor in the narrative, but it takes place mainly offscreen. *Rich and Strange* (1931) is the first sound film used, and features more prominently in the compilation than any other. A childless couple, Fred and Emily, go on a world cruise, have various adventures, and return home at the end, like Novello in *Downhill*, sadder and wiser. The main shipboard extracts are taken from this film, including the documentary-type material of crew and passenger activity, and the crucial element of the shipwreck. A short scene from near the end of *Number Seventeen* (1932) is fitted in after that shipwreck. A boat train has gone out of control at the ferryport and crashed into the water; the woman being rescued, and the man who rescues her, are about to form a romantic couple. The cameo appearance of Hitchcock on deck is taken, possibly, from a *home movie* of his Transatlantic journey in 1939, making the momentous career transition from Britain to Hollywood[9]. His first Hollywood film, *Rebecca* (1940), provides the end credit, a reminder that his *Titanic* film would have been a Selznick production. *Foreign Correspondent* (1940), starring Joel McCrea and Laraine Day, was the film he made directly after *Rebecca*, and is the next most abundant

source of footage for the compilation after *Rich and Strange*. In addition to an embarkation and a love scene, it provides the main images of people struggling in the water, and the sighting of the American rescue ship. Finally, *Lifeboat* (1943) is set entirely *on* a lifeboat adrift in the Atlantic, after an American ship is sunk by a U-Boat, and it supplies the scenes that begin with the ship's funnel being swallowed up by the sea.

Consistently, then, these films associate the sea voyage, and the water, with themes of ordeal, of change, and of romance. The two most suggestive, from the point of view of the *Titanic* project, are clearly *Rich and Strange* and *Foreign Correspondent*. The former is like a prototype or sketch for it, including as it does the scenes of the ship being hit and fatally damaged. The communication of disaster by the carefully managed offscreen sounds of screams and running footsteps – the rising panic as the couple find themselves trapped – the telling detail of the water sliding under the door: these are the kinds of element that could very plausibly have been reworked in Hitchcock's *Titanic*. And *Foreign Correspondent* can, I will argue, be seen as in some ways a displaced version of the *Titanic* film he had by then failed to make.

One striking point about this list is the gap between 1932 and 1939. The series of films which made Hitchcock seriously famous and brought him to the attention of Hollywood contain little or nothing in the way of watery scenes: I refer to the series of six thrillers that begins with *The Man Who Knew Too Much* and *The 39 Steps* and ends with *The Lady Vanishes*. They are full of significant journeys, but either these are not sea journeys or, if they are, they are not shown[10]. However, I think these films further reinforce the sense of the *Titanic* project being an entirely appropriate one for Hitchcock. For one thing, as I point out in my book on *English Hitchcock*, they have in common a tight and lucidly organised *time-span* of a few days and nights: three or four or five[11]. Typical of this is *The Lady Vanishes* – the film that Hitchcock was in the middle of shooting when Selznick lined him up for the *Titanic* project. Day one, in the Alpine hotel; day two, on the train; day three, back to England by boat, though this is covered in a single token long-shot of the the boat; day four, arrival in London. The period of time is comparable to that of an Atlantic crossing; it was on its fifth day out from Southampton that the *Titanic* hit the iceberg.

Moreover, *The Lady Vanishes* is like all of Hitchcock's thriller series of the 1930s, other than *The Man who Knew Too Much*, in creating a new romantic couple in the course of its short time-span – a couple who have not previously met[12]. Compare Margaret Lockwood and Michael Redgrave in this film with the couple who meet and fall in love in the four-day narrative of *The 39 Steps*, Robert Donat and Madeleine Carroll, and with the couple who do the same in the five-day narrative of *Young and Innocent*, Nova Pilbeam and Derrick de Marney. Compare, for that matter, the couple who meet and fall in love on board the *Titanic* in James Cameron's film: Kate Winslet and Leonardo di Caprio. That film is a fine example of the merging of a public and a personal story – the story of the ship, and the love story – which is typical of Hollywood narrative, and of which Hitchcock early on became a master, with the indispensable help of his strong writers of the 1930s, Frank Launder and Sidney Gilliat, who wrote

The Lady Vanishes, and Charles Bennett, who did the main constructional work on the other five in the series. *The Lady Vanishes*, like *The 39 Steps*, but unlike *Rich and Strange*, involves its romantic couple in a strong public story, centred on a conflict with sinister foreign powers, and on the penetrating depiction of a cross-section of British society. In fact, I see *The Lady Vanishes* as the third crucial film for the imagining of Hitchcock's *Titanic*, alongside *Rich and Strange* and *Foreign Correspondent*.

What made *Titanic* an attractive project in the late 1930s? Partly the sheer size and drama that have, ever since 1912, drawn writers, film-makers and audiences to the story; but it also relates suggestively to two contemporary media phenomena. Firstly, the fascination with disaster manifested most spectacularly in three diverse media events: the real-life Hindenberg airship disaster, subject of a celebrated live radio report in 1937, the Orson Welles radio adaptation of *The War of the Worlds* broadcast in 1938, and the Korda film of another H. G. Wells story, *Things to Come*, which was made in England in 1936 and had a lasting impact on public consciousness through its picture of the destructive effects of aerial bombardment. All three of these events made an impression out of all proportion to the size of their immediate audience, being much rehearsed and discussed in the media. They demonstrated, and reinforced, a fascination with scenarios of disaster that can plausibly be related to the growth of political tension in Europe (a connection supported by the sociological study of the *War of the Worlds* panic that was made shortly after the broadcast[13]).

The second connection is with a cycle of films of the late 1930s that offered a particular take on British class society, and that were popular with American audiences – films ranging from the Hollywood film of *David Copperfield*, produced by Selznick himself in 1935, to the high-budget films that MGM produced, very successfully, in Britain a few years later. *A Yank at Oxford*, 1937, and *Goodbye Mr Chips*, 1939, offered particularly colourful, affectionate, sentimental pictures of a Britain steeped in class and tradition. The latter was produced for MGM-British by Hitchcock's old associate Victor Saville, whose career had run very much in parallel with his, and who likewise relocated from Britain to Hollywood in 1939[14]. What could be more suitable as the first Hollywood project for the director who had become the *titan* of British cinema, in terms of reputation as of build, than this quintessentially Anglo-American story of the voyage of a ship that housed, and seemed to epitomise, the British class system – like the Brookfield School of *Goodbye Mr Chips,* whose narrative spans the years 1870 to 1928, and which even refers in passing to the sinking of the *Titanic*? *The Lady Vanishes*, which foregrounds British eccentricities more systematically and wittily than any of Hitchcock's previous films, immediately became a greater success than any of them in America, and operates, in a sense, like a *Titanic* on train wheels: the complacency of the British travellers is threatened by disaster *en route*, a disaster which leads some to behave cravenly, others heroically.

Why then, with so much apparently going for it, was *Titanic* not made? It has sometimes been said, even by Hitchcock himself, that it was just not a suitable subject for him, but I hope to have established that this is far from the truth. To argue, as Simon

Mills does, that "even the Master [of Suspense] would have had difficulty injecting suspense into a film where the entire audience would be anticipating disaster before it is even begun" is, surely, to misread the concept of suspense, as opposed to surprise, that Hitchcock consistently both articulated and practised[15]. Hitchcock's own comments are, as so often, inconclusive, indeed contradictory. To support the claim that the project was a 'hopeless' one from the start, Spoto quotes him as follows:

> "I remember thinking that the only way to make it cinematic would be to start the opening credits on a tight close-up on a huge rivet on the side of the ship. The camera would then dolly back as the credits roll – slowly, very slowly – and two hours later the audience would at last see the whole ship in long shot and I would flash the words *The End*. Nothing else really struck me as very interesting."[16]

This striking conceit – suggesting an inversion, at twice the length, of Michael Snow's classic structuralist exercise of 1967, *Wavelength* – comes from a conversation dated 1977. A year earlier, Hitchcock had shown much greater retrospective enthusiasm in an interview for *Rolling Stone* magazine:

> "I wanted to go to a card table, where four men were playing poker: go close to the whiskey and soda... the level is changing in the glass, tilting, you see... We might go down to the kitchen and I'd see a chef is putting the final touches to a beautiful cake with a pastry bag... And the audience would say, "Don't bother! Don't bother! It's never going to be eaten! The ship's going down!"[17]

Since he had in 1938, in the interview quoted at the start, called the *Titanic* disaster "a marvellously dramatic subject for a motion picture", it's not at all hard to imagine the project developing a strong momentum on the back of such vivid ideas, provided he had been brought together at the right moment, as he always needed to be, with an appropriate writer or two, ready to provide a strong structural framework.

This came closer to happening than is commonly realised. The one reference found in the main literature to any kind of *Titanic* script comes from Donald Spoto, who mentions a novel by Wilson Mizner and Carl Harbraugh. It seems that this was in fact a screenplay, written earlier for Howard Hughes at RKO, which long predated Hitchcock's involvement, and which no-one took very seriously[18]. However, an enterprising piece of research by Eric Schaefer in the mid-1980s turned up a lot of additional material in the Selznick papers housed at the University of Texas at Austin; the resulting article deserves wider circulation than it got in that University's in-house Library Chronicle[19]. Schaefer discovered that, after another false start, "the hope that an acceptable script could be developed finally returned with the hiring of English novelist Richard Blaker, who attacked the project under the watchful eye of [Val] Lewton and with input from Selznick". On 18th November 1938, Blaker submitted a 22-page treatment, which Schaefer describes as "compelling". He indicates that its time-frame is at the other extreme from the compact model of Hitchcock's most recent films (or of the Cameron *Titanic*), in that it opens with the building of the ship and ends, after the disaster, with the launch of a sister-ship; but it resembles them in being centred (predictably enough) on a range of personal stories, including that of "a young couple in love".

Despite Lewton's enthusiasm, "Selznick was dissatisfied, and Blaker returned to England".[20] Hitchcock himself was still in England at this time; there is no indication as to whether he was directly involved in discussion of the Blaker treatment, then or subsequently, though further trawling of the Selznick archives might throw light on this question. Schaefer did, however, find memoranda showing that Hitchcock, after his arrival in Hollywood, made two positive suggestions for developing a new *Titanic* script. One was to involve the novelist and playwright J. B. Priestley, who had worked in a minor capacity on his last British film, *Jamaica Inn*; but "Priestley proved difficult to negotiate with, and Hitchcock concluded that he would not give them the kind of script they desired". The other suggestion was to use his assistant Joan Harrison, who had accompanied him and his family to Hollywood, and who had likewise had a script credit on *Jamaica Inn*. The idea was that she would go back to England "to do more research and to interview survivors".[21] However, the outbreak of war in Europe soon put paid to this idea – and, indeed, to any possibility of taking the *Titanic* project any further.

By then it was surely already doomed, for a variety of reasons. In retrospect, it is difficult to visualise Selznick ever actually committing himself to handling the logistics of another epic-scale production while still preparing for the release of *Gone With the Wind*, but he evidently did try seriously to get hold of a real ocean liner, the *Leviathan*, to represent the *Titanic*[22]. If his failure to do so was one direct factor in the postponement, another was his wish to cash in on the success of the novel *Rebecca* by filming it as soon as possible, so that it became Hitchcock's first Hollywood project rather than his second. Meanwhile, there were problems on another front. Mills and Schaefer between them, using documents found respectively in British official records and in the Selznick Archive, provide a fascinating account of the pressures exerted by British shipowners who were fearful of the adverse effects that a *Titanic* film might have on their business, and who started to mobilise official support for their case[23]. But the danger was more than simply commercial. *Titanic* would surely have been an exceptionally awkward subject for an English director, and for a predominantly Anglophile Hollywood, to undertake at this period of international tension and of apparently imminent war. The forces which threaten the British characters of *The Man Who Knew Too Much* and *The 39 Steps* and *The Lady Vanishes*, creating ordeals through which they come, for the most part, triumphantly, are malignant ones that represent a spreading European fascism; you can't get away from the fact that the iceberg is an impersonal force that hits the ship, and is fatal to the ship, primarily because of British carelessness and complacency. As the 1943 German *Titanic* film shows, the story was rather more easily adaptable, at this time, into a German propaganda vehicle than an Allied or neutral one[24].

Directly after *Rebecca*, however, Hitchcock did direct, in *Foreign Correspondent*, the single most vigorous piece of pro-Allied propaganda to come out of Hollywood before Pearl Harbor. Reunited, for the last time, with Charles Bennett as script-writer, he treated the raw material, a reporter's account of rising tension in Europe in the 1930s, in the same manner as one guesses he would have wanted to treat the raw material of the *Titanic* story. That is, the material becomes not just a public story – in this

case, the countdown to war – but a personal one, a love story with, as so often in Hitchcock's work from the 1920s to the 1970s, intensely Oedipal dimensions; indeed this personal story becomes, in the classic manner, the *vehicle* for the public story. In the course of his personal and political rite of passage, the America reporter, played by Joel McCrea, encounters representatives of Britain, notably the George Sanders character, who seem eccentrically decadent but show steel in a crisis. The climax is a Transatlantic crossing from England to America, but by aeroplane rather than ocean liner. The plane is brought down, but by German gunfire rather than a natural hazard, with the results that are included in the climactic part of the compilation film: a desperate struggle to stay afloat, which some survive and others don't, and then a rescue, leading to a successfully upbeat ending, in both personal and political terms. Like some of his other films, *Rich and Strange* in particular, *Foreign Correspondent* offers strong clues as to how Hitchcock might have handled the *Titanic* story, in different circumstances, and at a different time.

As early as 1927, Hitchcock wrote an article for a London newspaper setting out the opportunities that lay ahead for British film-makers. Though it may seem that "the Americans have left us very few stories to tell", he insists on the cinematic potential of narratives rooted in British life, and his list of examples builds to this climax: "And there is the sea, our particular heritage: not only the Navy, but the great business of the mercantile marine should have a place on our screens".[25] *Titanic* could have been a decisive fulfilment, at once spectacular and dangerous, of this aspiration. Having started out with only a vague awareness of, and interest in, Hitchcock's *Titanic* project, I now regard it as – like his *Mary Rose* – one of the most tantalisingly attractive of all unmade films.

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Endnotes:

[1] John Russell Taylor: *Hitch, The Life and Work of Alfred Hitchcock* (London, Faber and Faber, 1978), 148.

[2] "The Censor Wouldn't Pass It": Alfred Hitchcock interviewed by J. Danvers Williams in *Film Weekly*, 5th November 1938, 6-7. The two-page spread is reproduced in Ken Mogg *et al*, *The Alfred Hitchcock Story* (London: Titan Books [!], 1999), p 183, and the text is reprinted in Sidney Gottlieb (ed), *Hitchcock on Hitchcock* (London/California, Faber and Faber, 1995), 196-201.

[3] "Nights to Remember: Memory, Modernity, and the Myth of the Titanic", Conference held at the University of Southampton, 20-23 July 2000. I am grateful to Professor Pam Cook, the Conference Director, for encouraging me to research this paper.

[4] Leonard J. Leff: *Hitchcock and Selznick* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988); David Thomson, *Showman, The Life of David O.Selznick* (New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 1993); Jane Sloan, *Alfred Hitchcock: A Filmography and Bibliography* (California/London, University of California Press, 1995).

[5] Taylor, op cit; Donald Spoto: *The Life of Alfred Hitchcock: The Dark Side of Genius* (London, Collins, 1983); Patrick McGilligan, *Alfred Hitchcock: a LIfe in Darkness and Light* (Chichester: John Wiley, 2003)

[6] For their help in making my speculation more grounded than it would otherwise have been, through their books and then by personal communication, I am especially grateful to Sid Got-

tlieb and to Simon Mills. Gottlieb, *op.cit.*; Simon Mills, *The Titanic in Pictures* (Chesham, England: Wordsmith, 1995).

[7] Charles Bennett interviewed in Lee Server: *Screenwriter: Words Become Pictures* (Pittstown: Main Street Press, 1987), 21.

[8] Hitchcock's account of his proposal of marriage to Alma Reville is given in, for instance, Spoto, 65.

[9] The footage of Hitchcock on deck is taken from the programme on Hitchcock in the *Omnibus* series, directed by Tristram Powell and broadcast in two parts on BBC TV in 1985.

[10] A minor exception here is the film that followed *The 39 Steps*, *Secret Agent* (1936), but a climactic train journey has much greater weight.

[11] Charles Barr: *English Hitchcock* (Moffat, Scotland: Cameron and Hollis, 1999), chapters 5 and 6.

[12] It seems possible that the romantic couple of *Sabotage* (1936), played by Sylvia Sidney and John Loder, have met casually before the four-day narrative begins, but this does not affect the basic pattern.

[13] See Hadley Cantril: *The Invasion from Mars: A Study of the Psychology of Panic* (New York: Harper & Row, 1940)

[14] For more on Saville, and the links with Hitchcock, see Charles Barr, "Desperate Yearnings: Victor Saville and Gainsborough", in Pam Cook (ed): *Gainsborough Pictures* (London, British Film Institute, 1997). On the cycle of Anglo-centric Hollywood films, see Mark Glancy, *When Hollywood Loved Britain: the Hollywood 'British' Film 1939-1945* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999)

[15] Mills, 39

[16] Spoto, 180

[17] Chris Hodenfield, "Muuuurder by the Babbling Brook", in *Rolling Stone*, 29 July 1976; quoted by Leff, p 34.

[18] Spoto, 179: contrast Mills, 34, and Schaefer (see next note), 59.

[19] Eric Schaefer, "The Sinking of David O. Selznick's 'Titanic'", *Library Chronicle of The University of Texas at Austin*, 36 (1986), pp.57-73. I am indebted to Bob Peck and Simon Mills for telling me about this, and providing a copy.

[20] Schaefer, 71. I have found no evidence of any film credits for Richard Blaker (1893-1940), who published a dozen novels between 1922 and 1938. Though he went back to his home in England after writing the *Titanic* treatment, he soon returned to California, and died there in February 1940, evidently from the after-effects of active service in World War 1. Details from Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (eds), *Twentieth Century Authors* (New York: H.H.Wilson, 1942)

[21] Schaefer, 72. For more data on Priestley and Harrison, see Barr, *English Hitchcock*, 242

[22] Mills pp 32-33

[23] Mills pp 34-37, based on material found among the Board of Trade files in the Public Record Office in Kew, London. Hitchcock himself refers to this pressure in the *Film Weekly* interview: "The shipping companies are trying to prevent me making the picture. They seem to think that if I recapture all the horror and violence of the situation it will stop people going on cruises". As late as 1957, the producer of a new Titanic film for the Rank Organisation encountered similar concerted opposition: see William MacQuitty, *Titanic Memories: the Making of* A Night to Remember (London: National Maritime Museum, 2000), pp 13-15. Schaefer quotes reports sent to Selznick by an American diplomat in London, Arthur Houghton, of a tense meeting that he attended in September 1938 along with Hitchcock and representatives of the shipowners.

[24] *Titanic*: Tobis Films, 1943, directed by Herbert Selpin and Werner Klingler. Details in Mills, chapter 4: "Goebbels' Folly".

[25] *Evening News*, 16th November 1927; quoted by Spoto, 102.

Čarls Bar
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"VELIČANSTVENO DRAMATIČNA TEMA": HIČKOKOV PROJEKAT *TITANIK*

Sažetak:
Tekst se bavi nerealizovanim filmom *Titanik* koji je trebalo da bude prvi koji će Alfred Hičkok snimiti u holivudskoj produkciji po dolasku u SAD 1939. godine. Istraživanje je prevashodno oblikovano traganjem za odgovorima na pitanja: zašto film nije snimljen i koju formu je mogao da ima? Glavna strategija sastojala se u kreiranju imaginarnog filma – sa jasnim početkom, razradom i krajem (brodolom i spasavanje) – za koji su poslužile scene iz nekoliko Hičkokovih ostvarenja nastalih između 1926. i 1944. godine. Iako ova ideja može da bude shvaćena kao svojevrsna zabavna igra, ona zapravo precizno ukazuje na rediteljev afinitet prema temi, očigledan u nekolicini filmova snimljenih neposredno pre (*Dama koja nestaje*, 1938) i nakon njegovog dolaska u Holivud (*Inostrani dopisnik*, 1940). U oba filma glavni likovi prolaze kroz ozbiljna iskušenja tokom putovanja. Konačno, u tekstu se tvrdi da saga o Titaniku, čiji kraj je unapred poznat, uopšte nije u suprotnosti sa konceptom napetosti kako ga je Hičkok shvatao i primenjivao.

Ključne reči: Alfred Hičkok, Titanik, Dejvid Selznik, napetost, filmovi katastrofe, klasični Holivud

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

UDK BROJEVI: 316.72:791
ID BROJ: 190069260

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TITANIK: LOKALNA RECEPCIJA UNIVERZALNOG MITA

Apstrakt:
Premda mit o Titaniku daleko prevazilazi lokalni kontekst njegova recepcija nije globalno ujednačena. Drugim rečima, iako može biti univerzalna tema, Titanik nije istovremeno i univerzalni mit. Od samog početka bio je to zapadnjački mit, višeznačno vezan za Britaniju i SAD – vlasništvom nad brodom, mestom izgradnje, polaznom i dolaznom lukom, brojnošću (elitnih) putnika. Potencijal ili potreba sredine da se identifikuje sa nekim od ključnih elemenata „Titanikovog konteksta" – npr. pomorska tradicija i dominacija, transatlantske emigracije, stepen razvoja brodogradnje – proporcionalni su medijskom i svakom drugom učestvovanju u stvaranju „Titanikovog mita". U tome sasvim sigurno možemo tražiti razloge potpunog umetničkog ignorisanja i relativno skromnog načelnog zanimanja koje za „najveću svetsku metaforu" pokazuje srpska sredina, a kojima se bavi ovaj tekst.

Ključne reči: Titanik, mit, istorija, metafora

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Kako pretvoriti katastrofu u umetnost?
Danas je to automatski proces. Eksplodirala atomska centrala? U roku od godinu dana, imaćemo predstavu na londonskim pozornicama. Ubili nekog predsednika? Možete dobiti knjigu ili film ili filmovanu knjigu ili knjigovan film. Rat? Pošaljite tamo romanopisce. Niz stravičnih ubistava? Osluškujte trupkanje pesnika. Razume se, moramo shvatiti tu katastrofu; da bismo je shvatili, moramo je zamisliti, dakle, potrebne su nam umetnosti. Ali, moramo mi tu katastrofu i opravdati i oprostiti, makar i u najmanjoj meri. Zašto se zbio taj suludi čin Prirode, taj mahniti ljudski trenutak? Pa, dobro, bar je proizveo umetnost. Možda je to, u krajnjoj liniji, svrha *katastrofe.*

Džulijan Barns, *Istorija sveta u 10 ½ poglavlja* (1989)

Godinama unazad približavanje 2012, odnosno stogodišnjice potonuća „najveće svetske metafore" pokrenulo je svakoga ko pokazuje i najmanji potencijal da bude prepoznat kao „titanoraks" (engleski termin za ljude koji opsesivno prikupljaju informacije o Titaniku) da uzme učešće u ovom svojevrsnom istorijsko-medijskom spektaklu. Zbornik radova *Mit i sećanje. Predstave Titanika u vizuelnoj i literarnoj kulturi* (*The Titanic in Myth and Memory. Representations in Visual and Literary Culture*)[1] koji su 2004. godine priredili Tim Bergfelder i Sara Strit može se smatrati naučnim doprinosom događaju. Kako se u uvodu navodi, njegovo poreklo je u konferenciji *Nezaboravna noć: sećanje, modernost i mit o Titaniku* (*Nights to Remember: Memory, Modernity and the Myth of the Titanic*) održanoj jula 2000. godine na Univerzitetu u Sauthemptonu. Tom prilikom, analizom niza primera, razmatrano je kako kulturološki kontekst, kao i značaj i značenje koje interpretacija dobija u svetlu promene prvobitnog narativa, te nakandna učitavanja svojstvena, delimično ili potpuno, izmenjenim društvenim i političkim okolnostima, određuju viđenje jednog događaja koji bi trebalo da je *konačan*. Već u uvodnom tekstu, priređivači podsećaju kako mit o Titaniku, iako, daleko prevazilazi lokalni kontekst, nema ujednačenu globalnu recepciju.[2] Drugim rečima, iako može biti univerzalna tema, Titanik nije istovremeno i univerzalni mit. Od samog početka bio je to zapadnjački mit, višeznačno vezan za Britaniju i SAD – vlasništvom nad brodom, mestom izgradnje, polaznom i dolaznom lukom, brojnošću (elitnih) putnika. Potencijal ili potreba sredine da se identifikuje sa nekim od ključnih elemenata „Titanikovog konteksta" – npr. pomorska tradicija i dominacija, transatlantske emigracije, stepen razvoja brodogradnje – proporcionalni su medijskom i svakom drugom učestvovanju u stvaranju „Titanikovog mita". U tome sasvim sigurno možemo tražiti razloge relativno skromnog zanimanja koje za ovu sagu pokazuje srpska sredina i nepostojanja „titanoraksa", makar u njenom javnom prostoru.[3]

Način na koji je Titanikova katastrofa prisutna u srpskoj javnosti, kao uostalom i svim drugim, suštinski se temelji na preoblikovanom doživljaju druge kulture u smislu „gledanja kao proizvoda", kao socijalnog konstrukta koji ne može nikad biti proizvoljan, ličan ili idiosinkratičan. Govoriti o „nimalo nevinom kulturološkom gledanju", kako sugeriše Tamar Garb, znači govoriti o uopštenom načinu viđenja, na

Пропаст „Титаника“.

МУЗИКА.

Београдска „Трговачка“ обја-
вила је ову интересантну белешку:
„Из поузданог извора дознајемо
— Јелен немачки цар чуда,
да неки грчки трговац из Цари-
града —

koji pojedinac u određenom istorijskom prostoru gleda druge i sam biva gledan.[4] Zanimanje za Titanik, zapravo je značilo prihvatanje doživljaja ove tragedije u okvirima mogućnosti, interesovanja i istorijskog nasleđa anglo-američkog društva, dakle posredno prihvatanje *gotovog proizvoda*. Upravo zato je mit o Titaniku mogao da nastane samo kao zapadni mit, odnosno da uspešno funkcioniše u meri koju je pojedinačna sredina spremna da prepozna i/ili prihvati. Izvesno je da su pored broja nastradalih, putanja broda - između Britanije i SAD (porinut je u Belfastu, polazi iz Sauthemptona, prvo stajanje bilo mu je u Šerburu, zatim u Kvinstaunu, da bi se potom otisnuo na otvoreno more ka Njujorku), kao i putnici prve klase, pre svega američka finansijska elita, obezbedili Titaniku posebno mesto u istoriji. Nema dileme da potonuli brod koji bi prevozio samo emigrante, recimo od Lisabona do atlantske obale nekog od južnoameričkih gradova ne bi držao pažnju javnosti duže od nekoliko nedelja nakon tragedije. O ovome precizno svedoče novinski izveštaji koje „Politika" prenosi i komentariše u danima nakon katastrofe. Očekivalo bi se da prve informacije budu vezane za eventualne putnike sa „naših" prostora, pa ipak u prvom tekstu nakon tragedije o tome nema ni pomena. Tek narednog dana javnost je obaveštena da „među putnicima iz Beograda, koji su putovali u Ameriku na 'Titaniku' nema, koliko se za sada zna, ni jednog koji je iz Srbije. Svi ti putnici su iz Maćedonije, Stare Srbije ili Bugarske. Oni su do Beograda doputovali svaki posebice, pa su ih odavde poslale agencije koje se bave slanjem radnika u Ameriku. Agenturska radnja Sofijanova imala je sedamnaestoricu takvih putnika. Oni su, razume se, putovali poslednjom klasom i verovatno su propali kao i ostali putnici. [...] Ostale putnike iz Beograda poslale su druge ovdašnje agenturske radnje. Svi ti putnici pečalbari verovatno su našli smrt u Okeanu. Ali bi broj žrtava sa Balkana u toj strašnoj katastrofi bio mnogo veći da mnogi radnici, koji se u ovo doba kreću u Ameriku, nisu ostali zbog uskršnjih praznika još koji dan kod kuće".[5] Treba napomenuti, međutim, da ova, inače netačna informacija – četvorica emigranata iz Like su preživela – stoji na kraju teksta, tek nakon spiska nastradalih bogatih putnika, koji je dopunjen detaljnom procenom njihove imovine u dinarima.

Priča o pečelbarima, o emigrantima koji traže bolji život u „obećanoj zemlji" jedno je od krupnih socijalnih pitanja prve decenije 20. veka, kada se i beleži najveći priliv došljaka u istoriji Amerike. Izveštavajući o brodolomu „Politika" prenosi kako se „u Njujorku tvrdi, da su putnici 'Titanika' najvećim delom Amerikanci, a da se samo među putnicima treće klase nalaze Evropljani".[6] Ideja o „starim" i „novim" emigrantima, aktuelna između 1880. i 1914. godine, svedočanstvo je novih podela koje prevazilaze uže okvire klasnih problema, otvarajući dalja, etnička i rasna raslojavanja američkog društva. Najveći broj emigranata koji pristižu u SAD u ovom periodu poreklom su iz istočne i južne Evrope.[7] Termin „novi emigranti" trebalo je da naglasi razliku u odnosu na Britance, Skandinavce i Nemce – „stare emigrante" koji su smatrani kulturnijim, politički zrelijim, rasno superiornijim, u svakom smislu sposobnijim da se uklope u tradiciju i proklamovani sistem vrednosti nove države. Socijalna struktura putnika jedno je od najčešće problematizovanih pitanja vezanih za sve vrste

promišljanja Titanika: od statistike i ekonomije, do kulture i umetnosti. U višeznačnosti interpretacija Titanik je vremenom postao metafora „potapanja" starog socijalnog poretka, očigledno neodrživog, ali takođe i „potapanja" bezuslovnog poverenja u modernistički progres – simbolični vesnik onih promena koje će kulminirati Oktobarskom revolucijom (1917) i Prvim svetskim ratom (1914-18). Putanja broda sugeriše i istorijski tok, pravac kretanja od Evrope ka Americi. „Superiorni" modernistički projekat britanske/evropske proizvodnje doživeće potpuni debakl, ostavši potopljen u američkim vodama, zakopan (čak i bukvalno) u „novom svetu" u Halifaksu, u Kanadi (mestu gde su identifikovana tela stradalih preuzimale porodice, dok su neidentifikovana sahranjena na tri gradska groblja). Titanik tako postaje i metafora izmeštenja težišta moći „starog" i „novog" sveta, koje će se za Evropu katastrofalno okončati.

Interesantno je da kreiranje mita o Titaniku počinje već u prvim izveštajima, pre svega nizom netačnih podataka koji će postati stožer romantične fikcije i osnovni elementi mitologizacije ove tragedije. Neka od tih opštih mesta pojavljuju se i u tekstovima koje „Politika" prenosi u danima nakon katastrofe: herojsko držanje posade, posebno brodskog orkestra („držanje posade bilo je dostojno divljenja", „muzika je još jednako svirala"), zatim tvrdnja o obaranju brzinskog rekorda („da bi tukao rekord u vremenu, udario [je] mnogo severnije nego što se obično putuje"), potom nekoliko različitih verzija smrti kapetana Edvarda Džona Smita (ovom prilikom izostaju jedino (apokrifne) poslednje reči posadi – „Be British")[8], te priča o „prokletstvu plavog dijamanta". Poslednjim dvema posvećuju se čak i posebni članci. Zanimljivo je da izostaje svako pominjanje (neistinitog) herojskog poduhvata njufaundlera Rigla, navodno psa

NA PALUBI TITANIKA, APRIL 1912.

prvog oficira Vilijama Murdoka, koji ne samo da je preživeo plivajući u ledenoj vodi već je i lajanjem dozvao spasioce do čamaca sa preživelima. Izvesno je, međutim, da su tragediju preživela samo tri psa, od mnogih ukrcanih sa putnicima prve klase (zna se da je na brodu bila planirana i kinološka izložba): pekinezer Henrija Harpera, kao i pomeranci Margarete Hejs i Elizabete Rotšild. Interesovanje za životinje u srpskom društvu – posebno u okviru tradicionalno nastrojenih krugova – doživljavalo se negativno, mahom kao pomodno ponašanje, te se može pretpostaviti da bi se njihovo pominjanje u ovom kontekstu vrlo verovatno smatralo unižavanjem žrtava.

Kapetanova smrt – Kako je umro komandant „Titanika“[9]

O smrti kapetana Smita, komandanta propalog broda „Titanika“ do sada su dolazili razni protivurečni izveštaji, ali sad za ovaj najnoviji izveštaj, koji saopštava „Deli Telegraf“ tvrdi se, da je potpuno autentičan. Naime „Deli Telegrafu“ javljaju iz Njujorka:

Jedan ložač, koji je u času potonuća lađe stajao sa kapetanom Smitom, na komandantskom brodu, priča:

Kad je poslednji čamac bio spušten u more, voda se preli preko mosta. Kapetan, koji je do kolena stajao u vodi, poviče:

– Deco, vi ste učinili svoju dužnost, ne tražim ništa više od vas. Vi poznajete zakon mora, sada svako odgovara za sebe. Bog neka vas blagoslovi.

Onda je uzeo jedno dete, koje je, plačući, stajalo pokraj njega na mostu, i skočio u more.

Jedan spaseni Englez potvrđuje iskaz ložačev. On kaže, da je video kapetana, gde pliva, držeći jedno dete pod miškom. Kapetan Smit metnuo je dete u jedan čamac, ali nije hteo i sam da se popne u čamac, nego se udavio.

Plavi dijamant nesreće – S „Titanikom“ na morskom dnu[10]

S propašću „Titanika“ izgubljen je i čuveni „plavi dijamant“. Taj tajanstveni dijamant, koji je do sada svakome donosio nesreću, koji ga je imao, predstavlja vrednost preko 1,800.000 dinara.

S njime je u vezi duga tragična istorija:

On je u staro vreme, prvobitno pripadao nekom turskom sultanu, koji je bio zbačen s prestola. Zatim je prešao u svojinu jednog Španjolca, koji je našao smrt u vodi.

Kasnije ga je kupila francuska kraljica Marija Antoaneta, kojoj je giljotina odsekla glavu. Potom je došla u ruke princa Lambala, koga je ubila gomila naroda.

Neki juvelir u Amsterdamu, koji je bio kasnije nabavio taj dijamant, izvršio je samoubistvo.

Njegov poslednji gazda bio je američanin Mak Lii iz Vašingtona, koji je dijamant kupio u januaru ove godine, i sad je hteo da ga sobom prenese u Ameriku.

I vizualizacija brodoloma započinje (veoma) brzo. Prvi film *Spašena sa Titanika* (*Saved from the Titanic*) pušten je u bioskope samo 29 dana nakon tragedije. Kuriozitet je da je glavnu ulogu tumačila malo poznata glumica Doroti Gibson, inače, jedna od preživelih putnica, koja je u filmu obučena u odeću nošenu i na brodu. Iste godine, usledio je nemački film *U noći i ledu* (*In Nacht und Eis*), da bi već 1913. godine priču o pomorskoj nesreći publika mogla da prati u danskom ostvarenju *Atlantis*. Između 1912. i 1913. godine nastaje i slika Maksa Bekmana *Brodolom Titanika* (*Untergang der Titanic*),[11] najčuvenija likovna predstava ovog događaja. Svaki od ovih primera oblikovan je ličnim doživljajem, ili čak pre javnim očekivanjima, koji subjektivnu naraciju uzdižu iznad objektivnosti i dokumentarnosti. Bekmanovim delom na primer dominiraju čamci za spasavanje prepuni ljudi, koji jedva opstaju na površini uzburkanog okeana.

Nastradali koji iz vode pokušavaju da se popnu u njih kao da su oličenje opisa jednog od preživelih koji prenosi „Politika“: „Kada smo čamcem pošli, ka nama su pružali ruke iz vode mnogi nesrećnici zapomažući – priča taj putnik. Da žene ne bi slušale njihov jauk, mi muškarci smo – pevali...“[12] U drugom planu slike vidi se (još uvek nepotonuli) brod i uzročnik nesreće, ledeni breg. Inače, Bekman nije imao nikakvih ličnih dodira sa tragedijom. Autori koji su se bavili njegovim životom i delom tvrde da je sliku radio po novinskim izveštajima (možda upravo po onom koji prenosi i „Politika“?). Očigledna subjektivnost još je upadljivija ako imamo na umu da se u javnosti tada već znatno debatovalo zašto su čamci za spašavanje spuštani u vodu sa manjim brojem putnika nego što su mogli da prime. Inače, u trenutku tragedije veče je bilo vedro a more mirno.

MAKS BEKMAN U SVOM ATELJEU (1913)

Od načina interpretacije, znatno je važnija Bekmanova odluka da se dokaže kao *veliki* slikar parafrazom Teodora Žerikoa, odnosno „izborom moderne teme, izvedene u klasičnom maniru“. Koristeći se njegovim idiomom sa skoro vek starije predstave *Splav Meduze* (*Le Radeau de la Méduse*) (1819)[12] – prvobitno izložene na Salonu pod nazivom *Scena brodoloma* (*Scène de Naufrage*) – Bekman pokazuje kako pre svega uvažava po(r)uku o „prevođenju savremene istorije u metaforu večnosti“. Međutim, za razliku od Žerikoove slike, čiji je turbulentan prijem kod savremenika uslovljen političkim, društvenim i mnogim drugim (izvanumetničkim) opterećenjima, ali koju

će potonja istoriografija prepoznati kao amblematsko ostvarenje „žanra katastrofe", suzdržan prijem Bekmanove slike neće se do danas znatnije promeniti. Kako tvrdi Hans Belting, ideja – da u napoleonovskoj eri kojom dominira prikaz glorije jedna katastrofa bude tema slike – jeste metafora modernosti (opet metafora!) zbog čega će *Splav Meduze* postati predmet kontinuirane reinterpretacije u vremenu koje sledi.[13] Bekmanovo delo nije se suštinski uklapalo u koncept modernosti kako svoga vremena, tako ni onog koje je dolazilo, a koje je istoriju, istoričnost uopšte, baš kao i klasično slikarstvo suštinski doživljavalo kao anahrono.[14] „Istorizacija" je prešla u nove medije: fotografije, film, novine koji su uspešnije zadovoljavali „kontradiktornu želju javnosti, da istovremeno dobije i dokumentarni realizam i umetnički doživljaj". Na taj način posmatran, Bekmanov *Brodolom*, u čini se nepreglednom nizu Titanik-metafora, može biti i „metafora kraja slikarstva".

Na kraju ponovo Džulijan Barns i njegova „alternativna verzija" *Istorije sveta u 10 ½ poglavlja* (1989) koja dakako nije mogla da prođe bez Titanika. Jedna od „Tri jednostavne priče" bavi se Lorensom Bizlijem, putnikom druge klase, spašenim u čamcu broj 13 čiji slučaj je ovom prilikom barnsovski duhovita fusnota istorije, ili kako to opisuje Salman Rušdi, „podrivanje datog, brilijantna žvrljotina na marginama onoga što znamo da mislimo o onome što mislimo da znamo". Ironičnom epizodom Bizli, Barns nudi predlog kako se mitologizacija Titanika može dekonstruisati završavajući priču idejom o istoriji koja se ponavlja prvi put kao tragedija, drugi put kao farsa. Ili, možda, nudeći odgovor na (sopstveno) pitanje: kako pretvoriti katastrofu u umetnost?

Napomene:

[1] *The Titanic in Myth and Memory. Representations in Visual and Literary Culture* (ed. T. Bergfelder & S. Street), I. B. Tauris, London 2004.

[2] T. Bergfelder & S. Street, „Introduction", u: nav. delo, 3.

[3] Interesovanje je retko i vrlo sporadično, npr. na sajtu ogranka Turističke organizacije Srbije koji se bavi kongresnim turizmom srpska vina reklamiraju se rečima: „Visit Serbia and you can sample the wine served on the Titanic." I obeležavanje 100. godišnjice prošlo je skromno: pored filma *Titanik* Džejmsa Kamerona u 3D verziji koji je počeo da se prikazuje u bioskopima, otvorena je izložba *Titanik – vek kasnije* u multikonceptualnom prostoru „Supermarket" na kojoj je izložen primerak dnevnih novina „Boston Globe" iz aprila 1912. godine, reprinti „Politikinih" tekstova, maketa broda i skice kostima Debore Skot za film *Titanik* (1997)).

[4] T. Garb, *Rod i predstava*,
http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu/srpski/zenskestudije/zs_s7/GARB.html

[5] *Katastrofa „Titanika"*, Politika, Beograd, 5. april 1912, 3. (po novom kalendaru 18. april 1912)

[6] Isto.

[7] Procenjuje se da između 1880. i 1914. godine u SAD pristiže oko 3-4 miliona Italijana, 2 miliona ruskih i poljskih Jevreja, 2 miliona Mađara, oko 4 miliona Slovena (Poljaka, Čeha, Slovaka, Rusa, Ukrajinaca, Bugara, Srba, Hrvata, Slovenaca, Crnogoraca, Makedonaca) i oko milion ljudi iz Litvanije, Grčke i Portugala. Videti detaljno: G. Gerstle, E. Rosenberg & N. L. Rosenberg, „Immigration", u: *America transformed. A History of the United States since 1900*, Harcourt Brace, Orlando 1999, 23-28.

[8] Reči „Budite Britanci" pripisane kapetanu Edvardu Smitu ispisane su već na ploči njegovog spomenika u Ličfildu u Engleskoj, koji je otkriven jula 1914. godine: „COMMANDER EDWARD JOHN SMITH RD RNR. BORN JANUARY 27, 1850 DIED APRIL 15, 1912. BEQUEATHING TO HIS COUNTRYMEN THE MEMORY & EXAMPLE OF A GREAT HEART, A BRAVE LIFE AND A HEROIC DEATH. BE BRITISH"

[9] *Kapetanova smrt*, Politika, Beograd, 11. april 1912, 3. (po novom kalendaru 24. april 1912)

[10] *Plavi dijamant nesreće*, Politika, Beograd, 10. april 1912, 3. (po novom kalendaru 23. april 1912)

[11] *Untergang der Titanic* (*The Sinking of the Titanic*), 1912-13, 264.8 x 330.2 cm, The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis, Missouri, USA

[12] *Le Radeau de la Méduse*, 1818-19, 491 x 716 cm, Louvre, Paris, France

[13] H. Belting, „Shipwrecked", u: *The invisible Masterpiece*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2001, 87-88.

[14] Dalje o ovoj temi: P. Chametzky, "*Titanic* Sinks, *Departure* Arrives. Max Beckmann's Melodramatic Role in the Fall of History Painting and Rise of the Historical Object", u**:** *Objects as History in Twentieth-Century German Art: Beckmann to Beuys*, University of California Press, 2010, 9-23.

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THE TITANIC: A LOCAL PERCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSAL MYTH

Summary:
Even though the myth of the Titanic surpasses by far the individual local contexts its reception is not the same throughout the world. In other words, although it can become a universal topic, the Titanic is not at the same time a universal myth. Since its beginnings it was primarily a Western myth, its associations with the UK and USA multifold – by ownership, place of construction, its departure and arrival ports, the number of (elite) passengers. The potential or the necessity of society to identify itself with some of the key elements of „the Titanic Context" – be it naval tradition and domination, transatlantic emmigrations, or ship building and maritime trade – are always proportionate to the media and all other participations in the creation of „the Titanic Myth". All this can certainly be explored for reasons why there is a relatively modest level of interest in the Titanic shown by the Serbian society, and such reasons are the subject of this text.

Key words: Titanic, myth, history, metaphor

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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DVA TAHIĆANSKA MANIFESTA POLA GOGENA: *MANA'O TUPAPA'U* I *ODAKLE DOLAZIMO? KO SMO? GDE IDEMO?*

Apstrakt:
Gogenov odnos prema Tahitiju, urođenicima, kolonijalizmu, te pitanjima roda – elementi kojima su kodirana njegova dela – bio je često kontradiktoran i višeznačan. Iz njegovog poimanja Tahitija možemo iščitati splet utopija simbolizma, lične vizije i umetničkog projekta, dodira sa urođeničkom istorijom i verovanjima, zatim postajanja „plemenitim divljakom", seksualno oslobođenje i potragu za bezbrižnim životom. Slike *Mana'o tupapa'u* (*Utvara bdi nad njom*, 1892.) i *Odakle dolazimo? Ko smo? Gde idemo?* (1897-98) mogu se smatrati manifestima njegove umetnosti inspirisane i nastale na Tahitiju. Bolji uvid u ovu problematiku nude postkolonijalne i rodne studije, kao i razmatranje egzotizma i „primitivizma" u modernoj umetnosti.

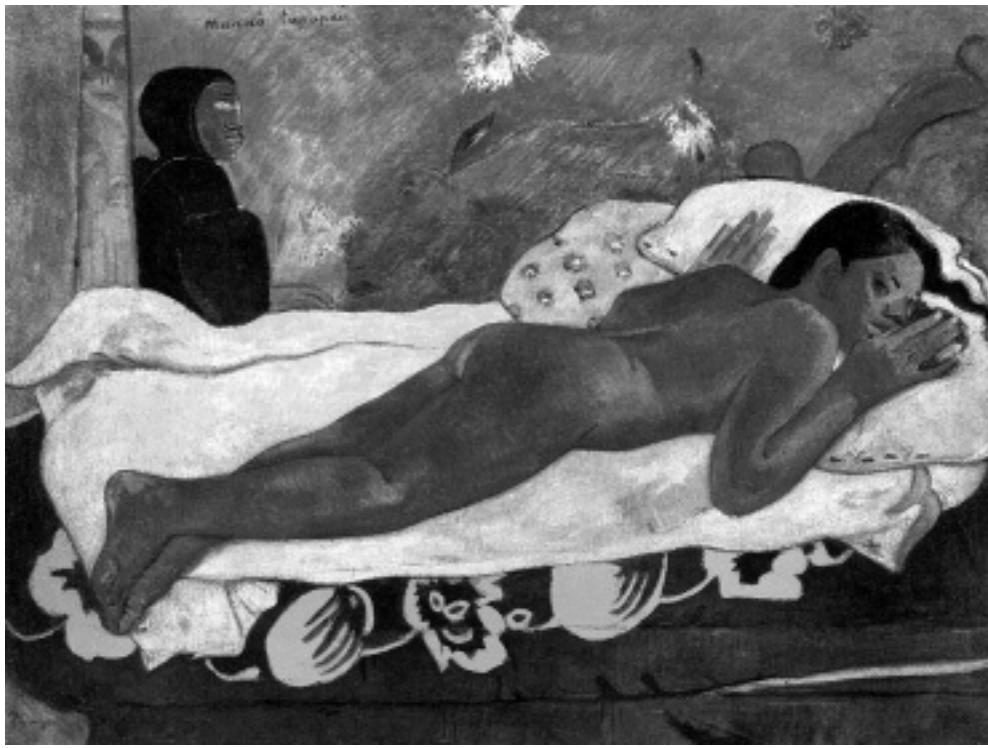
Ključne reči: Pol Gogen, Tahiti, simbolizam, egzotizam, kolonijalizam, orijentalizam, primitivizam, feminizam, studije roda

Zašto je potrebno demistifikovati umetnika? Mit kao magla prekriva prošlost, otežavajući uvid u realno stanje i pružajući često uopštene i iskrivljene slike. Mitski govor po Rolandu Bartu čini depolitizovani govor koji mistifikuje aktuelne odnose, on je skup verovanja, stavova, iskaza, tekstova i artefakata koji sami po sebi tvore društvenu realnost.[1] Mitologizacija modernističkih umetnika govori mnogo o njihovom kultu i mestu u istoriji umetnosti a istraživaču čini poteškoće da se, makar imaginarno, „vrati"u vreme nastanka dela i život umetnika. Kroz analizu dve slike, koje Stiven F. Ajsenman, obavljajući istraživanje upravo na Tahitiju, smatra manifestima Gogenovog prvog (1891-93) i drugog tahićanskog perioda (1895-1903), moguće je sagledati kompleksnost tahićanskog društva, kolonijalizam, umetnikov odnos prema ženama kroz feminističku teoriju i rodne studije, kao i vodeće ideje vremena – estetski (simbolizam i egzotizam) i idejno (filozofske utopije).

Manifest prvog tahićanskog perioda: *Mana'o tupapa'u* (*Utvara bdi nad njom*, 1892)

U putopisnoj i naučnoj literaturi, kolonijalni susret je pre svega bio susret s telom Drugog. Ovaj odnos se manifestovao na dva načina: kroz nasilnu istoriju kolonijalnog prisvajanja i eksploatacije – stvarna moć nad stvarnim telima, kao i na nivou susreta koji će biti nebrojeno puta ponovljen kroz reprezentaciju – imaginarna moć nad imaginarnim telima. Poznavanje kolonijalnog konteksta omogućava čitanje ovih odnosa, koji su po sebi često skriveni i uzimaju se zdravo za gotovo. Maorska kultura u celini bila je kodirana kao ženska, evocirajući strast i zavodljivost urođeničkog života. U sklopu kolonijalističke politike, kulturnog imperijalizma i (prikrivenih) odnosa moći, urođenici su „tražili" da budu kolonijalizovani; prisvajanje, odnosno, proces kultivisanja je morao biti opravdan, odatle i mnoštvo poređenja sa „ženskim" položajem potčinjenih. „Pod izgovorom da šire 'jedinu pravu' civilizaciju (prevashodno univerzalne vrednosti), neke zapadnoevropske zemlje dočepale su se tuđih bogatstava i bogatile se eksploatišući mnoge daleke narode."[2] Taj odnos je u sebi sadržao i afinitet prema zabranjenom, marginama društva (i civilizacije), evropskim željama i (seksualnim) fantazijama: „predstava divljaka i žene je slično strukturisana, ne samo u Gogenovom delu, već kao karakteristična crta u projektu reprezentovanja tela Drugog, bilo da je u pitanju žensko, ili urođeničko."[3]

Kako Kerol Dankan navodi: „Jednom kada postavimo pitanje društvene relacije među polovima (...) najiznenađujući aspekt avangarde postaje trenutno uočljiv: koliko god inovativna, umetnost proizvedena od strane njenih ranih heroja teško da propoveda slobodu, na kraju krajeva, ne univerzalnu ljudsku slobodu koju teži da simbolizuje (...) [ali] radije govori o fantazijama i strahovima muškaraca srednje klase koji žive u svetu koji se menja."[4] Imajući u vidu odnos prema telu Drugoga i feminističku kritiku, moguće je približiti kompleksnost sagledavanja značenja i vrednosti slike *Mana'o tupapa'u*, kako u vremenu njenog nastanka, tako i iz današnje pozicije. Slika prikazuje Gogenovu maloletnu (prvu) ženu, Teha'amanu kako leži na postelji, okrenuta gledaocu, dok se u pozadini nalazi figura u crnom plaštu (starije žene ili duha). Tumačenje slike od strane umetnika se bazira na dva citata iz beleški Noa Noa;



POL GOGEN, *MANA'O TUPAPA'U* (UTVARA BDI NAD NJOM, 1892)

po povratku iz glavnog grada Papetea u sred noći, Gogen je ugledao svoju ženu: „nepokretnu, golu, kako leži na krevetu na stomaku – zurila je u mene očima punim straha, kao da nije bila sigurna ko sam... Mislim da je nikada nisam video toliko lepu, takođe nikada nisam video njenu lepotu tako snažnom... Izgleda da je zbog mog ljutitog lica pomislila da sam jedan od onih legendarnih demona ili duhova, tupapa'ua zbog kojih njen narod ne spava noću".[5]

Slična tema će biti ponovljena u još nekoliko Gogenovih dela.[6] Robert Baldvin, istoričar umetnosti, tumači ovu sliku kao sklop muških seksualnih fantazija, čak i silovanja, pozivajući se na drugi zapis iz Gogenovih beleški koji kaže: „Viđao sam mnoge mlade žene, mirnooke, čiste Tahićanke, a neka bi, možda, bila spremna da podeli život sa mnom. Ali, sve su htele da budu osvojene, uzete na maorski način (mau, 'zgrabiti'), bez reči, surovo; sve su imale neku vrstu želje da budu silovane."[7] On navodi da je sama struktura slike – telo devojke koja leži na stomaku na krevetu i zadnjicom okrenutom k posmatraču – priziva takva tumačenja. Takođe smatra da slika predstavlja klasičnu patrijahalnu konstrukciju ženske lepote odenutu u kolonijalno ruho, gde je neiskvarenost i primitivnost urođenika naglašena u prikazu maloletne devojke, „detetu prirode". Njeno sujeverje i predstava duha u pozadini samo pojačava njenu autentičnost kao „divljaka", ona je opružena na krevetu, bespomoćna, objekat želje

muškog pogleda i poziva na potčinjenost (kolonijalističku, kao i seksualnu). Interesantno je da Gogen drugi navod završava sa rečenicom: „A ja, pred njima, makar pred onima koje nisu živele s nekim tane,[8] osećao sam se istinski zastrašen time kako su nas, druge muškarce i mene, gledale s toliko slobode, dostojanstva, gordosti."

Pitanje je da li pred ovakvim navodima imamo zapadnjaka koji pokušava da artikuliše svoju začuđenost drugačijim i (ipak u odnosu na etiku i moral Evrope tog vremena) slobodnijim poimanjem seksualnih odnosa, ili jednostavno prenosi svoje evropske predrasude i model kolonizatora – osvajača. Od sredine 19. veka popularna tema putopisnih romana će postati seksualna sloboda i dostupnost dalekih naroda i kolonija, oslikavajući s jedne strane uživanje u erotičnosti egzotičnih žena, a s druge ne napuštajući okvire zapadnjačkog društva, izbegavajući asimilaciju sa urođenicima i kulturama koje veličaju[9] (Gogen je izuzetak jer zaista napušta zapadno društvo). Tako možemo postaviti dva modela odnosa prema seksu: prvi osuđuje seks vanevropskih društava kao nedoličan, bizaran i kao greh, teži se – uz pomoć hristijanizacije – odstranjivanju „uznemirujućih" faktora; drugi, pak, gleda blagonaklono na seksualnu slobodu tih istih društava (seksualna utopija), bežeći od svoje civilizacije, beži se i od moralnih načela i stega. Tako Li Volas smatra da je telo koje na Pacifiku izaziva uznemirenost nije telo urođenica, već evropskog muškarca. Pogled je strukturisan kao falusan, patrijahalan i muški, muškarci su subjekti koji gledaju u žene kao objekte. Međutim, ona preispituje koncept muškog pogleda, smatrajući ga nedovoljnim za razumevanje ove slike gde „subjekt koji gleda je upleten u pogled koji izmiče (čisto) vizuelnom."[10]

Igra pogleda i značenja – *Olimpija* kao uzor

Igra pogleda i značenja je upisana u nesumnjivi idejni uzor ove Gogenove slike – Maneovu *Olimpiju*. U Gogenovom tropskom studiju nalazila se reprodukcija ove slike, zajedno sa drugim reprodukcijama i fotografijama koje su poslužile kao formalni i kompozicijski uzori, a takođe je uradio i kopiju pomenute slike. Olimpija „gleda na posmatrača na način koji ga obavezuje da zamisli čitavu mrežu društva gde bi taj pogled mogao imati smisla i uključiti ga u mrežu ponuda, mesta, plaćanja, određenih moći i statusa koji je otvoren za pregovore. Ako je sve ovo sadržano u umu, posmatrač može imati pristupa Olimpiji; ali očito je da onda to nije pristup nagom telu, aktu, već golotinji."[11] Na taj način je posmatrač ubačen u polje razmene pogleda i izazova koji su usmereni k njemu – suverenitet (i privilegija) pogleda i posmatrača je napadnuta. U pismu svojoj ženi Meti, Gogen opisuje: „Naravno, mnoge slike će biti biti nerazumljive pa ćeš ti imati čime da se zabavljaš... napravio sam akt devojke. U tom stavu, ništa (odnosno, samo mogući nagoveštaj), još i nepristojna. Međutim, ja je hoću takvu, zanimaju me linija i pokret. Onda joj dajem u liku malo uplašenosti. Taj strah treba opravdati, ako ne objasniti, i to u karakteru te osobe, Maorke. Taj narod ima po tradiciji veoma veliki strah od duha mrtvih. Devojka iz naših krajeva bi se bojala da bude zatečena u tom položaju (ovdašnja žena uopšte ne)..."[12] Predstava koja bi bila po uzoru na Suzanu i starce (kulturološki) u Polineziji, naravno, ne postoji, jedini

motiv je strah. Gogen zaključuje: „Ova geneza je napisana za one koji uvek moraju da znaju zašto i zbog čega. U suprotnom, ovo slika je jednostavno studija polinezijskog akta."[13]

Osećajući da će zbog poze devojke biti kritikovan, on nudi kulturni alibi: ona je iznenađena utvarom, tupapa'uom. Interesantno je primetiti da je posmatrač pozicioniran kao da stoji na podu dok mu je glava paralelna sa drugim posmatračem koji se nalazi u samoj slici – utvarom. Time se moguće tumačenje komplikuje: devojka u naizgled seksualnoj pozi posmatra gledaoca čiji je položaj paralelan sa položajem utvare koja posmatra i devojku i njega. Posmatrač je istovremeno i posmatrani. Slika je dvosmislena: Gogenovi formalni eksperimenti na planu plohe stalno usmeravaju gledaoca između primitivističkih i kolonijalističkih suprotnosti – seksualne dostupnosti i tapua[14] – u vidu optičke igre. Grizelda Polok Gogenovo delo povezuje sa kolonijalizmom i imperijalizmom: „Lično oslobođenje kroz nesputanu seksualnost i estetsko osveženje kroz prisvajački i eksploatatorski multi-kulturalizam – koji su moderni Evropljani nazvali 'primitivizam' – čini deo devetnaestovekovnog mita tropskog putovanja."[15] I ona poredi *Mana'o tupapa'u* sa Maneovom *Olimpijom* čime nas uvodi u složen proces umetničke avangarde; umetnik je morao da zadovolji određene estetske kriterijume i podnese određeni rizik. Prvi je referenca – umetnik je morao da se poveže sa aktuelnom umetničkom praksom. Drugi je poštovanje – umetnik je morao da poštuje vođu pokreta ili rad koji je bio smatran poslednjom rečju, izjavom. Treći je razlika – umetnik je morao da bude prihvaćen od strane aktuelne kritike, ali i da da svoj doprinos. Umetnik koji je poslužio – kao poštovan dok se istovremeno na njegovo delo referira – je Mane, „Otac pokreta". Na kompozicionom planu srećemo dve figure – prostitutku i crnu sluškinju kod Manea i Tahićanku i utvaru kod Gogena. *Olimpija* ima subverzivan socijalni narativ, dok Gogenova slika pruža kolonijalni: strukturisana na binarnim opozicijama tama/svetlo, strah/znanje, dopušteno/nedopušteno, čestito/nemoralno, seksualno/agresivno, antropološki/voajeristički, Polok tvrdi da se time pravda „urođenički mentalitet" i otkrivaju odnosi moći zapadnog uma nad urođenicima – slika evropskog muškarca kao označitelja i referentni pogled.

Duh i hemafrodit

Stiven Ajsenman smatra da je Polok u pravu u tvrdnji da ova slika predstavlja manifest seksa u Polineziji, s tim što je on povezuje s identitetom androgina. „To je slika koja podržava kolonijalne muške prerogative, ali ona je istovremeno, tvrdim, hibridno umetničko delo koje podriva dimorfnu paradigmu seksualnosti na kojoj počiva evropsko poimanje muškosti". Ajsenman navodi da je vizuelni kod Teha'amane preuzet od različitih androginih i hemafroditskih prototipa (navodeći primer skulpture u Luvru *Hemafrodit* koja ima isti položaj tela). U poređenju s *Olimpijom*, *Mana'o tupapa'u* se može videti kao udaljavanje od tradicije predstavljanja ženskog akta. Naglašeno je Taha'amanino „dečaštvo", kao i Olimpija, „ona istovremeno skriva i otkriva falus... pokazujući da se želja mogla nalaziti i u ženskom nagom telu." Mnogi Evropljani su smatrali tahićanske žene muškobanjastim jer nisu odgovarale standardnoj fizičkoj predstavi žene na Zapadu, dok su muškarci bili okarakterisani kao ženstveni. Samim

tim se podela polova gubila u svojoj jasnoći (ili bolje rečeno polaritetima), naročito u adolescentskom periodu, što primećuje i sam Gogen u svojim beleškama.[16] Taha'amana podseća istovremeno na mahua (Polinezijski naziv za transvestite), i na „androginu malu devojku"[17] kako je to zapisao Gogenov prijatelj Šarl Moris. Androgini su u sebi spajali dva pola, dva sveta, kao što su duhovi svet mrtvih i živih. *Mana'o tupapa'u* predstavlja, po Ajsenmanu, „erotični san višestrukih (polimorfnih) zadovoljstava i fizičke bezgraničnosti."[18]

Bengt Danielson, koji je kao i Ajsenman vršio istraživanja na Tahitiju (i celoj Polineziji sredinom 20. veka), navodi da duh u tom obličju nije postojao kod Tahićana, on pretpostavlja da ga je Gogen, u krajnjem slučaju, stvorio u nedostatku potrebnog uzora, prema svom nahođenju i poznavanju vizuelne simbolike.[19] Ova tvrdnja bi mogla biti opravdana činjenicom da je autentična kultura na Tahitiju trpela promene i bila pod jakim uticajem zapadne vlasti. Do 1891. dve trećine stanovništva je umrlo od raznih evropskih bolesti; veliki deo lokalne kulture (koju su mahom izrađivale žene i mahui - ručni radovi, tetovaže, muzika, skulpture, religija) je bio potisnut i zabranjen od strane kalvinističkih i katoličkih misionara. Postavlja se pitanje koliko je autentična vizuelna kultura bila dostupna u Gogenovo vreme, imajući u vidu da je poznato da je on u velikoj meri, kao i u slučaju sa *Olimpijom*, koristio fotografije i crteže sa formalnim uzorima izvanevropske umetnosti poput predstave Bude, kopija friza sa javanskog hrama u Borobuduru, tabla sa natpisom sa Uskršnjih ostrva... Veća umetnička materijalna zaostavština, za kojom je Gogen tragao, je bila prisutna na Markiškim ostrvima, poslednjem njegovom utočištu. Nakon Gogenovog dolaska na Tahiti 1891, umire poslednji kralj Pomare V čijem pogrebu Gogen prisustvuje i lamentuje nad nestajanjem izvorne kulture: „I sve se vratilo u uobičajeno stanje. Samo je jednog kralja bilo manje. S njim su nestali poslednji drevni običaji. S njim je odumrla maorska tradicija (sic)... Civilizacija je, eto, trijumfovala – vojnička, trgovačka i činovnička."[20] Može se reći da je on, preko dostupnih tekstova i ličnh svedočenja, ostataka kulture i svojih formalnih uzora sastavio svoje beleške i dela na bazi više izvora, i u tom svetlu, zajedno sa problematikom kolonijalnog tela, treba sagledati ovu sliku kao prvi manifest.

Manifest drugog tahićanskog perioda: *Odakle dolazimo? Ko smo? Gde idemo?* (1897-98)

Gogen svom prijatelju Danielu Monfredu početkom 1898. piše: „Pre nego što umrem, hteo sam da naslikam jedno veliko platno koje sam imao u glavi... reklo bi se da je slika ostavljena, nedovršena... ipak mislim da, ne samo da to platno prevazilazi po vrednosti sve prethodno, nego čak i da neću nikada napraviti neko bolje, ni slično. U tu sliku sam uložio, pre nego što ću umreti, svu svoju energiju... viziju toliko čistu bez ispravki... to ne zaudara na uzor, zanat i vajna pravila, kojih sam se ja uvek oslobađao, ali ponekad sa strahom..."

Očigledno naglašava arhaičnost slike, kvalitet freske i neobični pejzaž u kome se nalaze figure, među njima i „dve prilike (bespolne? androgini?)". „Ja sam završio jedno *filozofsko* (kurziv S.T.) delo na tu temu, poredbu s Jevanđeljem..."[21] Kritika tog vremena je bila usmerena na formu (tj. njenu „nedovršenost"), kao i poruku, jer sama

POL GOGEN, *ODAKLE DOLAZIMO? KO SMO? GDE IDEMO?* (1897-98)

slika ne daje nikakav odgovor, deluje kao da je dovoljna sama sebi. Gogen ju je smatrao predstavom prošlosti i budućnosti, svet živih i mrtvih, realnog i imaginarnog. U odnosu na slične formate i kompozicije u slikarstvu (Ajsenman daje primere s kojim je slika bila poređena u svoje vreme – *Sveta ljubav*, Pivija Šavana ili *Nedelja popodne na ostrvu Grand Žat*, Žorža Seraa), ova slika se ne može čitati kao priča s početkom i krajem – ne postoji tekst na koji ona referira, zato je bila smatrana obskurnom i nerazumljivom. Ako se čita obrnuto – tj. s desna na levo – može se protumačiti kao životni vek čoveka: rođenje, život i smrt, nudeći Gogenovu idealističku filozofiju i kulturnu sintezu.

Ajsenman kao moguću inspiraciju navodi Miltonov *Izgubljeni raj* za koji je poznato da ga je Gogen posedovao (i naslikao na *Portretu Mejera de Hana*). „Ko sam JA: šta je moje biće? Glas, pokret, pojava – neka otelotvorena, vizualizovana Ideja u Večnom umu? Kada? Kako? Gde? Odgovor leži oko mene, zapisan u svim bojama i oblicima... harmoničnoj prirodi... isto GDE, sa svojim blizancem KADA, čini... Platno na kome su svi naši Snovi i Životne vizije naslikane." Figura u sredini, posežući za voćem biblijskog drveta znanja, je androgina, a božanstvo u pozadini je maorska boginja Hina koja se, prema mitu, ujedinila sa bogom Ta'aroa stvorivši biće koje čini osnov univerzuma. Analizirajući maorsko telo i problem njegovog kategorisanja, Solomon-Godo kaže da bi bilo „zabavno zamisliti da je 'problem' porekla Maora bio nesvesno alegorizovan u Gogenovoj *Odakle dolazimo? Ko smo? Gde idemo?*"[23] Tu tezu, međutim, podržava svedočanstvo Ajsenmana kada je posetio Tahiti 1995, upitavši Žoinvila Pomarea, aktivistu antikolonijalističke partije Pomare: „Da li misliš o njemu (Gogenu) kao francuskom kolonisti ili kao Tahićaninu?" na šta, posle šale na njegov račun, dobija odgovor da ga Pomare smatra inteligentnim umetnikom koji je postavljao pitanja koja i danas ostaju značajna. Na kraju je citirao Gogenov manifest: „Ko si ti? Odakle dolazimo? Gde je tvoj porodica? Gde je tvoja zemlja? Kakva je tvoja budućnost? Ovo su pitanja koja sebi postavljamo sve vreme na Tahitiju."[24]

Mahu: treći rod

„Gogen se u velikoj meri razlikovao od svih ostalih Evropljana koje su urođenici ikada videli jer nije nosio ni (kolonijalno) belo postavljeno odelo, crni kaluđerski mantil, uniformu, čak ne beli topee. Kako su mu njegov šešir i duga kosa davali pomalo ženski izgled, oni su su brzo i prilično razumno zaključili da je on bio mahu, određeni tip muškog transvestita koji je bio odomaćen na Tahitiju i koga su s neodobravanjem gledali samo misionari. Zapravo, ovi devijanti su uživali određeno poštovanje i bili potrebni i kao partneri u braku i za rad u domaćinstvu zbog njihove vičnosti u kuvanju i drugim kućnim poslovima."[25] Mahua su se bavili i izradom umetničkih predmeta, što je još jedan razlog zbog koga su Gogena smatrali mahuom.[26]

Ovo je prvo dovođenje Gogena u vezu sa „marginalnim" društvenim slojem na Tahitiju, vezu kojom se podrobnije bavi, istraživajući i njene pariske manifestacije, Ajsenman u knjizi *Gogenova suknja*. Imajući to u vidu, Gogen nije bio nepripremljen rodnoj podeli u Polineziji; u Parizu u drugoj polovini 19. veka je postojalo mnoštvo marginalnih grupa, koje su bile označene terminom treći rod odnoseći se mahom na muškarce sa istopolnim tendencijama, „ženska duša zarobljena u muškom telu" kako je to definisao Karl Hajnrih Ulrihs. Drugi termin je bio inverti; Pol Verlen i Oskar Vajld su u svoje vreme važili za najpoznatije – i/ili najozoglašenije – inverte u Evropi, pripadajući dekadentnim umetničkim krugovima i dendi kulturi. „Gogen je tako bio idealno pozicioniran da prikaže seksualne margine na kolonijalnom Tahitiju. Njegovo poznavanje romantičarske literarne tradicije androgina... i njegovo prijateljstvo sa dekadentnim invertima kao što je to bio pesnik Verlen omogućili su mu adekvatne modele za prikazivanje tahićanskog trećeg roda."[27] Ovi individualci su smatrani izopačenim, perverznim, dekadentnim i varvarima (termini koji su bili upućivani i samom Gogenu).

Jedan od vizuelnih šokova koje su zapadnjaci doživljavali je bila specifičnost polinezijskog tela strukturisanog oko percepcije njegove putene androginosti. Ajsenman prvi pravi ubedljivu vezu kako su seksualna dvosmislenost i androgini subjekti oslikavali mutne zone polne distinkcije koje su postojale u polinezijskoj kulturi krajem 19. veka. Koncept androgina je postojao još od antičke Grčke i predstavlja „osobu koja povezuje određene karakteristike oba pola i koja, stoga, se može smatrati i muškarcem i ženom, ili niti ženom niti muškarcem, kao biseksualna ili aseksualna."[28] Džudit Batler, razdvajajući pojam pola i roda, gde je pol biološki zasnovan a rod kulturološki, ističe da je rod bio slobodna i promenjiva struktura.

Mnogi simbolisti su pokazivali interes za pitanje androgina u svojim delima (liniju koju, prema Ajsenmanu i Suzan Donahju prati i Gogen), u teoriji kao i vizuelnoj strukturi. Popularna dela o androginima su bila Balzakov roman *Serafita*, Gotjeova *Gospođica Mopen*, kao i delovi Bodlerovog *Cveća zla* i Igoovi *Jadnici*. Početkom 19. veka androgin se počeo smatrati pozitivnim simbolom, slikom zdravlja, optimizma i vere u boga (često je bio predstavljen kao Adam). U drugoj polovini veka se taj koncept menja – postaje pesimističan, dekadentan. androgin je – imajući Gogenove slike u vidu – mogao poslužiti kao idealna slika polinezijskog raja, ili uopšteno čovečanstva u svom

čistom stanju. Obuhvatajući oba pola, on je bliži savršenstvu, kako fizički, tako i duhovno. Baziran na sinkretizmu kultura i verovanja, ova slika, hemetična i otvorena za učitavanje smisla po svojoj prirodi, kao manifest prikazuje izgrađeni sistem formalnih i idejnih rešenja koje će Gogen slediti do kraja svog života.

Utopije simbolizma

Veliki broj društvenih i filozofskih utopija je bio prisutan i artikulisan kroz umetnost i nauku u 19. veku, od kojih su najjače – plemeniti divljak i egzotizam – bile pratioci kulturnog imperijalizma, kolonijalizma, prosvetiteljstva i rađanja nacionalnih država. Veliki broj naroda koje su Zapadnjaci (belci) susretali tokom „otkrića" drugih civilizacija i kontinenata su zahtevali kategorizaciju u zapadnjačkom umu: s jedne strane, bilo je moguće smatrati ih nižim bićima od sebe (što je opravdavalo kolonijalizam i stav da im treba pomoći u razvoju), a s druge su bili prihvatani kao ideal i kritika savremenog zapadnog društva (kao živa istorija, zlatno doba).[29] Prvi slučaj je odgovarao imperijalističkom načinu mišljenja, dok je drugi bio plodno tlo za razvijanje utopija i jedne pozitivnije (mada, i dalje ne toliko realne) slike o drugim narodima.

Egzotizam kao pogled na svet i utopija je bio veoma prisutan u slikarstvu simbolista, čije je slikarstvo bilo usmereno kako na daleke narode i kulture, tako i na unutrašnjeg Drugog. Cvetan Todorov navodi da je egzotizam još jedan od načina oneobičavanja Drugih naroda: „ono što se vrednuje nije neki postojani sadržaj, već izvesna zemlja i kultura koje bivaju definisane isključivo u odnosu na posmatrača... [u egzotizmu] nije toliko reč o vrednovanju drugog koliko o kritici samog sebe, niti o opisu neke stvarnosti koliko o formulisanju ideala."[30] Idealizacijom „divljaka" se istovremeno veličala i vlastita prošlost, odnosno naša (zapadnjačka) prošlost se nalazila u sadašnjosti drugih.[31] Ovakav pristup je nudio jednu idealističku sliku o novootkrivenim vanevropskim društvima, koja je činila pomak u odvajanju od imperijalističkog paternalističkog pristupa, ali je takođe bila iskrivljena.

Ključne reči simbolističke kulture poslednje četvrtine 19. veka su bili beg od (zapadne, moderne, industrijske, građanske...) civilizacije i traganje za „primitivnim kulturama" i njihovom duhovnošću, izvornim, neiskvarenim – daleko od dodira civilizacije industrijske revolucije.[32] Na tim premisama je Gogen otišao u Bretanju tražeći jednostavni i neiskvareni ruralni život i posvećujući svoj život slikarstvu – tražeći „unutrašnjeg Drugog". Zanimljivo je da su simbolisti u svom povlačenju od modernog sveta (u premodernizam kao prerafaeliti) postali avangarda tog vremena, njih je ta modernost proizvela: „Simbolistička alijenacija je bila sama po sebi moderno iskustvo, kao i njegova potraga za primitivnom stvarnošću iza modernog 'razuma', civilizacije, tehnologije, društvenih podela, iščupanih, nesigurnih identiteta i uznemirenosti povodom budućnosti." Egzotizam u simbolizmu se može uočiti u toj utopijskoj, iskrivljenoj ogledalskoj slici; beg od civilizacije je bio fizički, koliko i imaginarni. Robert Baldvin u svom radu *Simbolizam i njegova nezadovoljstva* definiše pozicioniranje koje veoma nalikuje Saidovom viđenju orijentalizma: „Zapadni um traži imaginarne zone i prostore izvan sebe samog i konstruiše seriju 'primitivnih' Drugih u neiskvarenim

seoskim predelima, među životinjama, u vanevropskim kulturama i primitivnim pejzažima, kao i 'čistim', 'esencijalnim' telima (koja su većinom ženska)."[33]

Gogen se nadao da će pronaći arhaično društvo preko koga će svoje slikarstvo moći da vrati primitivnoj umetnosti. Međutim, ta predstava Bretanje se dosta razlikovala od njene realnosti: naime, njena izolovanost je bila iluzorna s obzirom da je postala popularno turističko mesto i umetnička kolonija za Evropljane koji su želeli da slikaju lokalno stanovništvo u „neiskvarenom svetu"; razočarenje je bilo sličnom onom koje je doživeo kada je došao u glavni grad Tahitija, Papete, „kolonijalnu ekstenziju Pariza... civilizacija od koje sam pokušavao da pobegnem". Ebigejl Solomon-Godo, primećuje da je ovaj povratak u primitivno, divlje, organsko, iskonsko – atavizam koji se može pozvati i na filozofsku utopiju plemenitog divljaka Žana-Žaka Rusoa, kao i romantizam – povlačio sa sobom novi interes za decu i dečju percepciju.[34] Prevladavanje devojaka i adolescentkinja u Gogenovim slikama konstituiše jedan od elemenata bretonizma, dok su odrasli (naročito muškarci) u drugom planu ili neviljivi. Ova „feminizovana geografija" je predstavljala žene na selu, bliže prirodi, istovremeno putene i arhaične, misteriozne i religiozne. Međutim, slike iz ovog perioda još neće nositi tako jak pečat putenosti, senzualnosti i seksualnosti koliko će to biti slučaj s tahićanskim ženama i devojkama.[35]

Simbolizam i primitivizam – nadahnuti egzotizmom – možemo sagledati kao stilističke i estetske pravce, ali i forme mitskog govora koje su našle uporišta u tada aktuelnim shvatanjima o Drugome, ženi, umetnosti. Pol Gogen, koristeći se elementima simbolizma (povratka u iskonsko i imaginarno u cilju ostvarenja vlastitog estetskog programa) i primitivizma (traženja utočišta od modernog sveta, povratak prirodi, inspiracija „primitivnom" umetnošću sveta), svesno stvara od sebe mitsku sliku umetnika koji pokušava da napusti tekovine savremenog društva (koje prezire) i teži povrataku u divlje stanje, prirodno, van stega tog društva. Taj mit će dobiti svoj konačni oblik tek nakon njegovog napuštanja Francuske i odlaska u francusku koloniju Polineziju. Uostalom, ne bi bilo pogrešno Bretanju nazvati „prvim Tahitijem" ili „evropskim Tahitijem".

Tahiti kao raj na zemlji

Posmatrajući Gogenova dela iz tahićanskog perioda, postavlja se pitanje kakvo društvo vidimo kroz ta dela i kako su ga videli Gogenovi savremenici; iako je ovaj povratak kroz vreme nemoguć, ipak je neophodno sagledati pretpostavke koje su formirale saznanje o francuskoj dalekoj koloniji, kao i činjenično stanje koje je bilo manje ili više poznato. Tahiti ima svoj predistorijat koji je u mitskom govoru o raju na zemlji bio nevidljiv, a to je priroda „otkrivanja" i uspostavljanje i posledice kolonijalne vlasti. Po „otkrivanju", stanovnici Tahitija bivaju opisani kao sledbenici Venere (boginje ljubavi, lepote, seksualnog uživanja i plodnosti, tj. prošlosti zapadnjačkog društva), a samo ostrvo od strane osvajača dobija naziv Nova Kitera (La Nouvelle Cythère), po uzoru na mitsko Afroditino ostrvo. Međutim, pri prvom dodiru sa Evropljanima, us-

postavlja se trgovina seksualnom razmenom - njihove žene i devojke postaju sredstva uspostavljanja mira, a valuta trgovine je bila ekser od gvožđa, nepoznat materijal Tahitiju pre dolaska evropljana.[36] Deni Didro, piše *Dodatak Bugenvilovom putovanju* (putopisa kapetana Luija-Antoana Bugenvila, vođe ekspedicije), koji dalje razvija utopiju Tahitija u vidu forme dijaloga sa imaginarnim urođenikom. Kroz usta Tahićanina, Didro kritikuje zapadno društvo – iskvarenost, pohlepu, bolešljivost, materijalizam, moral, čak i privatnu svojinu, na taj način Tahiti postaje samo ogledalo vlastitog društva, a ne verna slika. Takođe, brani njihov način života kao prirodniji i zdraviji, kao i slobodno ispoljavanje seksualnosti.[37] U praksi, urođenici su postali idealizovani s jedne strane, a s druge eksploatisani, dok je uvid u njihov realni život zavisio od posmatrača. Žan-Žak Ruso, tvorac filozofske konstrukcije – fikcije plemenitog divljaka, kritikuje „od kako stanovnici Evrope, već tri do četiri stotine godina, masovno obilaze druge krajeve sveta i neumorno objavljuju knjige o svojim putovanjima, uveren sam da nismo upoznali nikog drugog osim Evropljanina."[38]

Ova konstrastna, autorefleksivna slika se susreće i u teoriji orijentalizma Edvarda Saida. „Prevodilac" – osoba koja dolazi u susret sa drugim kulturama i narodima – je neophodan ne bi li se Orijent približio zapadnom umu, povezao sa već uvreženim saznanjima (predrasudama, stereotipima, činjenicama) i postao razumljiviji, da se statusno pozicionira, čak i da opravda pretenzije i postupke svoje zemlje (civilizacije) odakle dolazi. Pisanje o Orijentu podrazumeva pozivanje na prehodno znanje koje postoji i na koje se oslanja, kada je reč o Tahitiju, radi se o teorijama filozofa utopista 18. veka sve do popularnih tekstova druge polovine 19. veka koje Gogen citira u svojim pismima i beleškama. Na koji način je moguće Saidov orijentalizam primeniti na Tahiti? Odgovor nam daje sam Said: „kada nije korišćen prosto kao sinonim za azijatski Istok u celini, ili kao opšta oznaka za ono što je *udaljeno i egzotično* (kurziv S.T.), termin Orijent je najrigoroznije shvatan kao nešto što se odnosi na islamski Orijent."[39] Ceo sistem odnosa Mi – Oni u postkolonijalnim teorijama postaje jasniji nakon redefinicije egzotizma od strane Viktora Segalena krajem 19. veka, za koji on kaže da nije vezan samo za jednu vrstu zemlje ili kulture, a istovremeno, ni za prošlo vreme. „Jednim drugačijim ograničenjima pojma želi se da tematska grupa bude identifikovana na kulturnom i nacionalnom planu: s jedne strane Evropljani, a s druge Tahićani, ili Indijanci, ili Kinezi; grupa se, međutim, može konstituisati i na biološkom, a ne više na socijalnom planu; tako će muškarci (još uvek su oni ti koji putuju, posmatraju, pišu) otkriti egzotizam žena, proširiće ga na 'drugi spol'."[40]

Ovaj „sveopšti egzotizam" zapravo definiše i njegovu suštinu: egzotizam je sve ono što je različito od datog subjekta, slika je obrnutog ogledala. Svaki istraživač koji je svestan ovog konstrukta odnosa i moći može vernije „oživeti" prošlo vreme ili razumeti današnje. "Nema sumnje da zamišljena geografija pomaže duhu da intezivira vlastito osećanje sebe dramatizujući udaljenost i različitost između onoga što mu je blisko i onoga što je daleko. To u jednakoj meri važi za osećanje koje se često javlja – da bismo mnogo više bili 'kod kuće' u 16. veku, ili na Tahitima."[41]

Gogenov položaj je bio specifičan: između oficijelne misije francuske vlade koju je dobio došavši prvi put na Tahiti i sprovođenja sopstvenog podivljenja ostao je autsajder i ekscentrik. Njegov položaj mu je omogućio da se slobodnije kreće u višim krugovima – među građanstvom i kolonijalnom upravom, dok je istovremeno želeo da se približi i urođenicima, na zameranje svojih sunarodnika i crkve. U većini slučajeva je kritikovao asimilaciju tahićanske kulture i crkvu, bilo u želji da se obračuna sa svojim političkim neprijateljima, bilo zato što je zaista želeo da sačuva kulturu koja je bila (nasilno) menjana. U svestima Tahićana (prema Ajsenmanu) on ostaje pozitivan lik u njihovoj istoriji, neko ko je – i pored toga što je bio kulturni prevodilac – govorio za njih i o njima, a u svetlu protivljenja nuklearnim probama na Pacifiku i prava na samostalnost i dekolonizaciju. Takođe, on je „naoružan" utopijama, estetikom i umetnošću na licu mesta sproveo svoj eksperiment i komentarišući aktuelni život i običaje koji su prisutni na Tahitiju učinio korak dalje u razumevanju drugih kultura. Njegov rad je kompleksan, često kontradiktoran, pun drugačijih shvatanja o kojima ne možemo suditi na osnovu samo naše kulture (i iskustva), već sa sa neophodnom otvorenošću i radoznalošću koja je neophodna da bi se to nerazumevanje prevazišlo i pozicija posmatrača zaista prenela u drugi svet.

Napomene:

[1] Više: R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, Paladin, London 1972.

[2] C. Todorov, *Mi i drugi – Francuska misao o ljudskoj raznolikosti*, Bibiloteka XX vek, Begrad 1994, 367-380.

[3] A. Solomon-Godeau, *Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of Primitivist Modernism, The Expanding Discourse – Feminism and Art History*, Westview Press 1992, 327.

[4] C. Duncan, *Virility and Domination in Early Twentieth-Century Vanguard Painting*, eds. N. Broude and M. D. Garrard, *Feminism and Art History*, New York 1982, 294.

[5] Više: P. Gogen, *Noa Noa – Tahićanski dnevnik sa slikama*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2008, 46-47.

[6] Npr. *Parau na te varua ino* (*Reči đavola*, 1892), *Parahu hahohano* (*Zastrašujući razgovor*, 1892), *Te po* (*Noć*, 1983-94), *Te tamari no atua* (*Božje dete*, 1986); S. F. Eiseman, *Gauguin's Skirt*, Thames and Hudson, London 1997, 123.

[7] P. Gogen, nav. delo, 23.

[8] Muškarcem (prev.).

[9] Primer pisca P. Lotija koga Gogen spominje u svojim beleškama; više: P. Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)* (1880), 1923, 7-301 ; C. Todorov, nav. delo, 300-302.

[10] L. Wallace, *Tropical Rearwindow: Gauguin's Manao Tupapao and Primitivist Ambivalence*, Genders OnLine Journal, issue 28. 1998, 2.

[11] L. Wallace, nav. delo, 9.

[12] P. Gogen, *Zapisi civilizovanog divljaka*, Mono & Mañana, Beograd 2005, 133.

[13] L. Wallace, nav. delo, 10.

[14] Tapu je naziv za restriktivne sisteme i zabrane koja se odnosi na tahićansko telo i njegovu društvenu praksu. Tako je utvara na slici neko ko kontroliše i cenzuriše poštovanje tapua.

[15] G. Pollock, *Avant-garde Gambits 1888-1893: Gender and the Color of Art History*, Thames and Hudson, 1993, 8.

[16] P. Gogen, nav. delo, 27-30.
[17] S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 121.
[18] S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 135.
[19] B. Danielsson, *Gauguin in the South Seas*, George Allen and Unwin ltd, London 1965, 78-106. On isto dovodi i pitanje naziva slika na tahićanskom jeziku.
[20] P. Gogen, *Noa Noa – Tahićanski dnevnik sa slikama*, 12.
[21] P. Gogen, *Zapisi civilizovanog divljaka,* 229-230.
[22] S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 144.
[23] A. Solomon-Godeau, nav. delo, 321.
[24] S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 204-205.
[25] B. Danielsson, nav. delo, 57.
[26] Više o društvenoj ulozi mahua u: S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 92-112.
[27] S. F. Eisenman, nav. delo, 95. Slike sa tematikom mahua: *Kupači* i *Markiški muškarac u crvenom ogrtaču*, 1902.
[28] S. M. Donahue, *Exoticism and androgyny in Gauguin*, Aurora, The Journal of the History of Art, January, 2000, 2.
[29] Više: Ž. Poarije, *Istorija Etnologije*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 1999, 10-11.
[30] C. Todorov, nav. delo, 257.
[31] Na ovaj način se zamagljivala činjenica da sopstvena kultura nije imala isti razvojni put kao tuđa, te da se traženjem sličnosti često upadalo u zamku proizvođenja drugih naroda i kultura prema liku posmatrača.
[32] Naravno, postavlja se pitanje dostupnosti „izvornog" i „neiskvarenog" – to podrazumeva fizičku i komunikacijsku izolovanost, *prošlost koja je preživljavala u sadašnjosti.*
[33] R. Baldwin, *Gauguin and the Primitive Landscape - Symbolism and Its Discontents*, sample lecture from *A Critical History of Western Art from the Late Middle Ages to the Present*, A CD-ROM Textbook, Sept. 2000, edition, 3. Na istoj osnovi i slikar K. Pisaro kritikuje simboliste.
[34] „Nema više Pegaza, nema više Partenonskih konja! Mora se vratiti unazad, daleko... daleko koliko je *dada* mog detinjstva, stari dobri drveni konjić" u: A. Solomon-Godeau, nav. delo, 317.
[35] Pravljenjem jedne mitske slike žene, primitivnog, Drugog, postavlja se pitanje nije li sam primitivizam u umetnosti rodno orijentisan diskurs.
[36] Više: P. Brooks, *Gauguin's Tahitian* body, u: *The expanding discourse – feminism and art history*, ed. N. Broude and M. D. Garrard, Westview press 1992, 332.
[37] D. Diderot, *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1772) ; C. Todorov, nav. delo, 267.
[38] C. Todorov, nav. delo, 27; više: Ž-Ž. Ruso, *Društveni ugovor/O poreklu i osnovama nejednakosti među ljudima/Rasprava o naukama i umetnosti*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd 1993.
[39] E. Said, *Orijentalizam*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 2000, 102.
[40] V. Segalen, *Essai sur l'exotisme (1904-1918)*, Montpellier, Fata Morgana, 1978, 19 ; C. Todorov, nav. delo, 311-324.
[41] E. Said, nav. delo, 77.

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PAUL GAUGUIN'S TWO TAHITIAN MANIFEST PAINTINGS: *MANA'O TUPAPA'U* AND *WHERE DO WE COME FROM? WHAT ARE WE? WHERE ARE WE GOING?*

Summary:
Gauguin's attitudes towards Tahiti and its indigenious population, colonialism and women – all the elements that are encoded in his work – were often contradictory and ambiguous. From his representation of Tahiti, one could encounter symbolistic utopias, personal vision and artistic project, contact with indigenious history and beliefs, the becoming of „noble savage", sexual freedom and a lifequest for carefree life. Paintings *Mana'o tupapa'u* (*The spirit watches over her*, 1892) and *Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?* (1897-98) could both be understood as manifests of his art inspired by and produced on Tahiti, relevant for the questions raised above. Also, a deeper insight was achieved by using postcolonial and gender theories, as well as analysis of egzoticism and primitivism in the modernist art.

Key words: Paul Gauguin, Tahiti, symbolism, egzoticism, colonialism, orientalism, primitivism, feminism, gender studies

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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SLAVIC ETHNOGRAPHIC MOTIFS IN PAINTINGS OF CYRIL KUTLÍK

Abstract:
Within the oeuvre of Cyril Kutlík it is not easy to select only ethnographic motifs (as he did not devote himself to the theme systematically, in terms of documenting of folk costumes and traditions as it was in Czech and Slovak fine art little bit later at the beginning of the 20th century). In Kutlík's works the ethnographic motifs often mingle with themes of his historical paintings and portraits – no matter if contemporaries or historical personalities. Therefore we offer a more complex view of the theme. Due to creating a system we will divide ethnographic motifs in his oeuvre into two groups: Czech and Slovak ethnographic motifs (from approximately 1885–1900) and the Balkan ones (solely after 1895); and one more additional Slavic motif will be mentioned – an image of Ukrainian leader Mazepa (1892).

Key words: Cyril Kutlík, ethnographic motifs, historical paintings

Academic painter from Prague, Mr. Kutlík arrived to Belgrade several days ago and as we have learned he is planning to stay for two – three months and study Serbian folk costume…[1]

It was not several months, but five years, that Kutlík spent in Belgrade until his premature death. In Serbia Kutlík is particularly known as a founder of the *Serbian Drawing and Painting School* (1895), a direct forerunner of the later Academies of Fine and Applied Arts.[2] Oeuvre of Cyril Kutlík (1869–1900) oscillated at the interface of significant art movements at the end of the 19th century – Academic Realism, partially Impressionism and Art Nouveau. In the context of Slovak painting he is characterised by his interest for social themes and historical painting. His genre scenes correspond with works of elder Czech painters, so called *Generation of National Theatre*. Religious themes and paintings of altar pictures designed for evangelical churches reflect his spiritual attitude, formed by the family environment. Landscapes and still lifes are a part of his independent production, while portraits and illustrations were created on commission. He created postcard designs for publishers in Bohemia, Slovakia and Serbia. These three Slavic countries were his source of inspiration for paintings with ethnographic motifs.

Kutlík attended a standard four-year grammar school, so called Gymnasium, (in Hradec Králové) and later, besides reading (for example *The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia* by František Palacký), he supplemented his social and cultural knowledge during informal intellectual debates conducted in German in a circle of Prague aristocracy (count Eduard Pálffy, duke Zdeněk Kolovrat Krakovský, a tutor of Pálffy family Ludevít from Szartory in Hungary or Kutlík's professor Maximilián Pirner). Even his interest in ethnography, besides the family,[3] he has broadened already during his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague (1885–1891). Apparently it was thanks to the local association of Slovak students *Detvan* (a man from a region of Slovakia called Detva) that was co-founded by a colleague from the painting academy Pavol Socháň (1862–1941) – later a known Slovak ethnographer, photographer, journalist and a playwright. Kutlík briefly wrote about Socháň: "I spent Christmas Eve [1889] with Socháň, Bella Jr. and Daxner at Mr. Bella".[4]

On the other hand, Kutlík was a member of several Czech artistic associations (1893 – *Krasoumná jednota pro Čechy v Praze*, 1899 – *Mánes*). Therefore it is difficult to judge if he felt like Czech or Slovak. He must have been influenced by the fact that he was born, grew up and studied in Bohemia, where his father worked for thirty years in the region Podkrkonoší. It should not be forgotten that Bohemia of that time was a part or the Austro-Hungarian Empire and German was used as an official language, at the Academy and his mother – Czech from Moravia – wrote him in German, too. With his father and other family members he corresponded until the end of his short life in Czech (while, for example, his sister Mária and Cyril's widow – Balkan Czech Milada Nekvasilová – after moving to Slovakia, both started to use Slovak language). Cyril started to get to know Slovakia better only when his parents retired and moved

to Liptov region, at the foot of The Tatra Mountains range (1895). Based on several published statements from the time in Belgrade, it is possible to say that Cyril perceived himself mainly as Slavic. (With this kind of knowledge it was presumably easier for him to leave to a brotherly land to execute a daring plan – to establish a school of painting in Belgrade.)

Czech and Slovak motifs

1) *Publican* (1887, originally K. A. Červenka, Prague, location of the original unknown) – among Kutlík's genre paintings from a village environment we can mention a motif *Horseshoeing of a horse* (1889, private collection, Bratislava). The location of the picture is unknown but there exists a black-and-white photograph. This early Prague genre represents "an urban folklore": a jolly sitting *Publican* wearing an apron and with a glass of beer in his raised hand. A board with publican's orders painted in the picture gives us some further information: one of the names on the board is Zvolský. František Zvolský was an owner of a brewery[5] and he owned four Kutlík's paintings[6] as well. The board painted on a wall of pub's interior gives us most information. Besides Kutlík's smartly situated signature and the name of Zvolský there are further two unreadable names and a surname of Kutlík's colleague from the Academy of Fine Arts, Jože Úprka (1861–1940). Úprka and Kutlík were meeting each other during the years 1887–1888 at the Academy, where Úprka returned after his studies in Munich. They both exhibited in 1891 in Prague on *Jubilejní zemská výstava (Anniversary nationwide exhibition)* that manifested emancipation efforts of the Czech and Moravian nation. Already during the school years little bit older Úprka had a clear idea about his painting programme. He focused on documenting life and picturesque traditions of his homeland Moravian Slovakia (Moravské Slovácko). Responsive Kutlík could notice that and use later in his own works.

We mention Kutlík's work *Publican* also as an example of a characteristic description of types according to their dress, regardless of type of the painting; if it was a portrait, a genre or a historical theme. Kutlík took a record of the contemporary urban dressing style in collections of formal portraits created for Barták and Wurm family from Humpolec and as well in *Profile of a Woman with Chignon* (1892, National museum, Belgrade). A rather shabby urban dress is depicted in *Portrait of an Old Man with White Glasses* (1897, National museum, Belgrade).

2) *Portrait of a Girl in Red Bodice* / *Anna Kutlíková* (c. 1890, private collection, Bratislava) – the composition represents a half-figure of a brown-haired young model in a three-quarter view. She is dressed in a white blouse with voluminous sleeves and tied with a red bodice. On the shoulders, the bodice is tied by big bows. The dress is at the interface of a folk costume and urban fashion typical for Central and Western Europe. Without any further parts of the dress it is not possible to identify the dress any closer. Blouse's sleeves and neckline are elaborated in a swift painting style, sometimes using a palette knife that can partially be perceived in an unspecified background, too.

A reference to the model is only kept by a family oral tradition. However, none of Annas among the Kutlíks is relevant in that specific time. Among the family members in that time a 17-year-old Mária (1873–1917), painter's sister, can only be taken into consideration. She was a model for Maria Magdalene in two versions of Kutlík's altar painting for an evangelical church of Augsburg Confession in Nové Mesto nad Váhom, in Slovakia: *Lo and behold, the stone rolled away I* and *II* (*Noli me tangere,* 1894).

3) *Portrait of J. Sužený, from Sokolče, in Liptov region* (1899, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava, inventory No. O 2594) – a full face portrait represents an old man with a white beard in a brown Central European coat and a white shirt under it. Neutrally processed brown background is in contrast to the academically precise elaboration of the portrait.

The idea of a Liptov villager commissioning a portrait painting to Kutlík, while he was in summer 1899 in Slovakia during his honeymoon, is slightly surprising. In January 1900 Cyril asked his parents in a letter:[7] "What's with Mr. Sužený? Let Gedeon [brother] visit his and that he at last learns what he thinks? In any case, let him say, that you have already sent me the money. Then, if he is not willing to pay, do not force him, in the summer I will – may Lord give – settle the thing". Kutlík did not settle the thing with Sužený – he died from tuberculosis in Belgrade, the 4th of April 1900. Most probably due to this reason Sužený's formal portrait remained at Kutlíks' and later ended up in the Slovak National Gallery. It did not become a property of Liptov village Sokolče that is flooded by a dam today.

4) *Banns* / *In front of the Church in Paludza* (1898, private collection, Zvolen, Slovakia) – after resettlement of parents (1895) from Bohemia to Liptov in Slovakia, Kutlík was getting to know the homeland of his grandmother and other ancestors during his holiday visits. "There is precious Slovak temperature breathing from his Banns",[8] where Kutlík has situated an engaged couple in folk costumes in front of a gate of an evangelical church of Augsburg Confession in Veľká Paludza.[9] Contemporary Serbian press[10] described the scene as "a very nice, ideal picture from life of our Slovak brothers… [that] represents a moment when the couple is approaching a priest, expecting his crucial words". In figure of the priest, the painter has painted Ján Kmeti (1829–1899), a Liptov senior pastor and priest of Paludza. In opposition to his static figure there is the young couple in dynamic movement. A posture of the young man with a hat in his hand refers to an older tradition in Slovak and Czech fine art (folk costume studies of Peter Michal Bohúň and Josef Mánes). The scene is intensified by sunbeams penetrating though the tree leaves. Kutlík has fully worked out the light dimension, on account of which he was characterized as a forerunner of painting en plein air (a form of impressionism in Slovakia) by a Slovak art historian Vladimír Wagner.[11] Although the scene may be a spontaneous inspiration from Liptov, the composition is arranged very precisely and the representative function of the painting *Banns* is testified by Kutlík's signature. A Slovak motif signed in Cyrillic states clearly that the painting was designed for the upcoming exhibition in Belgrade.[12]

5) *Study of a Sitting Old Man – Beggar* (c. 1894, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava, inventory No. O 2517) – "Likewise prematurely deceased Cyril Kutlík did not finish his artistic manifestation, whose disintegrated oeuvre does not afford the possibility for a final judgement. Yet, from that little that is preliminarily accessible may a great talent of the artist be followed and his distinctively understood realism (Study of a Sitting Old Man) that would by its full growth significantly enrich the development of Slovak painting" – stated in 1952, shortly after establishment of the Slovak National Gallery, its director Karol Vaculík.[13]

The old man is depicted in full face and the overall static posture is dynamised by the colours of modest dress in grey shades. Face of a slightly neglected appearance (longer hair, beard) is carefully elaborated with certain dignity. His glance directed to the side and his right hand relaxed on his legs. His left hand is leaning against a chair made of a light wood and his legs are crossed. The light colour of an unspecified background corresponds with the colour of the chair. When attempting to localise the model according to the dress, a problem appears: it is hard to identify a long coat as unambiguously urban of rural, Central European (Hungary) or Western European (Tyrol). The date does not help either, as it is only derived from a note made by a painter Ľudovít Csordák (1864–1937) at the back of Kutlík's painting.[14] Csordák studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague in 1889–1895 so he could be meeting Kutlík for three years (until Kutlík left to Vienna in 1891 and later to South Tyrol and Belgrade).[15]

At this place we have to mention Kutlík's teacher from the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, Maximilián Pirner (1854–1924). Beside symbolic compositions that unambiguosly influenced Kutlík, Pirner created a *Study of a Sitting Man* (1886–1887, National Gallery, Prague)[16] that is in model's posture and its formal appearance very similar to Kutlík's painting. At the same time as the teacher, the student, too, worked on a motif *Old Man on a Chair* (1887, National museum, Belgrade): "There are two pencil pieces by Cyril Kutlík himself preserved, *Mountainous Land with Towers* and *Old Man on a Chair*. Regardless of the year of origin (second letter is dated 1887), it is obvious from the landscape and towers that they are unfamiliar to our climate as well as the western type of dress and a hat of the old man, and that pieces had been painted prior to Kutlík's arrival to Serbia (1895). These drawings are so significant for the Serbian art history because they show that Kutlík drew as an expert, with a tendency of catching realistic painting values that can particularly be seen in the sheet *Old Man on a Chair*".[17]

There are other versions of the theme to be mentioned – drawings *Beggar I* and *Beggar II* (1895–1900?, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava) – versions of a male nude with a loincloth, probably depicting a Belgrade model from Kutlík's own painting school.

6) *Little Tinker* (1896?, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava, inventory No. O 1137) – "A tune of social compassion echoes distinctly in, for instance, Kutlík's Little Tinker. A truthful expression of hopeless, dismal situation of a young wandering craftsman – džarek – differentiates the picture from an ordinary genre concept of the theme

as we know it, let us say, from some examples of contemporary Czech or Slovak painting. Undoubtedly, there appears a moment of critical characterisation and evaluation of the reality, although the whole concept of the picture is based on tradition of ethnographic genre“[18] – Karol Vaculík characterised the picture that thanks to him has become a part of permanent expositions shortly after the establishment of the Slovak National Gallery.

CYRIL KUTLÍK, *LITTLE TINKER* (1896?)

Cyril Kutlík could meet wandering craftsmen – Slovak tinkers who by creating a wire net around a pot mended ceramic dishes – during his studies in Prague in person or indirectly through an enlightened nobleman Zdeněk Kolovrat Krakovský. As a part of a social reality in Hradec Králové in 1893, also Cyril's younger brother Gedeon (1876–1935) mentioned "a crying little tinker that could not sell anything anywhere" and therefore he gave him 10 kreutzers.[19] Perhaps the painter did not want to create an authentic record of a craftsman at work, but an artistically interesting composition. The arrangement of the composition reminds us of the *Study of a Sitting Old Man – Beggar*, the model seated frontally in the central axis. An unknown black-haired young man with lowered eyes is looking in front of him. He is dressed in a dark blue military coat, with a grey-brown bag with a strap and buckles over his shoulder. A ceramic container between his legs is pressed against white trousers. With leather shoes – *krpce* on the feet he is sitting on a bench in front of a house. At the right side, in the foreground, there are situated tinker attributes as a wire bundle and a hat with a narrow brim, so called *brúsik*.[20] In the background Kutlík has painted an illusory village exterior, although Wagner has stated that the painting is „accomplished in studio lighting".[21]

According to Monika Škvarnová "a military coat of blue colour with shoulder boards supports … blending of an original rural dress of craftsmen [tinkers] in the last decades of the 19th century with the culture of an urban environment".[22] The traditional dress of tinkers, based on folk costume, can be seen in paintings from the first half or the 19th century: "Tinkers preferred dress from a thick cloth that was worn in rough mountain regions of Central Považie; long, narrow trousers, a shirt without a collar with open sleeves and tucked into trousers, a long-life long smock, leather shoes – krpce and a black hat from a cloth. ... Collar of a shirt was made of a narrow white hem that was tied up under the neck by a red ribbon. ... White trousers from a warm

durable fabric, called even Romanian or Wallachian trousers, performed its practical purpose very well, especially the leg sections that were under the highest demand during tinking in the height of knees".[23]

Karol Guleja presented tinkers as "men with long black hair ... falling to the breast that still at the beginning of the 19th century was arranged in four plaits". In fine arts this type of tinker with plaits has not been adopted.[24] Adult tinkers used to be depicted usually with shoulder-long or long hair. Tinkers with short hair are rarer as Kutlík's young model. "A shadow of a fallen curl multiplies adolescent shy and pensive expression of the face. Thanks to the expression the work had a deep emotional and social aspect", Škvarnová thinks.[25] In our opinion the psychological aspect of *Little Tinker* is rather expressed though his lowered eyes and pressed lips. Without recording any strong emotions or any greater gesture of the model, the painter captured his inner life (likewise in the picture *Study of a Sitting Old Man – Beggar*).

The motif of the tinkers can be found in works of Czech painters as Josef Mánes (1820–1871), Soběslav Hippolyt Pinkas (1827–1901), Jaroslav Čermák (1830–1878, in 60's of the 19th century he often painted in Montenegro and in Dalmatia), Mikuláš Aleš (1852–1913), or Jaroslav Augusta (1878–1970). First Slovak artist who pointed out the picturesqueness of local folk costumes even to Czech colleagues was Peter Michal Bohúň (1822–1879). He painted tinkers several times and "oldest account documenting the work of tinkers"[26] is to be found in Bohúň's watercolour painting *Slovaks from Trenčín* (around the year 1848). A tinker boy with a wired pot on his knees and a wire in the hand is sitting next to a couple in folk costumes. There is a number of common features in paintings of tinkers by Bohúň and Kutlík: a sitting figure with a container on his knees, white trousers, krpce shoes, a bag strap with a buckle on his shoulder, a wire bundle and a hat on the ground. If the above mentioned Bohúň's watercolour painting was a part of templates published in a collection of folk costume studies (Bohúň's first litographic collection was published 1846–1847, second in 1883), it would be possible that Kutlík was familiar with the painting.

7) *House and Ornament* (c. 1898, background of Salva's ethnographic postcards) – a characteristic feature of tinkers from later period – a large wicker or wooden knapsack on the back – occurs also when depicting other wandering craft that as well was recorded by P. M. Bohúň on a watercolour painting *Slovak glazier.* The motif of a glassworker, for the edition in 1883, was redrawn onto the litographic stone after father's template by Kornel Bohúň (1858–1902). From the second edition of Bohúň's folk types Cyril Kutlík knew at least *Slovak glazier*, as a fragment of the print has been preserved in his estate, today to be found in the Fine Art Archives of the Slovak National Gallery.[27]

Slovak glazier, along with other Bohúň's folk costume motifs, was used by a Slovak publisher Karol Salva (1849–1913) for a collection of ethnographic postcards where Cyril Kutlík designed the background. The publisher addressed Kutlík probably around the year 1898 and the painter evaluated the result in January 1900 in a letter to parents:[28] "In bed of the sick I did accept a postcard note with Orava castle… Thank you warmly for the Dad's note, too – it looks pretty good such a card. Mr. Salva has

also sent me one but not so nice – with castle Lietava – however around the Slovak man and woman the background is like nibbled while at yours the background around the Oravians vanishes nicely – so it looks as if they lived in that house".

Slovak art historian Silvia Ilečková wrote about the importance of Kutlík's co-operation with Salva:[29] "Kutlík was the first author whose name was cited on Slovak postcards, specifically these published by Salva in Ružomberok around the year 1898. Postcards have an ethnographical character. Their background is formed by a charming, light watercolour drawing House and Ornament, signed by Cyril Kutlík. An important part of each composition is a picture of folk types after P. M. Bohúň that his son Kornel (1883) created after father's death. … Salva's share in the final appearance of the postcards can not be omitted because, as a person behind the project, he had a significant share on its content. And although similar visual solutions of postcards with combination of several elements (photography, drawing, text and suchlike) were common in that time, the exceptionality of Salva's postcards consists in their unambiguous Slovak focus where he artfully joined cultural legacy of the national past with current impulses".

Painting motifs from Balkan countries

CYRIL KUTLÍK, *GIRL IN FOLK COSTUME FROM SOUTHERN SERBIA* (1895-1900)

1) *Girl in Folk Costume from Southern Serbia* (1895–1900, private collection, Zvolen, Slovakia) – this painting of a smaller size is characterized by a statement in contemporary press about Kutlík's interest in studying Serbian folk costumes. Similarly to the painting method of Djordje Krstić, Kutlík arranges the dress of the young model so elaborately that he is not capable of including all usual costume components and creates only a "domestic version"[30] of the dress. It consists of a shirt, a waistcoat, oriental trousers – *šalvare*, a silken belt, a scarf, knee-high stockings, and folk leather shoes – *opanci*. *Girl in Folk Costume from Southern Serbia* strikingly resembles a model from Kutlík's unfinished and today lost picture *Portrait of a Woman*.[31]

2) *Portrait of a Young Man with Hat* (1895–1900, private collection, Kulpin, Serbia) – it is more complicated to localise the origin of a young man with a hat on his head who was a model for Kutlík's portrait produced in achromatic colour scale of white, black and ochre. (Kutlík usually used a limited colour scale in drafts designed for printing, as for example picture *Heading of the Magazine Lovac*).

A fur hat was a part of man costume as well in Serbia (called *šubara*) as in Slovakia (*baranica*) and even in other Slavic countries, for instance in Russia. This type of head cover was spread from Romania during Wallachian migration in 14th – 17th century when one of the causes of migration was Ottoman plundering in the Kingdom of Hungary. People devoted to sheep and goat breeding, asserting Lex Antiqua Valachorum (Ancient Wallachian Law), were to be found among Romanians (in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Carpathian Ruthenia, Poland, Slovakia), Macedonian Aromanians, Rusyns (in Carpathian Ruthenia, Poland, Slovakia), Polish, Slovaks, Moravians (in Moravian Wallachia, a border region between present Slovakia and Bohemia), Serbs and Croats. As fur hats were also used by Macedonians, there emerges so far an unproved theory that the *Portrait of a Young Man with Hat* might be identified with a painting called *Macedonian* / *Macedonian pupil* which Kutlík exhibited at the beginning of 1896 in Belgrade.[32]

3) *Incident at Čukur česma* (1895–1900, Belgrade City Museum) – apart from encyclopaedia entries that mention the painting, Kutlík's cousin Felix Kutlík, Jr states:[33] "Several decorative pictures: Čučuk Stana, Čukur česma and Manastir Vratna are supposedly situated in Belgrade theatre". Based on Kutlík's social ties, it can be assumed that it might be a theatre in Vračar. As the paintings were designed for the theatre, it would suggest that they were of monumental dimensions. But the presumption is not to be supported by an unsigned oil painting, *Incident at Čukur česma* (*a Deep Well*, 70.2 x 91cm), in the Belgrade City Museum. The thorough painting technique suggests that it is a final work, not a study.

A tragic incident – a killing of a Serbian boy by a Turkish soldier at a town well – preceded by Turkish shelling of Belgrade and later liberation of Serbs from Turkish rule, were put down by Kutlík into his notebook as themes apt for pictorial processing:[34] "Čukur česma. On 1st [should be 3rd] June 1862 the patience of Serbian nation, suffering under the Turkish domination, has reached its peak and not more than a mere accident, a minor breeze was needed so that until now hidden fire of the revolt with all the strength burst out. And it was not necessary to wait for this accident for long. Čukur česma [was it] called..." The painting comprises two groups. At the very right side, in profile, a woman in Serbian folk costume, with white scarf on her head and a jug in the hand is looking at another woman dressed in urban version of the Serbian folk costume. She is kneeling, with an expression of terror in her face, holding a boy with a bloody head, dressed in a Serbian shirt and trousers. Another boy with a jug is standing behind them. On the left side from a water tap, secured in a wall in the middle, there is a younger man in a Serbian dress, pressing a throat of a Turk with a grey beard. From between the houses on the left side, a Serbian policeman with a rifle in his hand is approaching the group.

Regarding the case of the other picture from the above mentioned trio, a woman fighter *Čučuk Stana (Little Stana)*, we do not know where it is located. The situation is the same even for a portrait of her husband *Hajduk Veljko*, the most popular hero of the First Serbian Uprising that Kutlík painted in 1898.

CYRIL KUTLÍK, *INCIDENT AT ČUKUR ČESMA* (1895-1900)

The theme *Manastir Vratna (Vratna Monastery)*, mentioned by the family chronicler, is to be found in Kutlík's oeuvre only in a set of eight oil paintings on metal plates that he together with professor Svetozar Zorić, in the name of *Serbian Drawing and Painting School*, donated as a decoration to a parlour of the steamboat *Deligrad*, owned by the *Serbian Shipping Line company (Srpsko brodarsko društvo)*.[35] Each of them has painted four various historical or natural sights during different day or night time:[36] "Sićevo gorge, Ram, Golubac, a natural rock gate near Vratna monastery, Maglič, Kazan, Momin kamen [Girl's stone], a bridge over river Toplodol".

4) *Meeting on St Vid's Day in 1896 / Apotheosis of Reconciliation between the King Aleksandar Obrenović and the Duke Nikola Crnogorski* (1896, originally Beogradska zadruga Belgrade co-operative, location of the original unknown) – already during the Zero School Exhibition[37] in February 1896 Kutlík exhibited a draft *St Sava reconciling quarrelling brothers*. It was only eight months after his arrival to Serbia and the theme, apart from his interest in folk costumes, also declares his interest in Serbian history. In June 1897, at the Second Anniversary School Exhibition he presents the final image of the allegorical composition *Meeting on St Vid's Day in 1896*. Due to the fact that the picture only remotely refers to the Battle of Kosovo and depicts brotherly meeting of two rulers in 1896, more accurate is the name: *Apotheosis of Reconciliation between the King Aleksandar Obrenović and the Duke Nikola Crnogorski*.[38] Portraits of the rulers were made according to photographs while the imagination of the painter was used in the background where ghosts watching over the rulers are presented. There can be seen St Sava and legendary Kosovo heroes as duke Lazar, Miloš Obilić, Jug-Bogdan, Beško Jugović, Toplic and others, "with eyes fixed upon the Serbian pride; avengers of Kosovo".[39] Based on preserved photographs of the painting,[40] we can state that a work made according to models in folk costumes is obvious in figures of Macedonian and Bosnian – on both sides of the foreground. These typical folk characters, defined by their folk costumes, are also meant as symbolical, "with manacles on their hands and tears in eyes, they fix their gaze upon the national chosen ones from whom they expect salvation and their freedom".[41]

5) *A Hunting Scene / Heading of the Magazine Lovac* (1896, National Museum, Belgrade, inventory No. 2102 S 5134) – a use of a limited colour range (white, black, ochre) was due to the purpose of the painting. It was designed for a black and white reproduction, as a heading of the magazine *Lovac (Hunter)* published in Belgrade since 1896 by Wilhelm Bader (1847–1923).[42]

Until a restoration in 2008 there was a golden frame painted upon the original painting. The gilding was most likely original. On the left side of the scene there is a figure of a lurking hunter in Serbian dress hidden behind a thicket, with a rifle in his hand, while a deer is on the other side of the picture. The composition of the original painting – the template, is the same as of the printed heading of the magazine, only mushrooms in the middle of the foreground are overlaid by the title Lovac.[43] There exists a modification of this print where the deer is replaced by a dog. It was used as an invitation[44] to a Great Ball of the Hunting Association in Belgrade which was co-founded by Bader. From a postcard published in 1899, in Belgrade by Wilhelm Gerka, as a part of a collection of artistic postcards we also know another modification of the title saying "Dobra kob" (Good luck). On the postcard the hunter is depicted with the deer, not the dog.[45]

6) *Heading of the Magazine Pčelar* (1897, today the location of the original template is unknown) – the form of the work is so far known only as a black-and-white reproduction in the magazine that has been published in Belgrade by the *Serbian Beekeeping Association* (*Srpsko pčelarsko društvo*) since the 1st of January 1898. Kutlík's heading of the magazine *Pčelar (Beekeeper)* was used until 1902 when the issuing of the magazine was stopped. It was renewed in 1921 – first without a picture on the title page, later with various drawing and graphic solutions. Publishers of the magazine returned to the original heading by Kutlík in 1938, but only for a year.

The heading consisted of three parts, while from the ethnographic point the most interesting part was the middle one. There is a group of figures next to the patron of beekeepers St Symeon (Stefan II. Nemanjić or Stephen the First-Crowned) dressed in a habit, with a royal crown on his head, holding a frame from a beehive. Opposite St Symeon sits a woman with a child on her knees, in urban version of the Serbian folk costume (similar to the one of the kneeling woman in the picture *Incident at Čukur česma*). Behind the mother with the child is painted a standing man in Bosnian folk costume and a *fes* cap on the head. His countenance with a distinctive moustache is similar to the Bosnian's that Kutlík used in the painting *Meeting on St Vid's Day in 1896*. Another man with moustache and a *šubara* hat on the head is standing at the very right side. A boy dressed in a Serbian shirt and trousers with a belt (the same dress as the killed boy in the painting *Čukur česma*) is also a part of the group of figures attentively following St Symeon. The last figure from the group has its hand on boy's head – it is a monk with a *kamilavka* cap. The monk painted in the *Heading of the Magazine Pčelar* resembles strikingly Kutlík's student, a monk Rafailo Momčilović.[46] In the background of the scene's middle part, Kutlík located a silhouette of monastery Žiča. The identification of beehives and beekeeping tools situated in all three parts of the scene was done with a help of an beekeeper and Orthodox priest Miloš Antonić[47] and editorial office of today's magazine *Pčelar*.

7) *Montenegrin in ambush* (1898, originally professor Svetozar Zorić, Belgrade, the original was lost during the 2nd World War)[48] – the painting was exhibited together with the picture *Banns* at the Third Anniversary Exhibition of the *Serbian Drawing and*

Painting School in Belgrade. It depicts a Montenegrin that "pressed against a large thicket, hidden behind a rock, is expecting a prey with a rifle next to his eye. Lively and natural colours of the scene, harmonised by the artistic technique cause that the painting attracts unusual attention of the audience".[49] Before the exhibition was opened other newspaper wrote:[50] "The painting is very nice and attractive. Done with great attention and understanding of art".

Serbian art historian Stanislav Živković, based on recollections of Kutlík's student, a painter Borivoje Stevanović (1878–1976), specifies:[51] "a model [in school] was also a young Montenegrin that Kutlík himself painted on a canvas twice as big, alongside students. It was one of his more known paintings: mountain rifleman in a kneeling position, dressed in a red waistcoat – *džamadan* and blue trousers – *čakšire*, with an old flintlock rifle in his hands".

CYRIL KUTLÍK, *BY THE FIRE* / *MONTENEGRINS BY THE FIRE* (1895-1900)

8) *By the Fire* / *Montenegrins by the Fire* (1895–1900, Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava, inventory No. O 2168) – a deposited work in Slovak National Gallery, however without any genuine accounts from the painter, has been for a long time listed under a wrong name – *Serbian Partisans by the fire*. Figures are located in a stylised light composition and they are wearing dresses that actually correspond rather with Montenegrin than with Serbian type of clothing.[52] A Serbian art historian Uglješa Rajčević states that Kutlík could be inspired by a literary original *Gorski vijenac (The Mountain Wreath)*, written by Petar II. Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851).

Works with location unknown

1) *Mazepa, Hetman of Cossacks* (1892, originally at Kutlík's sister-in-law Miroslava Sedláčková, Belgrade, today location unknown) – the contemporary press declared the picture dedicated to Ukrainian leader Ivan Mazepa (1639–1709) as the third most interesting picture at Kutlík's introductory presentation in Serbia. (The most

interesting one was *The First Murder Victim / Abel's Death* followed by an Old Testament motif *Judah and Tamar.*) Mazepa "torn by a horse to which he is bound. Both paintings are masterpieces that one has to admire with astonishment".[53] Dramatic theme of the painting has apparently its origin in the epic poetry of Lord Byron, from 1819, which, including illustrations, was published in the United States in 1846. A romanticising legend about a punishment of the Ukrainian leader was an inspiration for several dramatists (a première in Paris in 1825, later very popular in London), poets, composers and painters, as for instance, Théodore Géricault (around the year 1820), Emile Jean-Horace Vernet (1826) or Eugène Delacroix (1838).[54]

2) *Dervish (genre according to Lj. Nenadović,* 1895–1896, location of the original unknown) – the painting was in the contemporary press listed as one of the prices in a lottery[55] organized for support of Kutlík's *Serbian Drawing and Painting School*. Except this single information, there is nothing more known about the work.

3) *Head of an Old Man* (1887–1900, in 1945 owned by Jaromír Koučel, Bechyně, Bohemia, today location of the original unknown) – Jaromír Koučel stated about the picture:[56] "Once I have received as a present from brother-in-law Gedeon a picture that I had mentioned and I appreciate it very much. It is a picture of an Old Man – a head of a patriarchal expression, presumably of Oriental ancestry. Size 40 / 50 cm, oil. However it is just a study, an unfinished picture, elaborated only in face, the rest is just a sketch". Based on the above mentioned Oriental ancestry, we include this work of Kutlík in his Balkan motifs.

4) *Diploma of the Funeral Company – the Archangel Michael* (1899, location of the original unknown) – taking into consideration the need of reproducing a "multi-colour oil painting",[57] Kutlík wanted to print the *Diploma of the Funeral Company (Ukopno društvo)* abroad. Due to this fact, he was accused of not behaving as a patriot. Unsatisfied printer, litho-zincograph, Marko Ivanišević subsequently assessed the painter's template in a critical tone: the face of the Archangel Michael Kutlík "has redrawn after a very pretty girl (and did not create an idealised one; in his imagination). ... The traveller from other world is not Serbian, as it should be required for a Serbian diploma, he is but a clown in jersey from a theatre play Tricoche et Cacolet ... and boots".[58] As the exact form neither of the painting, nor of the printed diploma is known, even Ivanišević's description is of certain value.

It is quite possible that designs for the diploma of the Funeral Company were prepared by several artists. Earlier newspaper reports informed[59] that "on the request of the Belgrade Funeral Company", the fidelity of its printed diploma was compared with the original template "by our respected painters Titelbach and N. Milojević. ... Diploma was printed by Mr. T. Predić from a famous art litographic works, joint-stock company *Najrode*, doing the honour to the above mentioned works".

Slavic postcards

From Kutlík's participation on promoting Serbian sights and ethnographic motifs, we should mention a project initiated by a Czech painter Ludvík Kuba (1863–

1956), later known as "a collector of folk songs in southern Slavic region".[60] He addressed Kutlík in a letter from Munich in 1898 as his colleague from the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague and as a person familiar with Serbian circumstances. In the name of a Prague publisher Josef R. Vilímek he asked Kutlík to choose a collection of "artistically conceived and typically Serbian"[61] photographs of professor Stanojević.[62] They planned a collection of Slavic postcards with a text written by Kuba. Kutlík was to choose thirty photographs and Kuba sent him a list of possible motifs, in fact, twice as many as was needed, for instance: royal palace and market place in Belgrade, medieval fortress Smederevo, gardens in Niš, monastery in Studenica, Serbian mills, dance *Kolo*, harvest of the grapes, a scene from a Serbian household, carpet weaving in Pirot, a scene from life of people in Mačva, Serbian shepherd, a pub, a cafè. Kuba requested additional ten photographs of Stanojević from the Old Serbia (terittory of Raška – Serbian medieval state) as well.

Vilímek had introduced the project to Kutlík already before Kuba did:[63] "Pictures from Serbia won't be all together, but they will be mixed with other Slavic postcards. We want the collection to be manifold and diverse ... the number of postcards from Serbia I do not know. It will depend upon accurate selection of good things. Therefore I beg professor Stanojević to kindly send me a collection of photographs of things that are excellent and most important. I will make a selection those selected will I keep and pay for, the rest, intact, will I send back in shortest possible time. Deign you kindly refer to professor my deepest thanks for manifested willingness for our Slavic issue".[64]

Arranger or documentarian?

When processing ethnographic motifs from Bohemia and Slovakia – except for works according to living models (*Little Tinker*) – Kutlík could relate to older artistic tradition, represented by Czech Josef Mánes and especially Slovak Peter M. Bohúň, with which he was familiar and as it reflects in his painting *Banns*. After arriving to Serbia, even though absorbing new knowledge fastly and with interest, he had to rely rather on his own observations of models, at least when making partial sketches, from which he then compounded larger compositions. We have introduced three types of folk costumes from the Western Balkan area (Serbian boy´s and urban female´s, and a Bosnian masculine´s as well), recurring in several of his paintings (*Incident at Čukur česma, Meeting on St Vid's Day in 1896, Heading of the Magazine Pčelar*). It seems that he had knowledge of characteristic prototypes of folk costumes that he subsequently creatively applied whenever deemed necessary. Therefore, in his case, we cannot talk about an ethnographic documentation programme. His interest in folk costumes, as well as historical costumes,[65] was of such extent that he had a rich register of types, especially for his historical and genre paintings.

Despite the fact that Kutlík cannot be qualified as a landscape painter (the landscape itself as a motif perhaps did not interest him at all) when recording buildings in the country he was a thorough documentarian, not an arranger. His works with architectural forms are of evident ethnographic value: *Old evangelical priest's house in Křížlice*

– *painters birthplace* (1890, private collection, Bratislava, a specific form of rural baroque after a German model), *The Town Hall in Rovensko near Trosky Castle Ruins* (1890; an image of the building before burn-out), *The Castle of the Count Harrach in Jilemnice* (1889, The Krkonoše Museum in Jilemnice, Bohemia, an image before rebuilding).

Endnotes:

[1] *Doputovao je iz Praga*. In: *Večernje novosti*, v. III., Belgrade, 4. 7. 1895. Cited according to: Stanislav Živković, *Kosta Miličević*, Novi Sad, 1970. p. 19 – 20, notes. 8 – 9.

[2] Iva Paštrnakova, Kutlik, Kiril (Kutlík, Cyril). In: *Srpski biografski rečnik*, v. 5, Novi Sad, 2011, p. 457 – 458; Iva Paštrnakova, Pisma Kutlikovih učenika i Družina prijatelja umetnosti. In: *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja. XIX-2 Istorija umetnosti*, Belgrade, 2010, p. 413 – 452; Iva Paštrnakova, Predlošci za crtanje i nastavni programi u Srpskoj crtačkoj i slikarskoj školi Kirila Kutlika. In: *Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 49. Godišnjak vojvodjanskog muzeja*, Novi Sad, 2007, p. 107 – 128; Iva Paštrnakova, Kiril Kutlik, osnivač Srpske crtačko-slikarske škole i njegovo delo u Srbiji. In: *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, kn. LII., Belgrade, 2005, p. 135 –170.

[3] Cyril Kutlík came from a Slovak culturally and nationally aware family, where several members worked as evangelical priests of Augsburg Confession, teachers and cultural workers in Bohemia and among Slovaks in Serbia, Hungary and Romania. A literary active family members were grandfather Ján (1806 – 1890), father Bohdan (1838 – 1925) and uncle Félix senior (1843 – 1890). All three men spent some time in today's Vojvodina.

[4] Diary of Cyril Kutlík (22. 1. – 14. 2. 1890). Personal archive of Cyril Kutlík, Fine Art Archives, Slovak National Gallery (AVU SNG), Bratislava, inventory No. 650/1996.

[5] Václav Lešer (editor), *Adressář královského hlavního města Prahy a sousedních obcí Bubenče, Karlína, Smíchova, Kr. Vinohrad, Vršovic a Žižkova* (Directory of the royal capital city Prague and neighboring villages Bubeneč, Karlín, Smíchov, Royal Vinohrady, Vršovice and Žižkov), Prague, 1891, p. 785.

[6] Janko Alexy, Painter Cyril Kutlík. In: *Osudy slovenských výtvarníkov* (Life stories of Slovak painters), Bratislava, 1948, p. 281.

[7] Cyril Kutlík in a letter to parents. Belgrade 15./28. 1. 1900. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.

[8] K., History of Kutlíks. In: *Slovenské Pohľady* (Slovak Views), 1931, No. 9, p. 591.

[9] About 1975, before the dam Liptovská Mara was filled with water, the church had been moved to a village Svätý Kríž. The largest wooden evangelical articular church in Central Europe, built without a nail, is a unique early baroque building.

[10] Unknown, Izložba radova Srpske Crtačke Škole. In: *Srpski zavet*, v. II., Belgrade, 6. 9. 1898.

[11] Vladimír Wagner, *Profil slovenského výtvarného umenia* (A Profile of Slovak Fine Art), Martin, 1935, p. 35.

[12] 3rd anniversary exhibition of *Serbian Drawing and Painting School* took place in the hall of National Assembly of Serbia from 28. 8. until 15. 9. 1898.

[13] Karol Vaculík, *Umenie XIX. storočia na Slovensku. Realistický odkaz našej výtvarnej minulosti* (Art of the 19th Century in Slovakia. Realistic Legacy of our Artistic Past), Bratislava, 1952, p. 21.

[14] „Geschenkt bekom von Kutlik Akademie schule Prag im Jahre 1894 den Kaschaner museum L. Csordak. 1921".

[15] The same problem with dating of the picture appears with the painting *Little Tinker*. Next to the signature there is a very little probable date 1886. Boris Bálent in the inventory of Kutlík's oeuvre stated year 1896 and painter's visits in Slovakia are so far recorded in years 1898 and 1899. There has not been any mention about this picture in letters to parents, that could suggest

that the painting was created at their place.
[16] Roman Prahl, *Maximilián Pirner. 1854-1924,* Prague, 1987, picture No. 31.
[17] Vanja Kraut, *Crteži srpskih umetnika 19. veka (1800-1900. g.),* Belgrade, 1974, p. 41 – 42.
[18] Karol Vaculík, *Slovenské umenie v boji o dnešok* (Slovak Art in a Struggle for today), Bratislava, 1959, p. 16.
[19] Gedeon Kutlík in a letter to father Bohdan Kutlík. Hradec Králové, 10. 10. 1893. Estate of the Kutlíks, Archive of Literature and Art, Slovak National Library, Martin, sign. 60 F 2.
[20] Vladimír Ferko, *Svetom, moje, svetom. Slovenskí drotári doma i vo svete* (Wolrds, My, Worlds. Slovak tinkers at Home and Aboad), Bratislava, 1978, p. 323.
[21] Wagner 1935 (note. 11), p. 35.
[22] Monika Škvarnová, *Drotári v dielach umelcov. Profesionálna a neprofesionálna tvorba v zbierkach na Slovensku* (Tinkers in Works of Artists. Professional and Amateur Works in Collections in Slovakia), Žilina, 2005, p. 27.
[23] Karol Guleja, *Svet drotárov. Umeleckohistorická etnograficko-technická sociálna monografia* (World of Tinkers. Art-historical Ethographic-technical Social Monography), Martin, 1992, p. 13, 22 – 23.
[24] Plaits were visual attributes of highwayman Jánošík and his lads from the forest robber group.
[25] Škvarnová 2005 (note. 22), p. 27.
[26] Ibidem, p. 15.
[27] AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[28] Cyril Kutlík in a letter to parents (note. 7).
[29] Silvia Ilečková, Z histórie umeleckých pohľadníc na Slovensku. Tlačené pohľadnice. (From the History of Artistic Postcards in Slovakia. Printed Postcadrs). In: *Galéria 2003. Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave* (Yearbook of the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava), Bratislava, 2003. p. 144 – 146, 157.
[30] The costume was consulted 19. 9. 2007 with Vilma Niškanović, a museum counsellor and today a director of the Etnographic Museum in Belgrade.
[31] *Portrait of a Woman / Portrait of a Girl.* 1895 – 1900, oil on canvas, 40 x 30 cm, originally: Blegrade City Museum, Veljko Petrović´s Heritage, inventory No. LVP 954. See: Stanislav Živković, Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola Kirila Kutlika. In: *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 5*, Novi Sad, 1969, p. 250; Slavica Stamenković, *Umetnička dela u legatima Muzeja grada Beograda*, Belgrade, 1996, p. 36.
[32] Unknown, Sa slikarske izložbe. In: *Večernje novosti,* v. IV., No. 42, Belgrade, 11. 2. 1896, p. 1; Unknown: Pogoci. In: *Trgovinski glasnik,* v. VI., No. 77, Belgrade, 2. 7. 1896.
[33] Félix Kutlík, *Dejiny Kutlíkovcov* (History of Kutlíks), Bratislava, 1931. p. 51.
[34] Notebook of Cyril Kutlík with themes of paintings. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996. Theme Čukur česma is last and unfinished record. Vacant pages follow. The end of this notebook was used by Kutlík as a register of students during the first year of running his school (1895 – 1896).
[35] For more, see: Iva Paštrnakova, Kiril Kutlik – slikar portreta, žanra i istorijskih slika. In: *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti,* No. 39, Novi Sad, 2011, p. 242.
[36] Unknown, Poklon „Deligradu". In: *Trgovinski glasnik,* v. VII., No. 51, Belgrade, 3. 5. 1897, p. 2.
[37] Unknown, Sa slikarske izložbe. In: *Večernje novosti,* v. IV., No. 42, Belgrade, 11. 2. 1896, p. 1.
[38] Dejan Medaković, Prve slikarske škole i njihovi pokretači. In: *Univerzitetski vesnik,* v. V., No. 94, Belgrade, 6. 5. 1954, p. 4.
[39] Unknown, Izložba slika. In: *Mali žurnal,* v. IV., Belgrade, 22. 6. 1897.
[40] In my possession there are two photographs of the painting *Meeting on St Vid's Day in 1896*: a photography from Kutlík's estate and its small copy from the 40's of the 20th century, that was ordered by Dr. Boris Bálent, painter's nephew and my grand-father.

[41] Unknown, Izložba srpske slikarske škole. In: *Beogradske novine* (or *Večernje novosti*), Belgrade, 15. 6. 1897 (a clipping by Kutlík in the AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996).
[42] Vesna Aleksić, Vilhelm Bader, the President of Society for the Beautification of Vračar. In: *Belgrade´s Foreing Residents. A Story of a Cosmopolitan City and its Bewildering Energy*, Belgrade, 2009, p. 108.
[43] *Lovac. Ilustrovani časopis*, v. I., No. 1, Belgrade, 23. 4. 1896.
[44] Invitation: Savezno lovačko udruženje u Beogradu, Velika igranka, 7. 2. 1898. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[45] After my identification of the postcard, collectors included it in the publication: Snežana Vicić – Dragan Vicić, *Pozdrav iz Beograda 1895 – 1941. Knjiga I.* Belgrade, 2008, p. 19.
[46] Rafailo Momčilović (1875 – 1941) attended Kutlík's school in the school year 1897/1898, therefore it is not impossible that he could stand as a model for his teacher. The register of students In: Kiril Kutlik, *Treći godišnji izveštaj Srpske crtačke i slikarske škole*, Belgrade, 1898, p. 3. The resemblance is supported by photographs of Kutlík with his students in the AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[47] Orthodox priest Milan Antonić in an e-mail to the author, 19. 10. 2009.
[48] Živković 1970 (note. 1), p. 25, note. 22.
[49] Unknown, Izložba radova Srpske Crtačke Škole. In: *Srpski zavet*, v. II., Belgrade, 6. 9. 1898.
[50] Unknown, Crnogorac u zasedi. In: *Večernje zvono*, v. I., Belgrade, 28. 4. 1898.
[51] Živković 1970 (note. 1), p. 25.
[52] Based on consultation with Mr. Uglješa Rajčević in Belgrade 1. 1. 2007.
[53] V. A. S., Izložba Srpske slikarske škole. In: *Beogradske novine*, v. II., Belgrade, 12. 2. 1896.
[54] http://www.artandpopularculture.com/Mazeppa_%28Byron%29 (26. 12. 2011).
[55] Unknown, Pogoci. In: *Trgovinski glasnik,* v. VI., No. 77, Belgrade, 2. 7. 1896.
[56] Jaromír Koučel a postcard to Boris Bálent. Bechyně, Bohemia, 1945. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[57] Kirilo Kutlik, Ispravka. In: *Mali žurnal,* v. VI., No. 147, Belgrade, 29. 5. 1899.
[58] Marko Ivanišević, Gospodine uredniče. In: *Mali žurnal*, v. VI., Belgrade, 10. 6. 1899.
[59] Unknown, Diplome Ukopnog Društva. In: *Srpski zavet,* v. III., No. 58, Belgrade, 26. 5. 1899. Also: Unknown, Verno originalu. In: *Beogradske novine,* v. V., No. 141, Belgrade, 24. 5. 1899.
[60] Ondřej Vojtěchovský, Kulturní vývoj v samostatném Srbsku (Cultural development in independent Serbia). In: Jan Pelikán et al., *Dějiny Srbska* (History of Serbia), Prague, 2005, p. 292.
[61] Ludvík Kuba in the letter to Cyril Kutlík. Munich, 10. 7. 1898. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[62] Presumably they talked about a first Serbian astrophysicist Djordje M. Stanojević (1851 – 1921), who had been let in the art of photography in his native Negotin.
[63] Josef R. Vilímek in the letter to Cyril Kutlík. Prague, 6. 7. 1898. AVU SNG, inventory No. 650/1996.
[64] So far I have not managed to find the set of postcards.
[65] He got used to arranging and work with theatrical property at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague that was borrowing historical costumes from theatre.

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SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MOTIVI U SLIKARSTVU KIRILA KUTLIKA

Sažetak:
Slikarski opus Kirila Kutlika (1869–1900) obuhvata oko dvadeset pet slika sa etnografskim motivima (od ukupno 290 radova). Njegovo interesovanje za nošnje utemeljeno je uglavnom u potrebi rada na istorijskim i žanr slikama na kojima su zabeleženi motivi iz slovenskih zemalja. Ipak, sačuvano je i nekoliko slika na kojima model u nošnji predstavlja glavni predmet interesovanja (*Devojka u nošnji iz Južne Srbije,* 1895–1900). Na slikama sa etnografskim motivima iz Slovačke i Češke (1885–1900), osim onih koje su nastale prema živom modelu (*Lončar,* 1896?), Kutlik je mogao da se osloni na stariju likovnu tradiciju čiji su predstavnici Čeh Jozef Manes (Josef Mánes) ili Slovak Peter Mihal Bohunj (Peter Michal Bohúň) kako je to učinio na slici *Oglašavanje* (1898). Nakon dolaska u Srbiju (1895) radi isključivo po modelu skice za kompozicije većih dimenzija. Na osnovu ženske srpske građanske nošnje, dečje srpske i muške bosanske nošnje koje se ponavljaju na njegovim slikama (*Događaj na Čukur česmi,* 1895–1900, *Apoteoza izmirenja kralja Aleksandra Obrenovića sa knezom Nikolom Crnogorskim,* 1897, *Zaglavlje časopisa Pčelar,* 1897), čini se da je posebno proučio karakteristične tipove nošnji koje je potom kreativno koristio na svojim slikama.

Kada govorimo o prikazivanju nošnji Kutlik je bio više aranžer nego dokumentarista ali kada je reč o arhitektonskim motivima situacija je potpuno drugačija. Iako ga čist predeo kao likovni motiv nije previše interesovao, iznenađuje koliko je precizno i tačno beležio crkve, zamkove, kuće, školske zgrade kao npr. na radovima *Križlice, stara kuća evangelističkog sveštenika – Kutlikov rodni dom* (1890, specifični oblik seoskog baroka prema nemačkom uzoru), *Rovensko ispod srednjovekovne ruševine Troski* (1890, izgled zgrade pre požara), *Zamak grofa Haraha* (*Zámok grófa Harracha*, 1889, Krkonošské muzeum Jilemnice, Češka; izgled zamka pre pregradnje).

Ključne reči: Kiril Kutlik, etnografski motivi, istorijsko slikarstvo

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

UDK BROJEVI: 75.071.1 Milunović, M.; 75.036.1(497.11)"1945/1950"
ID BROJ: 190076428

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STUDIJA SLUČAJA. *POSLE POBEDE*: JEDNA SLIKA MILA MILUNOVIĆA U KONTEKSTU SOCIJALISTIČKOG REALIZMA

Apstrakt:
U delu Mila Milunovića se, u vreme socijalističkog realizma (1945-1950), razlikuje tri tipa umetničkog dela: a) propagandni plakati; b) mozaici i zidne slike; c) nekoliko malo poznatih slika, od kojih se ovaj tekst bavi analizom dve. To su slika velikog formata *U čast pobede (Posle pobede. Kraj rata)* i nešto kamernija po dimenzijama *Kompozicija sa klavirom*. Nastavši u istim godinama kao i njegove transparentne političke kompozicije, one unose semantičku i ideološku pometnju u samu srž političkog ideala socrealizma i njegovog svrsishodnog narativa.

Ključne reči: Milo Milunović, slikarstvo, socijalistički realizam

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„Srpska umetnost 20. veka: nacionalno i Evropa“
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Poput mnogih vodećih jugoslovenskih umetnika koji su svoja kapitalna dostignuća ostvarili tokom dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 20. veka, Čelebonovića, Tabakovića, Tartaglie, Konjovića i drugih, Milo Milunović (1897-1967)[1] se nakon 1945. godine suočava sa posledicama radikalne promene političkog i društvenog uređenja države, od političke, ekonomske i nacionalne krize „starog režima" kapitalističke, mnogonacionalne Kraljevine Jugoslavije do „novog režima" realkomunističke, višenacionalne i populizovane Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije. Prekaljene u Drugom svetskom ratu, novonastala FNRJ i njena predratna, ali osnažena i osvežena Komunistička partija, diktiraju kulturnu politiku posle 1945. godine. Nova komunistička vlast u potpunosti je promenila svekupnu ikonosferu, delujući brzo, agresivno i efikasno na promeni simboličkog vizuelnog plana, u duhu sovjetskog, staljinsko-ždanovljevskog programa socijalističkog realizma. Tako je stvoren jedan sasvim novi semantički pejzaž koji je trebalo da bude metafora apsolutnog poverenja i apsolutne moći nove državne i partijske vlasti.[2] U vreme političke i ideološke dominacije socijalističkog realizma, Milo Milunović, nikada glasnogovornik te umetničke dogme, stvara jedan veći broj dela po kojima bi se mogao nazvati „tipičnim umetnikom socijalističkg realizma", što je, videćemo, tek delimično tačno.

MILO MILUNOVIĆ, *POBEDA NAD FAŠISTIČKOM NEMAČKOM* (1945)

U umetnikovim realizacijama koje nastaju u doba socijalističkog realizma, razlikujemo više tipova dela:

a) Za duh vremena su karakteristični, no najmanje poznati u njegovom opusu, kao „bočne" realizacije, propagandni plakati iz 1945. godine: *Dajte krv za ranjene borce*, *Za sreću domovine, za Rrepubliku – Napred!*, *Pobeda nad fašističkom Nemačkom*, te plakate za izložbe u Umetničkom paviljonu u Beogradu, za *Komemorativnu izložbu umetnika-slikara poginulih u nar.-oslobodilačkoj borbi* i *Prvu izložbu Udruženja likovnih umetnika Srbije*. Plakati su rađeni koncizno i precizno – nepogrešivo čitljivi i informativni.

b) Mozaici i zidne slike i kompozicije: tokom 1948. i 1949. godine Milunović po narudžbi radi mozaik *Jugoslavija* za Jugoslovensko dramsko pozorište i sliku *Ustanak/13. juli* (1948, Umjetnički muzej, Cetinje, 174 x 82,5). Kako u tehnici mozaika, tako i u radu na zidnim kompozicijama, Milunović već ima iskustvo. On je 1937, za potrebe paviljona Kraljevine Jugoslavije na Svetskoj izložbi u Parizu, radio mozaik na fasadi

Paviljona. Realizovao je i niz religioznih zidnih kompozicija u Bogorodičinoj crkvi u Prčanju i zidne slike u nekadašnjoj Drugoj ženskoj gimnaziji u Beogradu. Sa monumentalnom kompozicijom i proporcijom dela verskih kompozicija iz Prčanja, karakterističnom inače za sva Milunovićeva dela u opusu, može se meriti način i smisao komponovanja *Ustanka*. Pomenute kompozicije su po svom karakteru megalografske i utemeljene u velikim narativima, u prvom slučaju biblijske i novozavetne tematike, u drugom, istorijsko-memorijalne sa političkim zaleđem socijalrealističke politike glorifikacije. *Ustanak* je komponovan po „arhe" delu tog žanra, kompoziciji Vere Mukine *Radnik i kolhoznica* koje je krasilo Sovjetski paviljon na Svetskoj izložbi u Parizu 1937. i koje je Milunović mogao i uživo videti, budući i sam, kao predstavnik Kraljevine Jugoslavije, učesnik[3] na Svetskoj izložbi. Mozaik, naprotiv, koristi čistu retoriku političke alegorije, kako u mozaiku *Tri devojke* (u narodnoj nošnji) iz 1937, tako i mozaiku *Jugoslavija*. *Tri devojke* su alegorija jugoslovenstva, tačnije, tri ujedinjene nacije unutar višenacionalne Kraljevine. *Jugoslavija* je predstavljena alegorijskom intertekstualnom predstavom jedne ženske figure, pastišne kombinacije tipa *Nike sa Samotrake* i Delakroove *Slobode koja predvodi narod (na barikadama)*.

MILO MILUNOVIĆ,
JOSIP BROZ TITO (1948)

c) Posebnu temu unutar opusa mnogih umetnika posle 1945. godine predstavlja paradni portret vođe, Josipa Broza Tita u maršalskoj uniformi. Milunović portret maršala Tita radi 1948. godine. Tokom 1947, kada su mnogi renomirani jugoslovenski slikari pozvani da portretišu Josipa Broza u salonu starog dvora Karađorđevića, a i tokom 1948, traje politička akcija portretisanja vođe, pa tu Milunovićev portret nije usamljen, no jedan od mnogih (Titove portrete su radili Paja Jovanović, Marino Tartaglia, Božidar Jakac, Antun Augustinčić, Gabrijel Stupica, Ismet Mujezinović, Milan Konjović, Vojo Dimitrijević i dr.). Međutim, sve ukazuje da je Milunovićeva slika očigledno nastala po reprezentativnoj Brozovoj fotografiji (poprsja) u maršalskoj uniformi, a ne po živom modelu.

d) Izdvojene iz tog, naizgled karakterističnog socrealističkog kurikuluma, stoje dve slabo poznate Milunovićeve kompozicije koje su predmet neposredne pažnje ovog razmatranja. To su slika velikog formata *U čast pobede (Posle pobede. Kraj rata)* (1948, 169 x 122,5, zbirka Doma Vojske Jugoslavije, Beograd) i nešto kamernija po dimenzi-

MILO MILUNOVIĆ, *POSLE POBEDE* (1948)

jama *Kompozicija sa klavirom* (1947/48, 52 x 54,5, Muzej savremene umetnosti). Nastavši u istim godinama kao i njegove transparentne političke kompozicije, one unose semantičku i ideološku pometnju u samu srž političkog ideala socrealizma i njegovog svrsishodnog narativa. One se u novije vreme, od kada je znatna pažnja posvećena atipičnom umetničkom stvaralaštvu unutar tokova socijalističkog realizma, čine kao socrealizam sa primesama ironične didaktike, kombinovan sa štimungom intimizma međuratne, građanske provenijencije. A Milunović je maestro ne samo intimističke at-

mosfere slike, što se u ovom slučaju čini manje bitnim, već besprekornog racionalnog komponovanja slike, nezavisno od poetike, narativa i jezika koji tokom vremena u slici koristi. Školovan u Firenci na Académie Suisse, zatim u Parizu, sa saznanjima o Lotovoj umetničkoj pedagogiji, Milunović je izvorni, daroviti umetnik koji se rano opredelio za svoje uzore, Đota i Mazača, za monumentalnost izraza koja se gradi uz pomoć racionalnog komponovanja, moći proporcije i snage crteža, a tek potom i drugim konstitutivnim likovnim elementima dela. Njegova seminalna slika *Mrtva priroda sa violinom* (1930, MSU, Beograd) istinski je prethodnik naše pomenute dve slike iz 1947/48. godine. Manju, *Kompozicija sa klavirom* (ulje na kartonu), možemo smatrati jednom vrste skice za sliku *U čast pobede (Posle pobede...)*. Na oba prizora se nalazi jedan te isti ambijent, mrke game, posmatran spreda, ali se prizori razlikuju po „kadriranju" i ikonografskom repertoaru simboličkih značenja. Takođe, ove dve slike se mogu posmatrati kao sekvence u vremenskom kontinuitetu: *Kompozicija sa klavirom* je prva u ovoj dramatičnoj radnji promene ikonosfere. Vidimo fragment građanskog enterijera, aluziju na međuratni intimizam (pa i samog Čelebonovićevog dela): klavir, stolicu okrenutu k njemu, sliku (mrtvu prirodu) naslonjenu na gornju ploču klavira, neizbežni gipsani odlivak sa desne strane, takođe na gornjoj ploči. Mir ovog ambijenta nije ničim poremećen. Još uvek se može sesti na stolicu i svirati, svet je još netaknut, neuzdrman, zatvoren u svoju melanholiju i u njega ništa ne prodire. Promena se dešava u drugoj vremenskoj sekvenci Milunovićeve pripovesti, u slici *U čast pobede (Posle pobede...)*. Šta vidimo? Uzdrmani svet mira prve slike: klavir, stolicu koja mu je okrenuta leđima naslona. Na nju je naslonjena puška. Između gipsanog odlivka (sada u centru gornje ploče klavira) i prislonjene slike mrtve prirode, sada je upreprečena trobojka sa petokrakom, a preko gornje desne ivice klavira bačen je šinjel. Notna sveska, koje nema u prvom prizoru, sada je na svom mestu iznad tastature klavira. Prekinuli su vaše muziciranje, okrenuli vam stolicu, prebacili šinjel, zastavom nove države sakrili vašu omiljenu sliku, izvukli tepih ispod nogu, uzdrmali vaš, s pažnjom vakuumirani, valerski svet? Ikonografski repertoar slike kombinuje simbole starog i novog sveta na direktan način, ali istovremeno diskretno osporava buržoaska načela. Socijalistički realizam nije vidljiv u jeziku i izvedbi, već u temi koja svojim jednostavno suprotstavljenim simbolima saopštava, s jedne strane, o mogućnom spoju suprotnosti, dok sa druge, pita nije li takav spoj ciničan i neprirodan. Ovakva kombinacija nije samo (očigledna) u svojoj ideološkoj dvojnosti. Ona je, više od toga, eklektična (ideološki, ikonografski, značenjski), kao „vezivna karika između modernizma i postmodernizma"[4], kako za socijalistički realizam kaže Epštejn. Fenomen socrealizma, i totalitarne umetnosti u celini, može biti protumačen kao istorijski prelaz iz čistote stila u postmodernu igravu eklektiku.[5] „Igrava eklektika" se u jugoslovenskom socijalističkom realizmu, u delima umetnika poput Milunovića, prepoznaje kao maskiranje politički nepodobne moderne, u njenoj mimikričnoj preobrazbi od tamnog modernizma do postmodernog ideološkog i likovnog pastiša, neortodoksne i ironične kombinacije klasicizma, modernizma, pseudomodernizma, antimodernizma, intimizma i td. Prepoznaje se i kao oblik nove stvarnosti ili „hiperealnosti", proizvodnje realnosti, „realnosti radi same sebe", kao

MILO MILUNOVIĆ, *KOMPOZICIJA SA KLAVIROM (1947-48)*

dvojaki simulakrum, jer je, kaže Epštejn, socrealizam „i stvarao sliku hiperealnosti i sam bio sastavni deo nje – kao što ogledalo ulazi u enterijer i istovremeno ga udvaja".[6]

Slika *U čast pobede (Posle pobede...)* stvara jednu vrstu drugačije hiperrealnosti, realnosti radi same sebe, a to je fetišizam izgubljenog objekta, koji više i nije objekt reprezentacije nego ekstaza negacije i svog vlastitog ritualnog uništenja.[7] Milunović je kritičan, samokritičan, ironičan i samoironičan. Oblici kritike i samokritike kombinovani sa ironijom usmereni su dvojako: na baštinu građanskog intimističkog slikarstva kao simboličkog narativa jedne društvene klase koja je nestala preko noći, ali i na budućnost koja počinje od trenutka novog brojanja vremena, novog kalendara i novog kurikuluma. Poreklo Milunovićeve dvojnosti, dileme i ironije u toj slici moglo bi se nazvati delovanjem unutar „dijalektičkog orkana" opasnih godina, kakve su 1947. i 1948. nesporno bile: „orkana koji je uvlačio u sebe i rušio apsolutno sve pojmove"[8], „levičarenja" i „desničarenja", pobedničkog i poraženog, odanog i izdajničkog, starog i novog i u krajnjoj liniji, života i smrti. U pedesetoj godini života, Milunović je morao biti itekako svestan političke neizvesnosti i velikih rizika koje trenutak „posle pobede" donosi. Trenutka u kome umetnik, krišom zadržavajući klavir, okreće leđa staroj umetnosti kao što stolica okreće svoja leđa pijaninu da bi postala oslonac za pušku. Trenutka u kome ili jesi ili te više nema. Ljudska i egzistencijalna dilema unutar „dijalektičkog

orkana" jedan je od osnovnih pokretača Milunovićeve maestralne slike *U čast pobede (Posle pobede...)*. Dostojna Mazača, njegovog mladalačkog ideala, ona umetnikov govor smešta u domen estetske, eklektičke i naglašeno etičke dileme. Izuzetan kakav jeste, Milunović je kao retko ko sposoban da od dileme stvori harmoniju, savršenu ravnotežu na toj ubitačnoj klackalici umetničkih i političkih svetova.

Napomene:

[1] Kako govori biografija Mila Milunovića, on ratne godine (1941-1945) provodi u Beogradu, da bi od sredine 1946. do početka 1948. boravio na rodnom Cetinju kao profesor na Umjetničkoj školi. I. Simeonović Ćelić, *Milo Milunović*, Galerija SANU, Beograd 1997.

[2] Detaljnije: L. Merenik, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968*, Vujičić kolekcija i Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, Beograd 2010.

[3] Milunović je na izložbi u Paviljonu bio zastupljen svojim umetničkim slikama.

[4] M. Epštejn, *Postmodernizam*, Beograd 1998, 59-64.

[5] Nav. delo.

[6] Nav. delo.

[7] Nav. delo.

[8] Nav. delo.

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A CASE STUDY. *AFTER THE VICTORY:* A PAINTING BY MILO MILUNOVIC WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIALIST REALISM

Summary:
The opus of Milo Milunovic created during socialist realism (1945-1950) consists of three types of artistic works: a) propaganda posters; b) mosaics and murals; c) several lesser known paintings, two of which are the subject of this paper. These are a large format painting entitled *For Victory (After the Victory. The End of the War)* and a somewhat more chamber-like piece entitled *Composition with Piano*. Created during the same period as his transparent political compositions, these paintings bring semantic and ideological confusion into the very core of the political ideals of social realism and its purposeful narrative.

Key words: Milo Milunović, painting, socialist realism

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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NASTANAK I UPOTREBA JEDNE SLIKE. OSKAR KOKOŠKA: *BERLIN, 13. AVGUST 1966.*

Apstrakt:
U radu se analizira slika Berlina koju je Oskar Kokoška naslikao u dvanaest dana avgusta 1966. godine. Upotrebom raznih istorijskih izvora, interpretira se sadržaj ove slike, prepoznaje njeno značenje i procenjuje vrednost. Razmatranjem okolnosti u kojima je Kokoškina slika nastala, prepoznaje se njena upotreba kao ideološkog „oružja" njenog naručioca, izdavača Aksela Špringera.

Ključne reči: Oskar Kokoška, Berlin, Berlinski zid, Aksel Špringer

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Delo i umetnik

OSKAR KOKOŠKA, *BERLIN, 13. AVGUST 1966* (1966)

Slika Oskara Kokoške *Berlin, 13. avgust 1966*.[4] iznenađuje i izaziva niz pitanja, na primer: po čemu ćemo znati da je to Berlin, osim po naslovu; a u njemu, zašto taj datum, po čemu je značajan za umetnika ili za nastanak slike; sa koje tačke je slikar sagledao grad i koji njegov deo; zašto gradu nije dao „fizionomiju", oslanjajući se na urbanističke karakteristike (oblik, trg, mase građevina) ili pojedinačna gradska obeležja (karakteristične građevine, spomenike, topografiju...). Pažljivim posmatranjem se u detaljima slike možda prepoznaju zgrade Filharmonije, negdašnjeg Rajhstaga, stara Većnica, ali navedena pitanja ostaju a uz njih još jedno: zašto se slika Berlina razlikuje od drugih Kokoškinih slika gradova.

Njegova prva slika Berlina, iz dvadesetih godina, koju su početkom tridesetih uništili nacisti, prikazivala je Pariski trg (Pariser Platz) i Brandenburšku kapiju. Kokoškin *Drezden, novi grad IV (pogled iz ateljea*) (1922)[5] jedan je od, moglo bi se reći, ranih radova, pokazuje odjeke uticaja škole u koloritu i potezu. Prikaz grada koncipiran je tako da u njemu dominiraju prirodni elementi (nebo i oblaci, reka) i jedan most koji spaja dve obale, sa brodićima u pristanu, šetalištem, relativno malim zgradama u pozadini. Bez posebnih obeležja grada, urađen iz ateljea, kao gotovo slučajan odsečak, koji odslikava atmosferu jednog dela grada. Oblaci koji vladaju gornjim delom slike nameću se oku kao velike bele mrlje i stvaraju svetlosni efekat koji se provlači kroz sve kasnije Kokoškine slike gradova, ujedno otkrivajući smer njegovih slikarskih istraživanja boje, svetlosti i prostora. Slikom *Jerusalim* (1929-30)[6] pokazao je snažnu i razvijenu autorsku ličnost, kako u paleti i rukopisu, tako i u postavci slike i shvatanju

motiva: sukob elemenata, grad u prostoru, sa nekoliko karakterističnih obeležja (zidine, Kupola na steni...), tako da ne samo što naglašava vizuelnu stranu grada viđenog sa strane, iz posebno izabrane tačke posmatranja, nego dočarava i atmosferu. *Pogled sa Špringerove zgrade u Hamburgu* (1958)[7] već je delo majstora koji ima izgrađen i prepoznatljiv likovni jezik i koji kao poznato ime u umetnosti daje svoju vizuelnu „formulaciju" jednog grada: gornji deo slike, pogled prema osvetljenom, takoreći apstraktno obrađenom nebu, i donji deo – pogled na ekspresivno prikazani grad, spojeni su tamnim tornjevima katedrale i većnice kao zakivcima koji utemeljeni u jednom zadiru u drugi deo slike, i ujedno je uokviruju sa desne i leve strane. Naslovom, slika ukazuje na naručioca, ali u svemu je samostalno i izvanredno delo. Sliku *London* (1963) zasnovao je na pogledu iz daljine na Tauer bridž.

Kokoškine vedute nastale između dvadesetih i šezdesetih godina 20. veka imaju obeležja pojedinih faza slikarevog zanatskog, stilskog i ličnog razvoja, ali otkrivaju i neke zajedničke elemente, kao konstante jednog umetničkog stava ili traženja. Pristup je uvek isti: Kokoška želi da dobro upozna grad koji slika i to je za njega, takoreći, „portret" jednog grada. Otuda i odabir tačke posmatranja: on retko slika iz grada, a mnogo češće izvan grada, gledajući sa strane (to je vidljivo već u Drezdenu 1922, kad slika iz ateljea, Jerusalim slika iz daljine, Hamburg i Berlin 1966. iz visine). Time podvlači i distancu na emotivnom planu: slika postaje kritički portret, ekspresivan u načinu izrade. Stoga, dok je mnogim drugim slikarima grad izvor pojedinačnih motiva, za Kokošku takvi motivi (najčešće građevine) najčešće su samo prepoznatljivi detalji celine koja ga zanima; koristi ih kao karakteristične crte „lica" grada, ali smeštajući ih u celinu gradskog prostora. Njegova slika grada uvek je okrenuta ka svetlosti, koja dominira nebom; sredinom slike obično vlada neka ravna površina (voda ili slobodan prostor trga); slika je podeljena na dva horizontalna pojasa (od kojih je gornji, nebo, uvek nekoliko puta uži); prepoznatljive su znamenitosti, prepoznatljiv je opšti izgled grada, ali izmenama prostornih odnosa između pojedinih delova (građevina, blokova zgrada, trgova...) slikar izražava svoj doživljaj grada: stanje, živost, prijatnu ili neprijatnu atmosferu.

Na slici Berlina, jasno je da je grad gledan odozgo, da su znamenitosti razbacane po obodima slike, dok sredinom dominira jedna praznina koja, po prvi put na njegovim slikama, nije premoštena nego se vizuelno širi i preti da potisne ostale sadržaje. Dobro je znati šta je umetnik imao da kaže o motivu:

„Kada sam prvi put bacio pogled dole na crveni sektor, obuzela me strepnja. Pustoš bez ljudi, kao nekakav pejzaž Meseca, koji je minskim poljima, žicama sa visokim naponom, zaprekama od bodljikave žice postavljenim popreko ulice odvojen od života koji vri... Jedan pas-čuvar, dresiran da napadne ljude, divlje kida svoju ogrlicu. Kunić, koji pase u blizini, ne obraća na njega pažnju. Još nikada nisam slikao neki izumrli grad. Ali morali bi negde da žive ljudi - možda sakriveni u betonskim kasarnama - koji se ne usuđuju da pokažu svoje lice? Kao tokom godine Terora u Parizu, kada je giljotina dnevno obezglavljivala desetine ljudi, a da se spoljni svet nije setio ljudskog dostojanstva. Biće da je od uspostavljanja zida ubijeno dvesta mladih ljudi, koji su

radije dali život nego da zaborave slobodu. Jedan puk u paradnom koraku maršira za crvenim zastavama, slaveći podizanje zida 13. avgusta 1961. godine. Jedan žandarm patrolira zidom, sa spremnim mašinskim pištoljem. Ne, dvojica su. Jedan mora da pazi na drugoga. Berlin, 13. avgust 1966."[8]

U godinama posle rušenja Zida, vizuelna poruka ove slike postaje sve manje razumljiva i mora se iščitavati uz pomoć istorijskih podataka.

BERLIN (1961)

Delo i grad

Na dan 13. 8. 1966. navršilo se pet godina od nastanka Berlinskog zida, neobične građevine nastale kao posledica međusobnih odnosa sila-pobednica posle Drugog svetskog rata i tokom tzv. hladnog rata: Berlin je postao, viđen očima Zapada, „pocepani velegrad, simbol podeljene Nemačke",[9] a zapadni deo grada ostao ostrvo u okviru Istočne Nemačke.

Bilo koja fotografija ili neki od odnedavno dostupnih dokumentarnih[10] ili „namenskih"[11] filmova iz toga vremena bolje pokazuje dramatično razdvajanje političkog istoka i zapada, nego što to čini Kokoškina slika. Kokoška je izbegao sve prizore Berlinske podele: ekspresivne žice, zapreke, betone... uzrujane ljude, pokret ljudi koji teže da se spoje (prvih dana po postavljanju mreže, potom zida); dramatiku bežanja preko zida, skakanja sa prozora pograničnih zgrada na ulicu; izražajna lica učesnika događaja; lične sudbine; sputanost u kretanju kroz grad; ili pogled koji zid zatvara i koji postaje pogled na zid. U Kokoškinoj slici su sve te, vizuelno izazovne, mogućnosti ostavljene po strani kao lični, prolazni i sitni događaji, koji gube na važnosti pri pogledu iz visine. Slika prikazuje pogled na celinu, na širi kontekst u prostornom (urbanističkom), istorijskom, pa i nacionalnom smislu. Ona prikazuje upravo prazni prostor sa istočne strane Zida, nastao rušenjem starog gradskog jezgra, u cilju apsurdnog postavljanja granice, sa svim pratećim elementima zaprečavanja, u centru jednog grada. Vizuelno, time je pokazao „samo" prostor, prazninu, razdvojenost. I dalje je Kokoškina tačka posmatranja „izvan" prikazanog grada, ali umesto bilo kakvog motiva povezivanja, kakvi se mogu pronaći u njegovim vedutama (npr. most, u slikama Londona, Firence, Bazela ili Istambula), ovde je prekid; ne toliko zid i bodljikava žica (oni su negde u dnu slike), koliko praznina iza zida. Postaje očigledno da se slika zasniva na prikazu i protestu protiv jedne nove faze u razvoju Berlinskog zida.

BERLIN (1961)

Zid

Zid je započet u noći između 12. i 13. avgusta 1961.[12] kada su pripadnici narodne vojske poslati da načine *živi zid* na Brandenburškoj kapiji.[13] Na granici između okupacionih sektora (američkog, britanskog, francuskog s jedne i sovjetskog sa druge strane), koja je ranije bila zaštićena samo bodljikavom žicom, toga dana je počelo postavljanje mreže poduprte betonskim stubovima (narod ju je probio istog dana), kao i gradnja zida u nekoliko centralnih ulica istovremeno (Bernauer Strasse, Harzer Strasse, Heidelberger Strasse, Bouchestrasse, Potsdamerstrasse, Potsdamer Platz).

Berlinski zid je kao građevina imao bar tri faze razvoja. U početnoj fazi, to je kombinacija betona i brzo naslaganih (na mnogim mestima, radi brže izrade, zid nije imao ni temelj) i ponegde neravnih redova sivih blokova od šljake, povezani malterom i sa bodljikavom žicom na vrhu. Iza njih, protivtenkovske prepreke. I po izgledu, ne samo po funkciji,[14] Zid je u toj fazi svog razvoja jedna odbojna, robusna, neuredna, ružna i preteća građevina.[15] Uz nju stražari sa psima, oklopna vozila i brisani prostor. U nekim ulicama Zid je išao kroz stambene zgrade, te je počelo zaziđivanje njihovoh prozora (prvo na nižim, a zatim na svim spratovima, jer ljudi su skakali sa njih bežeći na zapad). Zatim se sa istočne strane počeo stvarati i širiti bezbednosni prostor sa istočne strane Zida, koji je onemogućavao da mu se neprimećeno i neometano priđe (brisani prostor na nišanu snajpera,[16] preprečen bodljikavom žicom, sredstvima za zaprečavanje prolaza vozila, najzad posut peskom, na kom bi se lepo videli tragovi begunaca). U tu svrhu rušene su stambene zgrade, privatne kuće, sklonjeno je groblje u Bernauer Strasse, preživela je samo crkva u istoj ulici, čiji je jedan deo ipak zakačen i zazidan, tako da malo štrči na zapad.[17]

Slika Oskara Kokoške prikazuje, pored ostalog, upravo tu pustoš koja se u istočnom delu Berlina počela stvarati iza prvobitnog zida. To je ne samo centralni deo slike, dok se Zid prepoznaje tek u donjem levom, i u desnom uglu slike, gde se vidi jedna stražara i pored nje dva vojnika sa psom (oni koje Kokoška pominje u svom zapisu). Varvarstvo o kom slikar govori nije samo u činu deljenja grada, nego i u stvaranju veštačkog jaza između sugrađana, odnosno sunarodnika.

Izgradnjom Zida, zatvorene su neke gradske znamenitosti: na primer, Brandenburška kapija pretvorena je u granični prelaz i obmotana bodljikavom žicom (kasnije su tu dodavane prepreke), već je pomenuta crkva u Bernauer Strasse, zatvoreni

su trgovi, ulice, jedan most (Böserbrücke), a mnoge su ostale na istoku. To objašnjava zašto je Kokoška sabio gradske znamenitosti na periferiju slike, smanjio ih ili udaljio, sklonio pred zjapećom prazninom koja je nastala rušenjem. Formiraju se dva grada i novi centar na zapadu.[18] Nove, reprezentativne, građevine u Zapadnom Berlinu nastaju do sredine šezdesetih,[19] ali Kokoška ih ne gleda: njegova slika ne priznaje novo stanje, nego očekuje promenu, zatvaranje praznine u centru grada a na isto očekivanje, vizuelnim sredstvima navodi i posmatrača.

Pogled preko Zida

Stanovnici zapadnog Berlina su od početka pokušavali da vide i prate šta se dešava sa druge strane, eventualno pozdrave rođake i prijatelje, sa uzvišenja, sa autobusa ili montažne platforme (na kakvoj je tokom svoje posete u junu 1963. bio i američki predsednik Kenedi ili 1969. predsednik Nikson). Ubrzo je istočna policija počela da onemogućava mahanje preko zida, pa je počelo komuniciranje svetlosnim signalima (ogledalce na suncu ili svetla koja se noću pale i gase u prozoru).[20] Kokoškina slika može se u tom kontekstu shvatiti kao još jedan pogled preko zida, ali ne da bi se videli pojedini rođaci i prijatelji, nego da se sagleda čitav grad i odsečeni deo nacije.

Na prvu godišnjicu podizanja Berlinskog zida, 13. 8. 1962. u podne, zapadni Berlinci su na ulicama stali za tri minuta ćutanja; stao je saobraćaj, stali su prolaznici. Kako se bližila druga godišnjica, glasnije su postavljali pitanje kada će zid biti uklonjen. Zapadnjaci se slikaju ispred njega, grade svoje male objekte uz njega, pokušavajući da ga „preplave" ili „pređu" ne samo pogledom, nego i u mislima, pa i fizički. Uspostavljanje slobodnog pogleda shvaćeno je i kao uspostavljanje slobode kretanja i izražavanja mišljenja. Uza zid su postavljani buketi sa cvećem, venci i trake sa imenima stradalih pri prelasku i datumima smrti. U vreme nastanka Kokoškine slike, grafiti su već počeli da „napadaju" Zid, po njemu prvo niču parole („es gibt nur EIN Berlin!"; „IN TYRANNOS"),[21] a kasnije crteži i slike, da bi na kraju bio pretvoren u muzejski predmet, dakle, stavljen van upotrebe.[22] Kokoškina slika nije toliko određena, mada je kod posmatrača u svoje vreme mogla da izazove revolt i spremnost za akciju.

Naručilac

Ključni za nastanak ove Kokoškine slike bio je ipak njen naručilac, Aksel Špringer (Axel Cäsar Springer, 1912-1985), nemački novinski magnat. Rođen u Hamburgu kao sin tamošnjeg izdavača knjiga i lokalnih novina, on je sa dvadesetak godina, posle učenja zanata u štampariji i fabrici papira i volontiranja u novinama, postao šef redakcije lista koji su do 1941. ugušili nacisti svojim uredbama. Proglašen je 1939. nesposobnim za vojnu službu i rat je proveo u očevoj izdavačkoj kući na poslovima izdavanja knjiga, koji su na kraju rata prestali. Posle kratkog samostalnog rada u novinarstvu, 1947. formirao je preduzeće „Axel Springer GmbH", koje i danas postoji, spojeno 2010. sa švajcarskim izdavačem Ringier AG.[23]

U prvih desetak godina samostalnog rada, realizovao je vrlo ambiciozan plan razvijanja štampanih medija,[24] a u sledećoj deceniji počeo je i da preuzima postojeće

izdavače i časopise.[25] Njegova koncepcija bila je: kombinacija zabave konzervativne politike, a njegov dnevni tabloid „Bild" bitno je uticao na formiranje mišljenja miliona Nemaca. Uticaj na javno mnjenje probudio je i Špringerove političke ambicije. Putovao je 1958. u Moskvu da intervjuiše predsednika Hruščova i, navodno, da mu izloži svoj plan o ponovnom ujedninjenju Nemačke. Takođe je išao 1965. u Izrael i dao veliku donaciju za Izraelski muzej.[26] Do 1967. definisao je svoju politiku u četiri tačke, *obaveznu* za sve urednike svih njegovih izdanja: 1) zalaganje za ponovno ujedinjenje Nemačke; 2) pomirenje između Nemaca i Jevreja; 3) odbijanje svake vrste političkog totalitarizma; 4) odbrana tržišne privrede; po nekim amerikanizovanim Špringerovim biografima[27] tu je i 5) saradnja sa SAD.

Do kraja života, Aksel Špringer je nastavio širenje svoje medijske imperije,[28] nailazeći pri tome i na sve otvorenija neslaganja i napade (navodno, radikalnih levičara i anarhista) zbog prevelikog uticaja, desničarstva, populizma, kao i slučajeva medijske hajke protiv pojedinih političkih aktivista.[29] Dobijao je i međunarodne počasti i društvena priznanja,[30] a posle smrti odata mu je počast kao novinarskom uzoru[31] ili je predstavljan kao kontroverzna ličnost[32] i čovek dramatične sudbine.[33]

U Hamburgu

Kao materijalni izraz rasta Špringerovog preduzeća, ali i kao neophodnost za njegovo bolje funkcionisanje, nastajale su njegove medijske kule, poslovne višespratnice za štamparije, redakcije i uredništva, te je svaku fazu njegovog razvoja krunisala je po jedna takva građevina. Najpre je u Hamburgu, tokom prve decenije uspona počeo da gradi (1950-54) višespratnicu koja je nazvana Špringerovom kuća (Springer-Haus).

Već u to vreme upoznao je Oskara Kokošku, koji je 1951. portretisao gradonačelnika Hamburga Maksa Bauera (Max Bauer). Nekoliko godina kasnije, Špringer je 1958. od Kokoške naručio sliku Hamburga, ali tako da prikazuje pogled sa poslednjeg sprata njegove poslovne višespratnice. Špringer je tu Kokoškinu sliku davao na izložbu više puta: već 1959. bila je deo velike izložbe *Minhen*, u tamošnjoj Kunsthalle; 1960. slika je kao deo izložbe *Kasni Kokoška* prikazana u Branušvajgu, Hamelnu, Bremenu, Pforchelmu; iste godine je data i za izložbu *Šagal - Kokoška* u Kopenhagenu; 1962. bila je deo Kokoškine retrospektive u Tejt galeriji u Londonu i 1962/63. u Hamburgu; 1964. našla se u Kaselu na izložbi *Dokumenta* III; 1966. izlagana je u Cirihu, iste godine je bila deo postavke izložbe *Slike nemačkih gradova*, održane u Berlinskoj Akademiji nauka.

U Berlinu

Širenje poslova podrazumevalo je Špringerovo premeštanje u Berlin. Da bi objedinio prostore svoje izdavačke izdavačke kuće (Axel Springer Verlag) i redakcije nekoliko novina i časopisa („Berliner Morgenpost", „Die Welt", „Welt am Sonntag", „Bild"...), počeo je 1959. da gradi medijski soliter od 19 spratova, u centru grada, u Kochstrasse, u neposrednoj blizini granice sa sovjetskom okupacionom zonom odnosno, kako se ubrzo ispostavilo, svega nekoliko metara od Berlinskog zida.

SEDIŠTE ŠPRINGEROVE MEDIJSKE KUĆE, BERLIN (POČETAK 60-IH)

Zgrada je sačuvana do danas, ali joj je početkom devedesetih godina 20. veka dozidano novo krilo, pod uglom od devedeset stepeni u odnosu na staru zgradu, iste visine i sa modernijom obradom fasade. Danas se na platou pored građevine, u njenoj neposrednoj blizini i u simboličnoj vezi sa njom, nalazi nekoliko oznaka, koje kao da simbolišu Špringerova zalaganja: spomenik *Očevi jedinstva*,[34] sa likovima političara koji su doprineli ponovnom ujedinjenju Nemaca; spomen[35] na uništenu staru Jerusalimsku crkvu (Jerusalemkirche), čiji su negdašnji obrisi označeni crvenim kamenom na obližnjem pločniku;[36] skulptura *Balansiranje*,[37] pomalo višeznačna ali shvaćena kao spomenik vremenu zida i svima koji su radili na njegovom uklanjanju, a naročito kao spomenik slobode; najzad, tu je i jedan hrast, koji su Špringeru u znak zahvalnosti posvetili berlinski taksisti.

Započeta pre Zida, Špringerova zgrada je nastavila da se uzdiže iznad Zida, da stoji nasprem njega, simbolično i praktično. U to vreme soliter je bar jednom poslužio beguncima sa istoka; zabeleženo je da su 1961. građevinu upotrebili kao skrovište begunci koji su tunelom prošli ispod Zida, sukobivši se pre toga sa jednim istočnim policajcem i izazvavši njegovu smrt.[38] Kada je 26. 6. 1963. američki predsednik Kenedi posetio Berlin[39] i dolazio do samog Zida, zabeležen je i njegov prolazak pored Špringerove novogradnje, na kojoj je za tu priliku bio postavljen transparent na engleskom, sa porukom o najvećoj berlinskoj kući štampe.[40] U svakodnevnom životu, u gradu u kom su se Zapad i Istok neposredno dodirivali i u svakom smislu sukobljavali, Špringerov medijski soliter simbolisao je ekonomski rast, slobodnu inicijativu i naravno, slobodu mišljenja, govora i okupljanja.[41]

Pošto je zgrada konačno bila završena (1965-66) i ulazila u upotrebu, Špringer se temeljno pripremao za njeno zvanično otvaranje, kom je želeo da da i određeni društveni, kulturni i politički značaj. Izrada slike Berlina deo je tih priprema. Špringer se odlučio za Kokošku, sa kim je već dobro sarađivao. Poslao mu je pismo pozivajući ga da sa vrha ovog solitera naslika grad. Sa terase na krovu, puca pogled na Berlin: istočni, zapadni, i zid koji ga deli. Kokoška je u početku bio skeptičan, pa poziv prihvatio oprezno i sa izvesnim odugovlačenjem. U to vreme već osamdesetogodišnjak, živeo je u Vilnevu (Villeneuve) na Ženevskom jezeru. Imao je lepa sećanja na Berlin od pre četrdeset-pedeset godina, a sada je to bio podeljeni grad o kom nije ništa znao. „Ne

znam da li mogu da naslikam Berlin. Već nedeljama slabo spavam i brinem o slici. Verovatno ću otići posle dva dana."[42] – rekao je u avionu Špringerovom predstavniku. Špringer je obezbedio Kokoški pratnju i pomoć: poslao je jednog saradnika da doprati umetnika do Berlina i usput beleži njegove izjave; uzeo je tehničke pomoćnike u improvizovanom ateljeu na vrhu zgrade, koji su postavili štafelaj, platno i drugo što je bilo neophodno za umetnikov rad; angažovao je jednog fotografa da prati nastanak slike kao i susrete umetnika i naručioca.[43]

Kokoška je doputovao u Berlin 12. avgusta. Istog dana bio je na vrhu Špringerove zgrade, na terasi na krovu, i posmatrao podeljeni grad. Ostao je bez reči, bio je potpuno nem. Posle otprilike pola sata otišao je. Sledećeg dana, 13. avgusta, ponovo je bio na istom mestu. Nije imao slikarsku tašnu. Dan je bio vreo. Kokoška je bio još uvek neodlučan. Pripremili su mu platno i on je stajao pred velikom praznom belinom, koja kao da ga plaši. „Tada je dole na ulici ugledao kako Lajpciškom ulicom (Leipziger Strasse, u istočnom delu grada) paradira jedna četa sivo-zelenih vojnika. Crvene zastave se vijore. Istok slavi mračni dan nemačke istorije. Kokoška dugo posmatra scenu. Onda iz džepa svoje vunene jakne izvlači malu savijenu kutiju uljanih pastela – i počinje da skicira..."[44] Radio je sledećih 12 dana, od jutra do podneva, zatim predveče; trpeo je avgustovsku vrelinu, a zatim i ledeni vetar koji je duvao preko terase zgrade, improvizovanog ateljea.

Jasno je da bez Špringera ne bi bilo ni slike *Berlin 13. avgust 1966*. On je zaista omogućio taj trenutak u kom je Kokoška pred prizorom podeljenog grada dobio inspiraciju za sliku. On je dao ideju, odredio tačku posmatranja, izabrao umetnika, doveo ga u Berlin, obezbedio mu tehničke i druge uslove za rad, na kraju kupio sliku i sve to dokumentovao i objavio. Pri tome je koristio delo i umetnika da ilustruje svoju ideologiju. Sve je upakovao u specijalnu ilustrovanu publikaciju,[45] propagandni materijal koji služi upotrebi jedne slike i ličnosti jednog umetnika. Tu je Kokošku predstavio kao apolitičnog (čak i kad ga progone, on sebe smatra za lutalicu – nikad za izbeglicu, prognanika ili proteranog ali čovek sa vizijom i sistemom vrednosti. Žrtva austrijskog carizma,[46] žrtva nemačkog nacional-socijalizma[47] (taj termin se, istina, ne pominje, govori se o „smeđim vlastodršcima", čime se aludira na boju uniformi Hitlerovih jurišnih odreda) ali lični prijatelj tvoraca nove Nemačke posle Drugog svetskog rata.[48] Osobena ličnost ali nije određen od svoje nacije. Revolucionaran u umetnosti ali nije komunista, čak ni levičar. Protivnik je konvencija i svih stega ali poštovalac kapitalističkog tržišta umetnina, ugovora i zadate reči. Predan poslu do granica fizičkog iscrpljenja, čak i u osamdesetoj godini života. Njegova slika *Berlin 13. avgust 1966*. kvalifikovana je kao protest protiv podela nacija, gledano i u širem kontekstu – Koreja, Vijetnam, Nemačka i Berlin, Jerusalim – i kao plamen humanosti u podršci mladosti,[49] koja traži šire horizonte. U skladu sa principima upotrebe umetnosti kao društvenog ili političkog oružja, Špringer objavljuje Kokoškinu reakciju pred Zidom, krajem prvog dana rada na slici: „Kako da se oslobodim utiska koji sam imao danas ispred zida koji deli Evropu od varvarstva. Započinjem skromni pokušaj da ga sačuvam u slici."[50] Politička ili ideološka izjava je jača i „istinitija" ako dolazi od umetnika. Publikacija se završava fo-

tografijom Kokoškinog pisma od 31. 8. 1966. u kom zahvaljuje Špringeru na gostoprimstvu i pruženoj prilici da naslika Berlin.

Slika je naručena sa namerom da bude upotrebljena ali umetnik je dobro došao možda i zbog još jednog razloga. Ranije iste godine, u jednom malom mestu portretisao je, tada već bivšeg, nemačkog kancelara Konrada Adenauera i družio se sa njim. Kada je slika Berlina bila gotova, Špringer je 25. 8. 1966. pisao Adenaueru, pozivajući ga na svečano otvaranje zgrade 6. oktobra i predlažući eventualni razgovor, a Kokoška je, navodno sasvim sponatno i samoinicijativno, rukom dopisao nekoliko prisno intoniranih redaka, pridružujući se pozivu. Zgradu je ipak otvorio predsednik SR Nemačke Hajnrih Libke (Heinrich Lübke); tom prilikom javnosti je predstavljena i Kokoškina slika, a slikar je, dva dana posle svečanosti, otputovao na napornu turneju po Americi.

Napomene:

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[3] N. Samardžić, *Titov režim i jugoslovenska kultura: represija, konsolidacija i kolaboracija*, u: Zbornik seminara za studije moderne umetnosti, 7, Beograd 2011, 61-76.

[4] *Berlin, 13. August 1966*, ulje na platnu, 105x140, privatno vlasništvo.

[5] *Dresden, Neustadt IV*, ulje na platnu, 80x120, Sign. dl: OK, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

[6] *Jerusalem*, ulje na platnu, 80x129, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Art.

[7] *Blick aus dem Axel-Springer-Haus in Hamburg*, ulje na platnu, 115x160, Sign. dd: OK, Hamburg, Springer-Haus.

[8] *Kokoschka malt Berlin*, Hamburg-Berlin: Axel Springer Verlag 1966, b.p. (1). Preveo P. D.

[9] *Berlin. Zerrissene Weltstadt, Symbol des geteilten Deutschlands. Die aktuelle Landkarte*, München: JRO Verlag 1961.

[10] *Der Augenzeuge*, No 34, produkcija DeFa 1961.

[11] 1961 Berlin documentary, West Berlin, Germany, august and december 1961, 08/1961. ARC Identifier 68514 / Local Identifier 342-USAF-31891A, dostupan javnosti od januara 2010. Dobro bi bilo pogledati i *Die Mauer. Fotografien 1961-1992*, Köln: Kai Diekmann 2009.

[12] Za uvod u istoriju Berlinskog zida danas su vrlo informativni sajtovi: www.berlin.de/mauer; www.stiftung-berliner-mauer.de; www.mauer-museum.de; www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de/DieMauer.

[13] Rušenje zida počelo je u noći između 9. i 10. novembra 1989. godine a poslednji koji su ostali na njemu sve do 22. 12. 1991. bili su pripadnici graničnih trupa.

[14] Samo u prvoj godini postojanja zida 50 ljudi je poginulo pokušavajući da pređe na zapad.

[15] Kasnije će, u poslednjoj fazi, Zid biti sastavljen od izlivenih betonskih L-profila nešto prijatnijeg izgleda, dovoljno visokih, pogodnih za brzo postavljanje ali, kako se pokazalo na kraju, i za relativno brzu demontažu.

[16] U samom početku, istočne granične trupe nisu imale bojevu municiju, a onda im je ona podeljena; naređenje o pucnju upozorenja i pucanju u begunca izdato je 14. 9. 1961, obnovljeno sa promenom lidera Istočne Nemačke u martu 1974. (Honecker umesto Ulbrichta) i ostalo na snazi sve do početka aprila 1989. mada njegovo ukidanje nije objavljeno.

[17] Jedna veoma plastično urađena vizuelizacija razvoja zida: *3D Visualisierung der Bernauer Strasse in Berlin mit Grenzanlagenbebauung zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten (1963, 1970, 1984)*. 3D Visualisierung: Sabine Seidl, Musik: Michael Przybilski, 3D Stadtmodell: 3D RealityMaps GmbH.

[18] Deo kraj granice privremeno postaje „periferija" Zapadnog Berlina, da bi sa rušenjem Zida to ponovo postao centar grada.

[19] Zapad se njima ponosi, up. *Berliner Stadtrundumfahrt*, Berlin: Sirius Filmtechnik (8mm film, iz prve polovine šezdesetih, prodavan samo za kućnu upotrebu)

[20] Uporedi: *The Wall*, dokumentarni film, produkcija Hearst Metrotone News Inc. 1962; dostupan na http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nch5MbnvTqY.

[21] *Colorfilm Archiv: Die Mauer zu Berlin*, Berlin: Sirius Filmtechnik (8mm film, iz prve polovine šezdesetih prodavan samo za kućnu upotrebu).

[22] Posle svog pada, zid postaje znamenitost i predmet heritologije: njegove komadiće masovno odnose građani, turisti, organizuje se čišćenje ali ostaje tzv. Eastside Gallery, deo zida koji je sa zapadne strane, uglavnom tokom osamdesetih, oslikan grafitima, kao i pojedine osmatračnice. Na njegom mestu na ulici, u kolovoz je ugrađena uzana metalna traka, sa natpisom „Berliner Mauer 1961-1989". Posebno je označen i Chekpoint-Charlie, kontrolni punkt za prelaz granice, namenjen političko-diplomatskom osoblju. Jedan broj betonskih profila iz poslednje faze čuva se pojedinačno, uglavnom kao deo umetničkih instalacija ili podloga sačuvanih grafita.

[23] Ringier Axel Springer Media AG je multimedijska kompanija sa sedištem u Cirihu, aktivna u Poljskoj, Češkoj, Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj i Srbiji, a funkcioniše kao udruženje nezavisnih preduzeća. Izdaje preko 100 štampanih novina i časopisa i više od 70 onlajn izdanja, a u Srbiji izdaje dnevne novine „Blic" i „Alo", besplatne dnevne novine „24 sata", nedeljnike „Blic Žena", „Puls" i „NIN", kao i internet izdanja „Blic online", „Žena online", „SuperOdmor.rs" i „NonStopShop.rs". U Nemačkoj je izdavačka kuća Axel Springer do 2000. imala oko 180 novina i časopisa.

[24] Kupio je prava za ženski časopis „Constanze" (od 1948 do 1961); pokrenuo večernji list „Hamburger Abendblatt" (od 1949), što su bile prve nepartijske novine u tom gradu; po uzoru na engleske bulevarske časopise stvorio „Bild" (1952); dobio licencu za listove „Die Welt", „Welt am Sonntag", „Das Neue Blatt" (sve 1953), pokrenuo „Bild am Sonntag" (1956).

[25] Preuzeo je 1959. izdavača Ulštajna (Ullstein Verlag) sa listovima „Berliner Zeitung" i „Berliner Morgenpost"; 1964. dizeldorfski časopis „Mittag" i minhenskog izdavača Kindler - Širmajer (Kindler und Schiermeyer); 1965. „Bravo", časopis za mlade i „Kicker", sportski ilustrovani časopis.

[26] Po nekim podacima, oko 3,6 miliona tadašnjih nemačkih maraka.

[27] U takvim se biografijama navodi da je Špringer kao mladić radio i kao kino-operater i puštao američke filmove o ekonomiji...

[28] Pokrenuo je 1966. časopis „Eltern", časopis „Mittag" (1967), kupio tv-časopis „Funk Uhr" (1967), pokrenuo časopis „Kontinent" (1974) za pisce disidente; specijalizovane časopise „Musik Joker", „Tennis Magazin", „Ski Magazin" (sve od 1976); časopis za žene „Bild der Frau" i nedeljni pregled „Bildwoche" (oba od 1983).

[29] Negde oko 1967. počeli su organizovani otpori Špringerovom širenju, najpre kao studentski protesti sa parolom „razvlastite Špringera", koju su podržali pojedini intelektualci. Njegova hamburška medijska kula bila je meta terorističkog napada Frakcije Crvene armije 1972. i tom prilikom povređeno je sedamnaest zaposlenih. Kod Špringerovih zgrada podmetani su požari 1973. i 1975; „Bild" je bio pod otvorenim bojkotom naučnika i umetnika, a književnici članovi nemačkog Pen kluba odlučili su da ne pišu za Špringerove listove (1980); pojedine kupovine i

širenje posla zabranjivala je služba za borbu protiv kartela. Možda najpoznatiji napad na „Bild" jeste u noveli Heinricha Bölla, *Izgubljena čast Katarine Blum* (1974).

[30] Postao je počasni doktor nauka na univerzitetima u Izraelu (Ramat Gan 1974, Jerusalim 1976) i SAD (Boston 1981); dobio je američki Orden prijateljstva (1977) i prvi Orden Leo Baek (1978), koji se dodeljuje za pomirenje Nemaca i Jevreja; tu je i nagrada Konrad Adenauer (1981). Po njemu je 1996. nazvana i jedna novoformirana berlinska ulica (Axel Springer Strasse) u neposrednoj blizini njegovog medijskog solitera.

[31] Godine 1986. formirana je u Berlinu Novinarska škola „Aksel Špringer", koja je prerasla u istoimenu Akademiju, namenjenu obuci urednika ove izdavačke kuće (od 2009. partner je odgovarajuće škole Kolumbija Univerziteta).

[32] M. Jürgs, *Der Erlöser aus Altona. Der Fall Axel Springer: Bürgersohn, Künstlernatur und Zeitungskönig*, u: Der Spiegel, 27 (3. 7. 1995).

[33] U 2001. realizovan je televizijski film *Izdavač* (*Der Verleger*, scenario Bernd Bohlich, Paul Hengge, i Michael Jurgs, režija Bernd Bohlich) o Špringeru i njegovoj porodici. Srpska glumica Anica Dobra igrala je četvrtu, pretposlednju, Špringerovu suprugu.

[34] Serge Mangin, *Väter der Einheit: Helmut Kohl, Mikhail S. Gorbatschow, George Bush*, tri biste, bronza i kamen, septembar 2010.

[35] Jednostavan spomen na staru crkvu, sadrži deo reljefa, fotografiju i tlocrt građevine.

[37] Zidana još 1484, pregradio ju je i proširio Simoneti 1689-93, potpuno obnovio Gerlah 1728-31, ponovo pregradio Šinkel 1838, obložena je terakotom 1878-79 a srušena u drugom svetskom ratu; ostaci su minirani 1961. i jedan deo novog krila Špringerove kule nalazi se na njenom mestu. Nova Jerusalimska crkva sazidana je malo dalje 1968. godine, a Špringer je finansirao izgradnju njenog zvonika.

[37] Stephan Balkenhol, *Balanceakt*, 2009. Obojena bronza, beton i 11 delova originalnog Berlinskog zida. U svom govoru pri otkrivanju ove skulpture, bivši predsednik Vajczeker istakao je da je Špringer bio jedan od retkih koji su uvek verovali u ponovno ujedninjenje. U. Baier, *Grenzgänger vor dem Axel-Springer-Haus*, Welt Online, 25. 5. 2009.

[38] Godinama posle pada Zida, čitav slučaj je ponovo izašao u javnost i pokrenuto je pitanje odgovornosti. Uporedi: S. Lehman, M. Sontheimer, *Das falsche Kaliber*, u: Der Spiegel, 52 (21. 12. 1998); *Ein Fluchtunnel an der Bautelle des Verlages*, u: Die Welt, 25. 5. 2009.

[39] Održao je tom prilikom istorijski govor koji se završava rečima: „(...) All free men, whereever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words: *Ich bin ein Berliner*."

[40] Berliner Ilustrierte, Sonderdruck 1963, b.p. (strane 56-57).

[41] Smatra se da je upravo u nameri da se zakloni pogled na Špringerovu zgradu, 1968. sa istočne strane Zida nastao kompleks zgrada u Leipziger Stasse.

[42] *Kokoschka malt Berlin*, Hamburg-Berlin: Axel Springer Verlag 1966, b.p. (7).

[43] Taj fotograf je Sven Simon (Axel Springer J. 1941-1980), Špringerov sin iz drugog braka, u svetu fotografije poznat po dva-tri istorijska snimka, koji zaslužuju posebno istraživanje.

[44] *Kokoschka malt Berlin*, Hamburg-Berlin: Axel Springer Verlag 1966, b.p. (7).

[45] Ibid.

[46] Prestolonaslednih Franc Ferdinand je, navodno, izjavio da tom momku treba polomiti sve kosti.

[47] Nemačku je napustio 1934. prešavši u Prag, iz kog je 1938. takođe morao da beži, kada je gotovo bez novca (navodno sa pet funti u džepu) poslednjim letom otišao u London.

[48] Posle rata portretisao je, pored ostalih, poznate ljude koji su odredili put nove Nemačke:

Hojsa (Theodor Heuss 1884-1963), prvog nemačkog posleratnog predsednika; Erharda (Ludwig Erhard 1897-1977), ministra ekonomije i tvorca nemačkog privrednog čuda; i Adenauera (Konrad Adenauer 1876-1967), kancelara 1949-63, koji je denacifikovao i uzdigao Nemačku, uveo demokratiju, vratio zemlji ugled i dao dalji pravac razvoja.

[49] Na Zidu su stradali mahom mladi ljudi.

[50] *Kokoschka malt Berlin*, Hamburg-Berlin: Axel Springer Verlag 1966, b.p.

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GENESIS AND USE OF AN IMAGE: OSKAR KOKOSCHKA, *BERLIN, AUGUST THE 13TH 1966*

Summary:
Oskar Kokoschka's painting *Berlin, August the 13th 1966* is somewhat surprising and brings up a series of questions (for example: how to recognize Berlin in it; why August the 13th; why does the atmosphere of the picture differ from other panoramic views of the same artist; etc). Trough the analysis of historical sources (maps, films, photographs, documents) and published works on the Berlin wall, it becomes clear that this image, painted at the 5th anniversary of the Wall, is a strong protest against a new phase in its development: after the initial closure and division of streets, East Germany organized demolition of some buildings in the city center, in order to create a clear space on the east side of the Wall. This painting is a unique *look over the Wall*, that inhabitants of west-Berlin took a number of times, but with one exception: this is not a private glance at friends or relatives that remained on the other side, this is a long gaze at the entire east part of the city (its landmarks could be scarcely recognized beyond the Wall) and a part of the nation that has been cut off.

The key person in the genesis of this painting was Kokoschka's client, Axel Springer (1912-1985), German newspaper magnate. It is clear that without him there would be no painting *Berlin, August the 13th 1966*. Springer is the one who made that creative moment possible, in which the old painter got his inspiration for the image of the divided city. Springer had the idea, he selected and engaged the artist and organized his stay in Berlin; he suggested him the point of view (top of his skyscraper); he provided technical and other conditions for work, eventually he bought the painting and he documented and published it along with adequate comments. Thus he used the painting, as well as famous painter's personality and background to promote and illustrate his ideology and his own political program, embedded in all of his editions.

Key words: Oskar Kokoschka, Berlin, Berlin wall, Axel Cäsar Springer

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

UDK BROJEVI: 7.01 ; 111.852 Merlo-Ponti M.; 7.038.53 Todosijević R.
ID BROJEVI: 190080012

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NAUK ODGONETANJA UMETNIČKOG POSLANSTVA IZMEĐU APORIJA ESTETIČKIH PARADIGMI I ŠAVOVA HERMENEUTIČKIH PARABOLA

Apstrakt:
Rad je posvećen, prividno izlišnom, pitanju čiji je prst na svodu Sikstinske kapele? Ako je Bog sveprisutan, čovek je grešan, prosto. Hteli – ne hteli u sekularnoj konformizaciji nauka je tu, prosto, da se veruje, a umetnosti je ostavljeno da je „ruka božja", nema šta da se pitaš. U tom *zdravorazumskom* stanju izlišnost se dovodi u pitanje, zapravo *odgonetanjem autorstva*. Najpre činjenicom da je racionalnoj nauci baš ovaj fenomen iznova aktuelan više od dva veka. U genezi naučne paradigme aporija je prirodno stanje. Tako se da misliti sledeći ne samo K. Poperovu determinantu o upitnosti objektivnog saznanja. *Kako* se naučnost istine mora otvoriti na pitanju istinitosti same u autorstvu, predmet je ove rasprave. Ovo je pokušaj primene iskustava fenomenologije M. Merlo-Pontija i hermeneutike poststrukturalističkih zrenja u kojima je logika *šavova na aporijama* estetičkih paradigmi više od samodovoljnog *objektivnog opisa* simbiotičkih stanja fenomena autorstva. Ili, u našem slučaju, koliko vredi pitanje: koliko je Rašin usklik *Gott liebt die Serben*, zapravo „krik nemoćnika"?

Ključne reči: hermeneutika, likovna umetnost,
autor, Moris Merlo-Ponti, Raša Todosijević

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Estetička nauka i umetnost

Iako se odnos dva pojma u naslovu ne nudi čitanju drugačije nego kao odnos ravnopravnih entiteta, zamislivo je da umetnost kao živa delatnost uslovljava naučni diskurs, naročito kao razumevajući i tumačeći. *Uticaj estetike na umetnost*, sugeriše neravnotežu entiteta, ali nam ostavlja za izbor da li na tom pravcu uticaja rekognosciramo estetiku kao nauku ili je potrebno da istu konotiramo kao opštu teoriju stvaralaštva. U praksi istorijskoumetničkog hermeneutičara ovo konotiranje spada gotovo u neizbežan greh istraživača. Grehovi su doduše raznovrsni, počev od generalno omiljenog utvrđivanja seksualnih sklonosti slikara, denunciranja zanatske nesavršenosti, pa obavezno dolazi završni greh: potvrditi diskurzivni alabandizam onog ko se izdaje za autora. Bez obzira, dakle na paklenu grešnost, istraživač ne odoleva izazovu da načini umnu paradigmu za razumevanje autora-proizvođača, a ovaj ne odoleva da iz svoje „nediskurzivne" pozicije fućka na istraživačevo „otvaranje očiju" koje mu se nudi. No, iako je i naše iskustvo na toj liniji, ne možemo a da se ne priklonimo Merlo-Pontijevoj *teoriji simultanosti viđenja* i da ne ostanemo pri svom *nacrtu paradigme* upravo gledajući na „fućkanje autora" kao svojevrsnu potvrdu hipoteze.

Besedi li M. Merlo-Ponti u prilog entitetske nealuzivnosti slikarevih slika

„Slikar ne može da se složi s tim", kaže M. Merlo-Ponti[1] „da je naše otvaranje svetu iluzivno ili indirektno, da ono što vidimo nije sâm svet i da se duh bavi samo svojim ili nekim drugim duhom". „Kartezijanac", kaže M. Merlo-Ponti, „može da veruje da postojeći svet nije vidljiv, da je jedina svetlost, svetlost duha i da se svako viđenje dešava u Bogu". Podsećajući se da je još L. Da Vinči proglašavao jednu „slikarsku nauku", M. Merlo-Ponti misli da viđenje nije jedan modus mišljenja ili prisustva u sebi: „to je sredstvo koje mi je dato da budem odsutan od sebe, da iznutra prisustvujem razbijanju bića, a samo na kraju ja se zatvaram u sebe". Uvažavajući renesansno nasleđe *otkrivanja sveta ljudskim okom*, M. Merlo-Ponti će samo ponoviti da oko treba shvatiti kao *prozor duše*, „oko čini čudo otvarajući duši ono što nije duša, *blagoslovenu* oblast stvari, a i njihovog boga *sunce*". Sam Merlo-Ponti govori, zapravo o nečemu što bi bila posledica *razbijanja*, dakle nečemu što je bliže *provali*, ili bar *procepu*, *proboju*, a dalje od, pogotovu albertijevske, predstave *slike-prozora*. Tako *slikar* „prihvata mit o *prozorima duše* sa svim njegovim teškoćama: ono što je bez mesta treba da bude prinuđeno na telo; još više: da ga telo uputi u sve druge i u prirodu. Treba doslovce shvatiti ono čemu nas viđenje uči: da njime dodirujemo sunce, zvezde, da smo istovremeno svuda, isto tako blizu dalekim kao i bliskim stvarima, i da, čak, naša moć da zamislimo da smo negde drugde i (...) da slobodno gledamo stvarna bića, bilo gde da su, da se ta moć pozajmljuje viđenju i zamenjuje sredstva koja iz njega dobijamo".

Ovaj princip „indirektne ontologije"[2] proizilazi iz suštine našeg odnosa prema biću. Biće nije dato našem pogledu. Nasuprot *predstavnog bića* „refleksivne filozofije", Merlo-Ponti ga drži u samom *viđenju*. „Mi vidimo zato što smo u samom biću. Objektivizam svodi biće na predmet zato što se udaljava od svoje perceptivne osnove".[3]

Nesumnjivo je da se, počev od Merlo-Pontija sve jasnije, filozofija više ne izražava kroz ideju istine kao *podudarnosti objektivnog i subjektivnog*. Ona je upitnost i svoje biće sobražava *upitnosti percepcije*. Percepcija je kod Merlo-Pontija „misao koja radije dopušta opaženom da se *pojavi* nego što ga postavlja". Opažanje *iz središta bića* (što će reći: celovito, smisleno i povezano) baš i omogućava pojavu *slike* kao „maksimuma ostvarene bliskosti u odnosu na zev bića".[4]

„Kao što vid ima svoju slepu tačku, *punctum caecum*, kaže Merlo-Ponti, tako i jasna i eksplicitna misao nosi za sobom svoj nevidljivi horizont čulnosti".[5] I dok se P. Francastel zadovoljavao otkrićem da se celovita predstava (*Gestalt*) rađa već u mrežnjači kao aktivnom delu mentalnog sistema, Merlo-Ponti tvrdi da se svaka „misao događa u jednoj púti *(la chair)*". Ideja ima svoju podlogu čulnosti na kojoj izranja i u tome je razlika između ovog i idealističkog stava koji misao odvaja od čulnosti, pretpostavljajući da postoji jedna izvesnost misli za sebe.

Viđenje je za Merlo-Pontija unikum, jer nas „jedino ono uči da su različita bića, *spoljašnja – strana jedno drugom,* ipak apsolutno zajedno, ono nas uči *simultanosti*".[6] Slikarevo viđenje, kao nešto što je iz središta bića, dopušta pojavu *slike,* kao maksimum ostvarenja bliskosti između smisla, koji joj je imanentan, i povezanosti, korelacijama, koje se dopuštaju u recepciji – ne u postvarenju. *Simultanost* je najsličniji opis stanja u koje ulazimo kada u dodiru sa slikarstvom dopustimo da se *slike roje*. *Rojenje* potvrđuje telesno pravo na pojavu raznorodnih predstava, a *viđenje iz bića* je, kao *smislenost i povezanost*, strukturalno uređenje značenjskih tokova (*procesa značenjske proizvodnje smisla).*

U prilog komunikativnosti *nealuzivne* produkcije

Samosvojnost je *conditio sine qua non* umetnosti koji se potvrđuje, da parafraziramo modernističku, za estetiku presudnu emancipatorsku teoriju, kada aluzivnost proizilazi *iz* načina pojavljivanja umetničkog „saopštenja", a ne iz samog „prikazanog" u umetnikovoj objavi. U tom socijalnom činu, sa pastišom eminencije, referira se *na* okolinu kao prirodni kontekst jedne od delatnosti kojima se potvrđuje čovekovo prisustvo u svetu. Pomenuti pastiš pribavlja mu ubeđenje o sebi kao jednom od temeljnih htenja (utopija o socijalnoj, kao stvarnoj – *wie das*, „moći" umetnosti). Umetnost tako, kao artikulacija svesti o svetu i sebi u njemu, nema poziciju delanja *od sebe ka svetu*, već *ka sebi* kao temeljnoj činjenici. Stoga umetnost, budući da je činilac globalne strukture čovekovih relacija, proishodi iz aluzivnog stanja svesti, ali je sama već *nadaluzivna* (to je stanje kreativne umišljenosti, faza projektovanja). Onda, pak, kada je svest artikulisana u umetničkom procesu, tada je umetnički čin jedna njena manifestacija. Sve manifestne forme: delanje i oblici, kao procesi i postvarenja, i jesu podložni i najpre primereni aluzivnim sklopovima. No, tada je to smer dejstva od (izvan) umetnosti ka celini zbivanja u stvarnosti.

U sistemu umetnosti, dakle, u kome učestvuju i delo i postupci i recepcija umetničkog produkcijskog i predmetnog delovanja, ne možemo više da pravdamo poziciju ontološke samodovoljnosti, samozadovoljenja u delu i liku. Kao deo zbilje za

čiju objavu ingerencije uzima umetnički sistem, mora se uzeti opredmećenje fenomena koji dejstvuje, koji je dinamičan. Iako respektivno nasleđe klasične misli ovo opredmećenje zadržava na nivou *oličenja* (Platonov *eidos*), nema više situacije strogih disciplinarnih i isključivo diskurzivnih zahteva, i ono što je razčinjeno (artikulisano) u procesu spoznaje, vraća se (nudi se) novoj, uzvratnoj fazi spoznaje, fazi usvajanja slika (totaliteta) stvarnosti, zapravo novom umišljanju koje se zbiva u svesti recipijenta, a zbog kojeg je svaki um u toj poziciji mogući stvaralac, kako je to voleo da veruje Jozef Bojs. U toj fazi odbegavanja-uzrastanja slika od genetskog specifikuma, kao bitan vezivni element u gradnji neke globalne slike, naveliko radi aluzivnost. Ne treba zaboraviti da je to pozicija koju ima i bilo koji drugi činilac spoznaje sveta, odnosno gradnje slike o svetu, te da u specifičnom genetskom smislu, ta posledična, komunikacijska aluzivnost nikako nije onaj bitan činilac slike o umetničkoj spoznaji sveta.

Ovo je slučaj umetnika Raše Todosijevića u projektu Gott liebt die Serben

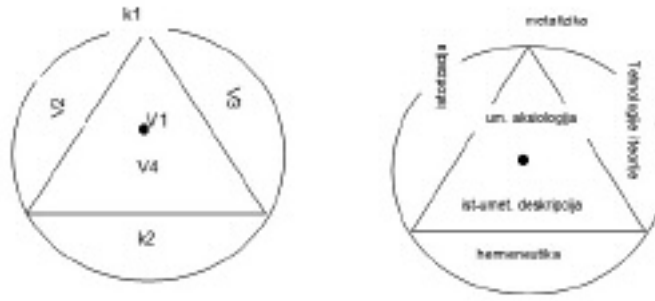
Paradigma

Semiološko-hermeneutičko teoretisanje izmicalo je dilemama koje smo imenovali kao ključne: višak stvarnosti u slikovnoj komunikaciji, stvarnost ispred označitelja i nakon označenog, slika kao znak u umetnosti kao dobar signal a uznemirujući simptom...

Kako od teorijskog modela doći do paradigmatske prakse?

Pragmatički model pokriva:
1) proces koji u socijalnom kontekstu proizvodi *pitanje o stvari samoj (eidos)*
2) *prostor* pojave fenomena
3) *zbivanje*, koje ustrojava određenim gradivom
4) *ime* procesa
5) produkcijsko *stanje*

Šematski prikaz:



K1 je prva *konstanta* u sistemu i pripada metafizičkom diskursu: stvar sama.

V1 je prva *varijabla* (stvaranje je pitanje individue) u sistemu i pripada nauci o umetnosti : pitanje stvaranja.

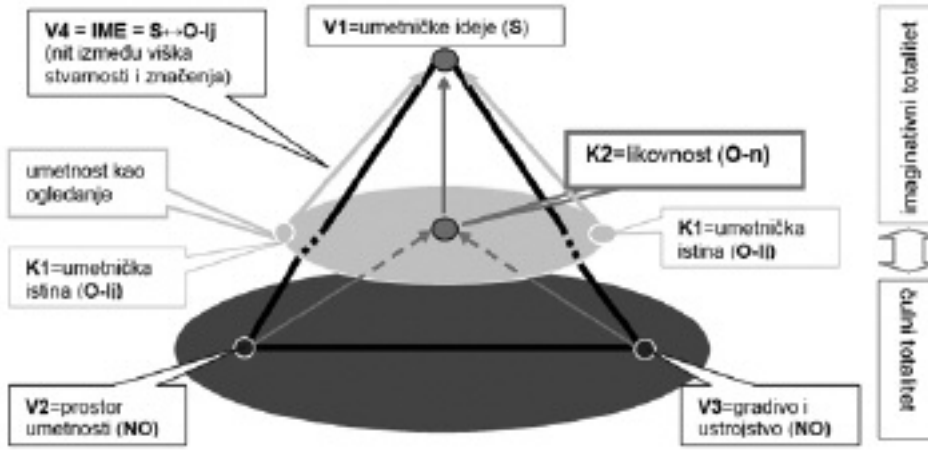
V2 je druga *varijabla* sistema i pripada istorizaciji: prostor pojave fenomena.

V3 je treća *varijabla* sistema i čine je, na supsemiotičkom nivou, gradivo i, na produkcijskom nivou, ustrojstvo. V3 pripada teoriji likovne prakse koja ima svoju Tehnologiju i Teoriju oblikovanja, a udružene opisuju: zbivanje.

V4 je četvrta *promenljiva* sistema i pripada praksi tumača (istorijsko-umetničko tumačenje): imenovanje.

K2 je druga je *konstanta* sistema i tiče se besposrednost, tj. čiste referalnosti, one koja je nealuzivna izvan stvari same, tj. pitanja stvaranja. Ova konstanta pripada hermeneutici likovnih sistema: potvrda je nealuzivnosti.

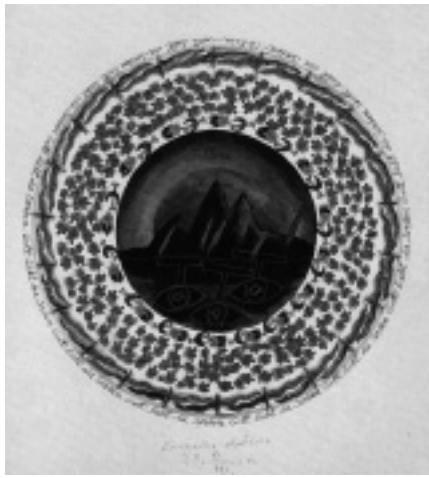
Pragmatički model za razumevanje projekta *Gott liebt die Serben*:



Drugi ilustrativni cinizam praktičnog diskursa bavi se istim modelom konvergentnog isčitavanja porekla, zakonitosti i razloga (geneze, sintakse i teleologije) jednog savremenog umetničkog projekta *(Gott liebt die Serben)*. Višemedijalno, nadtekstualno tkan diskurs (o „Bogu i ljudima“) Platonovom idejom istine fundira nam *proviđenje kao umetnost* (i obrnuto).

U budućnost po Platonovu ideju istine

> *„Dobar deo ljudske aktivnosti čini straćena ili izopačena energija, ratovanje, ishranjivanje parazitske klase, podizanje spomenika paranoidnim osvajačima i sl. Istinski rad koji se temelji na potrebi za hranom i skloništem, ide u pravcu pretvaranja prirode u svet ljudskog obličja, značenja i funkcije. (...) U takvom radu ima nečeg stvaralačkog (...) svet rada je izraz želje, a ne samo potrebe: čovek stvarno hoće ono što se iz njegovog pozitivnog i proizvodnog rada vidi da hoće.“ (N. Fraj,* Veliki kod(eks)*)*



RAŠA TODOSIJEVIĆ,
SLOVENAČKA ATINA (1991)

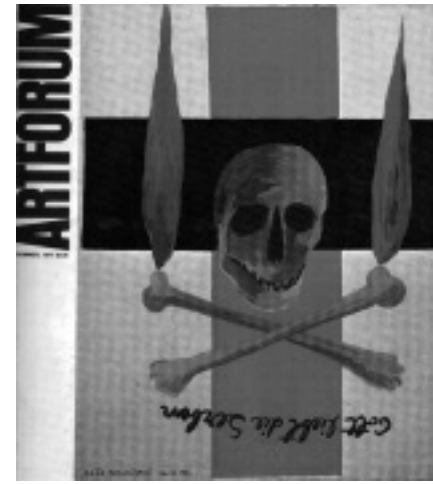
Ime: *Gott liebt die Serben*, 1989.

Ako se makar za trenutak, toliko koliko zahteva nužnost jezičkog izražavanja onog što je mišljeno o viđenom, priguši polemičnost *adequtio*-a reči i slike, ustvrđenog u Vitgenštajnovom iskazu „ime je slika stvari", mogli bi izvesti pretpostavku da proces imenovanja nagoveštava spoznaju stvari. Ako je, potom, to imenovanje, kao u slučaju Raše Todosijevića, izvedeno u drugom jeziku, onda to najpre govori o složenosti projekta *Gott liebt die Serben*. Osim strukturalne (retorske i likovne) dvostranosti, kao formalne manifestacije složenosti, ovo imenovanje nagoveštava suštinsko usložavanje umetničkog govora. Posmatramo li ono vidljivo slojevanje retorskog i slikovnog govora kao manifestaciju komplementarnosti nepotpunog *adequatio*-a reči i slike, specifikovanje one *druge* drugosti baš u nemačkom jeziku, moglo bi se razumeti kao upućivanje na semantičke prednosti jednog zrelog jezika. Zrelost nemačkog naučnog jezika je reprezentativna upravo za epohu prosvećenosti, kada je, kako je to tumačeno kod Horkheimera, Adorna i Gadamera, osnovni pojam – Bildung – određen kao „uzdizanje putem obrazovanja do humaniteta".[7i] U rasponu od prirodnog obrazovanja *(natürliche Bildung)*, „koje podrazumeva prirodno proizvedenu tvorevinu", do kulturnog obrazovanja, koje označava „čoveku svojstven način da izobrazi (ausbilden) svoje prirodne sklonosti i sposobnosti",[8] stoji i Humboldtovo tumačenje *Bildunga* kao „načina mišljenja koji se iz spoznaje i osećanja celokupnog duhovnog i moralnog nastojanja harmonično izliva na osećaj i karakter".[9] U osnovi reči čijim se određivanjem, dakle, merila moć i određivao stepen saznanja, stoji reč *Bild* – obraz. Za razliku od razvojnih humanističkih tumačenja, koja su dovela do današnje upotrebe reči obrazovanje, mističku tradiciju, „po kojoj čovek u duši nosi i treba da oblikuje obraz (božiji)",[10] mogla je da očuva samo ona druga, u govorni jezik ne svodljiva, slikovna proizvodnja.

Moglo bi se naslutiti da je, ne prepuštajući se Platonovoj diskvalifikaciji slikarske proizvodnje, kao čisto ontičke, pred retoričkom, koja je istovremeno i ontička i ontološka, tj. jednovremeno i razlikovna i oblikovna, nemačko jezičko izdržavanje konkurencije koju je u aristotelskoj tradiciji reči obraz *(Bild)* činila latinska reč *forma*, bilo je pre svega omogućeno očuvanjem one tajanstvene dvostranosti kojom *Bild* obuhvata istovremeno i kopiju slike *(Nachbild)* ali i uzor sam *(Vorbild)*. Moglo bi se, dalje, ustvrditi da, upravo na toj ivici racionalnosti, slikarstvo igra svoju igru umetnosti.

Za, do sad pokazani, Todosijevićev način stvaranja, moglo bi se reći da ga znatno osniva igra istina, kao način stvaranja, stvaranja kao zavođenja. Ta igra je, umnogome i često u njegovom radu, stvarana na retorici, tzv. umetničkih izjava, koje aludiraju na zbijenost semantike sentencija ili, pak, semantika ideologija. Ta im-

postacija odluke govora kroz drugog (zavođenja) može se naslutiti od njegovog performansa *Was ist Kunst?* ili pratiti od *Art Story* (počev od 1981. i dalje) ili „pikasovskih" crteža (iz istih godina), do projekta *Gott liebt die Serben (1991)*.



GOTT LIEBT DIE SERBEN,
KORICE ČASOPISA ARTFORUM (1991)

Gott liebt die Serben jeste dvostran, komplementaran projekt kojim deluju dve tehnike istog izobražavanja: retorsko i likovno građenje slike. Formalno gledano, projekt je prevazišao Platonov raskol između različitih načina proizvodnji i ponudio jednovremeno razlikovno i oblikovno proizvođenje. Ovo drugo, opet, ima pun govor, tj. oba vida artikulacije: i slikarski proizvod i skulptorski proizvod. Time je, može se tako videti, potencirana teorija slike kao idejne i kao stvarne tvorevine. Čini se, dalje, da je, ulazeći ovim projektom u retorsku jezgrovitost (tipa sentence), Raša Todosijević, upravo na iskustvu široke retoričnosti svojih *Story*, raspustio slikovnu artiktilaciju novog projekta.

Naslovljavanje

Ime ovog projekta, kao uostalom i imenovanje prethodnih projekata Raše Todosijevića – *10 000 linija u Galeriji, Was ist Kunst?, Art Story* – navlači recepciju, kako se, inače, naslovljavanjima umetničkog rada hoće, na jasnost denotative ravni. Ta jasnost, kako se, inače u posmatranju umetničke proizvodnje mora, provocira pitanje: kako *jeste*, to što je jasno, kao i čemu *to*. Iza tih uzvratnih procesa u kojima isplivavaju konotacijski slojevi umetničkog rada, promeće se penušava semantika površne recepcije. Naslovljavanje je, stoga, deo celovitog oblikovnog procesa, zapravo postupak *izvođenja* semantika umetničke proizvodnje. Proizvodnje koja je oblikovanje kao igra, a ovde igra obrtanja, pre svega. To izvođenje valja posmatrati kao formalno i kao ikonografsko.

U pogledu ikonografskog sadržaja jasno je da u ovim radovima, zapravo, ne postoji direktna prohodnost po horizontalnim slojevima. Prikazivački model koji bi nedvosmisleno vezao amblematsku figuru za određeno konvencionalno značenje, ovde je samo privid koji se ulaže u igru. Samo okretanje po vertikali, počev već od naslova projekta, kao i uopšte i često primenjeno okretanje u prikazima na ovim radovima, (npr. krstova, menora i sl, za 180º ili prikaza potpunog ukruženja – kružno slikani tekstovi i simboli u prstenu oko amblematskog prikaza teatra) ukazuje na kompletan projekt nealuzivnog oblikovanja. Može biti paradoksalno u tolikom predmetnom prikazivanju videti slikovnu nealuzivnost, no nalazimo da je u pitanju oblikovanje koje ima svoju istinu i iz nje semantiku. Posledično gledano, to jeste se-

mantika koja i retorski (razlikovno, logički) konotira jezovitost, ali je ona, pre svega, primarno oblikovno, slikovno-denotativno, jezovita. To pred-retorsko, prelogičko, primarno oblikovno, upravo je jezovito svojim načinom neumoljivog obrtanja gotovo konačno (retorski) jasnih prikaza. Nije, dakle na delu oblikovanje kao „drugi način proizvodnje" one iste, inače već retorski oformljene semantike. Nije, iako izgleda da jeste, u pitanju još jedna aluzija na postojeće, već, pre svega, „jedini način" uopšte, da čovek izrazi svoje prirodne sklonosti i sposobnosti, a time, zapravo, izobrazi istinu, tj. razkrije sebi (i drugima) obraz spoznatog.

Izobražljivost je prevashodno lično svojstvo, ali je sposobnost izobražavanja istine, zapravo, lična sklonost ka opštim, svima primerenim vrednostima. Razotkrivajući tu sklonost, otkrivamo proviđenje oblikovaoca – Raše Todosijevića. Semantika tog oblikovanja ne konotira jezovitost zbog amblematske upućenosti na jednovrsne poruke, kojom je opremljen ovaj projekt. Količina, kao i opredeljenje za gornji sektor retorske hijerarhije jasnosti ovih Todosijevićevih slika namerno su, čini se, banalizovani estetizovanim uformljenjem. Čini se da nije slučajno biran određeni manir (*a la* Kle, npr), koji, u tradiciji posleratne recepcije Moderne, izvesno, konotira estetizovano ushićenje.

Obrćući naglavce, unutar tog prostora lakog zavođenja, pojedine simbole, ili cele amblematske predstave, Raša Todosijević obrće očekivanu (amblematsku) izvesnost semantike horizontalnog čitanja slike i proizvodi stanje neočekivane nelagodnosti. Takvi su, na primer, prikazi ugaraka krstova pobodenih u podlogu koja je prikazana u motivu mnogookog repa pauna, kao simbola večnog života, što bi bilo ono prvo, konvencionalno i u igru uloženo značenje, ali i isprazne samodovoljnosti, kao konotiranog sloga koji može da uputi na druge ciljeve prikaza. Izrazito je, u istom smislu, ukruživanje krstova, gde krug stvara semantičku nelagodu zbog izvesnog raskola koji se ukazuje pred jasnoćom ukazivanja na celinu i večnost, koliko i na uvučenost i patnje. Čini se kao da, umnožavajući broj prikazivački prepoznatljivih motiva, koje uvodi u oblikovano i ikonografski konvencionalizovane poretke, Raša Todosijević nastoji da i u recepciji svoje igre održi stanje vruće učestalosti obrta, koji se odvijaju između zdravorazumski viđene i mistički mišljene stvarnosti.

Semantika oblikovaoca koji izobražava razotkrivajući, konotira jezovitost jer, pre svega, otresa u svom obrtanju iluziju ushićenja amblematikom stradalništva. I istorizacija i estetizacija stradalništva, kao jedine sudbine za sve ono što treba i mora da bude sa etničkim predznakom, gotovo sinhrono su (ne samo na ovim nacionalnim prostorima) učestvovali u mitotvorstvu. Očišćavati se, u izobražavanju kao prosvećenju, od svih spoljašnjih, nestvaralačkih, aluzivnih slojeva, sve do same istine stvarnosti, postupak je oblikovanja koji nam nanovo predočava istinski odnos sa svetom i sobom. To što nam recepcija tog odnosa nudi jezovitost, samo doprinosi našoj veri u proviđenje autora. Jezovitost dolazi, naravno, ne od toga što je razmitotvorenje skrnavljenje, već od očišćenja koje nas je spojilo sa onom stvarnošću koju smo prevideli. A to je stanje kada je, iako moguće jasno, sve pre neizvesno.

Prikazivanje

U već opisanim oblikovnim procesima, kao medij u kome se ostvaruje stvaralačka igra, javlja se slikovni prikaz, gotovo čistog iluzionističkog roda. Prikaz, kao modus realizacije, podrazumeva jaku statičku snagu u sebi. Zbog toga je, čini se, mirovanje, kao spoljašnji izgled, vidljiva karakteristika ovih radova, za razliku od najvećeg broja svih ranijih umetničkih projekata ovog autora, a pre svega performansa. To mirovanje je, u prikazivačkom smislu, kao fiksiranje slike, a, zapravo, manifestacija *prisustva obraza*. Njegova udarna pojava je monumentalna skulptura, kao forma koja, nedvosmisleno stvarno, akcentuje *prisustvo*. Taj akcent, posmatran u vremenu u kome se odvijao dosadašnji rad Raše Todosijevića, može da obeleži prelom u praksi jedne vrste prisustva; prisustva koje ne artikuliše i ne umnožava manifestne forme, prisustva koje se oslanjalo na rad koji je bio redukovan na suštastvo, ili na moguće oblike tautologije. Ovo akcentovanje dolazi, u tom eventualnom nizu iščitavanja, i kao komplementer tom starom, pređenom, tautološkom obliku. Uz građenje monumentalne skulpture, u njenom podnožju, fotografisan je sam autor, što bi se dalo simbolički videti kao unošenje *podobraza (podlika)* u jedan ostavreni projekt oličavanja. Budući da je taj podobraz lik samog autora, ovaj komplementer i jeste, po nama, nastavak potvrde jednog istinskog autorskog projekta. Sama pojava lika autora konotira i intimizaciju obrazbe (onu ugođajnu, u ljudskim dimenzijama shvaćenu, dimenzijama konzumenta). U tom privoljavanju na denotativnu jasnoću, jasno je i to, da se ne radi o *uglednom izobražavanju*. Ne radi se, u tom projektu Raše Todosijevića, o *uformljenju* likova, po modelu *information,* već o samom obrazovanju *(Bildung)* Lika *(Bild)*. A Lik (u onoj mističkoj tradiciji: božji) je *bezvidljiv* – ne spada u vidljivo, te mu se ne može dati samo slika-kopija *(Nachbild)*. On je, *a priori,* bez lika u formi figure, te je zbog toga samo, ali i sama, mogućnost obrazovanja („sama čista ideja lika"), tj. „oblikovanja obraza božijeg". Time, instrument, koji istura Raša Todosijević, i hoće da ukaže na nešto slično onom što podrazumeva dvostranost kojom lik (*Bild*) „obuhvata istovremeno i kopiju i uzor sam".[11]

Stoga je manje važno, čini se, kojoj semantičkoj lekturi podvesti gotovo heraldičku ikonografiju ovih radova, koliko je bitno ući u rekonstrukciju uspostavljenog sistema bazične slike projekta *Gott liebt die Serben*. U toj prevashodnosti istaći će se osnovni sadržaj umetničkog rada. A on se ovde, iako na prvi pogled nenadano, situira u delovanju koje ništa drugo do („u tehničkom smislu") prizvodi Lik. Mislimo, zapravo, da Raša Todosijević, u platonovskom smislu umetnosti „kao tehnike veštog proizvođenja po meri (izgledu) svih stvari", nudi rad kao obraz *(Bild)*, koji ukazuje na „čoveku svojstven način da izobrazi (*ausbilden*) svoje prirodne sklonosti i sposobnosti".[19] Po tome Raša Todosijević potvrđuje umetnost kao autonomnu, prirodnom radu ravnopravnu veštinu proizvođenja.

Čini se da mu je u tome jednako važan i odnos prema umetnosti, tj. da mu je važno da *načini alegoriju umetnosti*, koliko i odnos prema neposrednoj stvarnosti života, tj. da tim starim alegorijskim načinom retorskog otkrivanja, demonstrira oblikovnu moć, moć oblikovne istine – *moć istine u umetnosti*.[13]

Paradigma i višak u tumačenju
Sudbina preostalog (*reste*) u značenjskom lancu

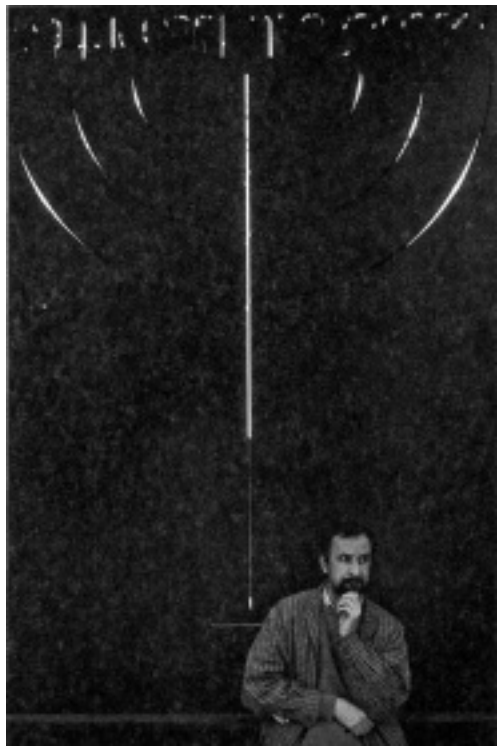
(Plodni) višak na koji se računa u svakom semiološkom postupku, u tumačenju *Gott liebt die Serben* je nagovešten pozivanjem na Gadamerovu tvrdnju da je rad na slici *(Bild)* „čoveku svojstven način da izobrazi (*ausbilden*) svoje prirodne sklonosti i sposobnosti". Mislimo da je isto imao u vidu Sloterdijk, kada je konciprao svoj kiničko-cinički sistem razumevanja. On će nam popuniti *plodni višak,* a ujedno i poslužiti kao argument protiv *hroničarske dovoljnosti* istorije umetnosti.

RAŠA TODOSIJEVIĆ,
GOTT LIEBT DIE SERBEN (1989)

Hroničarstvo i njegova sistematizacija po principima *ključnih ideja*

Da li se projekt *Gott liebt die Serben*, kao deo sistema Raše Todosijevića, može iscrpeti u dosledno izvedenoj sociološkoj analizi koja naknadno objašnjava hroničarske činjenice. Po pravilu ne dovodeći u pitanje determinisanost društvenih pojava, sociološki fundirana istorizacija koja se pojavila u retrospekciji opusa Raše Todosijevića[14] „pegla" oštricu problematizacije (do konstatacije o autoru kao *enfant terriblle*). Problematizacija je obećavala uvođenje u *razumevanje sa učešćem* – aktivizam koji je imanentan (stvaralačkom prisustvu) radu Raše Todosijevića, a on ne podrazumeva blagougodno objašnjenje socijlne drugačijosti ovog umetnika. Taj pristanak na *blagougodno objašnjenje* samo bi potvrdio da smo se upecali na Rašine „apele" da se opskrbi (zaslužni) umetnik. Mislimo da su apeli da se „umetnost plati", zapravo insistiranje da se ona adekvatno socijalno valorizuje (ovo bi uključivalo taj finansijski konformizam koji, istini za volju, u Rašinoj viziji dolazi kao posledica *pravedne raspodele društvenog dohotka*) što je – kao podrazumevajuće, ovde od manje važnosti ali što je neophodna stepenica za otvoreno polje interakcije. Raši Todosijeviću treba aktivni trošitelj arta (radovi sa svim varijantama *Brande Name Todosijević R.* na to ukazuju).

Zapravo, istorizacija koja kao kriterijum uzima objektivan snimak stanja u socijalnom okruženju, što će reći najpribiižniju verbalizaciju izjednačavanje objekatskog i subjektskog, tj. otkrivanja i dokazivanja racionalnim postupcima činjenica, mora da se završi frazama, apodiktički, poput: *jedinstvena pojava,* ili, *primer emancipovanja*.[15] Sam



RAŠA TODOSIJEVIĆ ISPRED RADA IZVEDENOG U OKVIRU PROJEKTA "UŠĆE 1990"

autor nasuprot jalovoj konvenciji, ističe: „Naša tela i naše ideje jesu naš jedini kapital", čime se, nesvesno svrstao u pokret aktivizma koji je krajem šezdesetih inspirisan tezom ,,telo-duha" M. Merlo-Pontija. Opaska „nesvesno" nije retka u rekonstruktivnom „čitanju" istoričara, a ovde se odnosi na činjenicu da se prevod M. Merlo-Pontijevog eseja *Oko i duh* pojavio u Beogradu 1968. godine, a da ga Todosijević nije poznavao, a ostao je neprimećen i za ondašnje hroničare i kritičare likovne scene. Tako mu se kao istoričari SKC zbivanja, inače onovremeni promoteri u istoj instituciji, obraćaju kao izvoru za tumačenje 30 godina kasnije.

Raša T. i M. Merlo-Ponti

„Socijalno koordinirane tehnike raspolaganja telom – koje formiraju individualne telesne habituse – kroz performans se destabilizuju pošto tu dolazi do prevazilaženja dualizma između takozvanog 'objektivnog' tela upisanog u 'objektivni' socijalni prostor i onoga što M. Merlo-Ponti naziva 'vlastitim ili fenomenalnim' telom koje, kroz osmišljenu akciju, zadobija moć da samo sebe transformiše u samosvojni psihofizički agregat. Tako Todosijevićevi apsurdni gestovi farbanja fikusa, mrcvarenja ribe demonstriraju emancipatorske tehnike raspolaganja telom koje su podjednako utemeljene u materijalnom realizmu fizičke akcije i mentalnom realizmu Todosijevićevog umetničkog koncepta lišenog simboličkih, spiritualizovanih, ritualnih i sličnih konotacija, 'Političko telo' Bojana Pejić dalje ne elaborira. Ali, da bi telo postalo generatorom političke intervencije potrebno je uspostaviti internu gramatiku i sintaksu govora tela, a potom trasformisati telo u znak ili označitelj".[16]

Sama umetnost je, po snazi intervencije, socijalnom dejstvu, politici delovanja, isto što i politička praksa, te ne treba tražiti da interveniše u tom smislu. Takođe, lingvistički model semiotičke analize, koji se predlaže, nikako ne može, ni kao ponuda, da se automatski primeni, a najviše je to zaludno kada je u pitanju slikovna umetnička aktivnost. Pogotovo se to odnosi na one forme *pikturalne umetnosti* („vertikalna i nesvodljiva dimenzija perceptivnog sveta") koja, sledeći flozofiju *telo-duh* („bića u kretanju tela" – M. Merlo-Ponti), kako bi trebalo da bude sa performansom. Model lingvističkog znaka, kao statične, sistemom govornog sintaksički zatvorene komunikacije,

predlaže se za tumačenje performansa Raše Todosijevića, na nepodnošljivoj blizini citiranog (rabljenog u interpretaciji B. Pejić) modela fenomenološke hermeneutike, koji, reklo bi se širokogrudošću Merlo-Pontija podstiče fenomenološko-hermeneutičko-semiotičko objašnjenje. Šansa je upravo u podsticaju koji je Merlo-Ponti dao određenjem Bića u *telo-duhu* i uvođenjem instrumenta „puti".

Biće u *telo-duhu* svojom kretnjom (otkrivanjem) ne pojednačava objekatsko-subjekatsku stvarnost, već u toj formuli (nelingvističkoj paradigmi!) insistira na realnom *višku* značenja. Pre nego što nastavimo Merlo-Pontijevim metodom, čini se potrebnim da se podsetimo kako je pitanje *viška značenje* recepirano u lingvističkoj nauci. „Ukazivanjem na prevagu označitelja jezik otržemo ne samo od modela znaka nego i od (kod semiotičara uvek implicitnog, bar od stoika naovamo) modela komunikacije. Ovo postaje očigledno kada se formuli 'znak je ono što za nekoga predstavlja nešto' suprotstavi formula 'označitelj je ono što za neki drugi označitelj predstavlja subjekt'. Nauci koja se (bar od Dekarta naovamo) temeljila na 'zašivanju' mesta subjekta i na postuliranju spoljašnosti objekta se, kao nužnosti, nameće potreba da u sferu svega onog što stoji u vezi sa značenjem nanovo uvede načelo dvostrukog nedostajanja – nedostajanja subjekta i nedostajanja objekta. (...) Taj se subjekt, koji je pod uticajem delovanja označitelja podeljen, može izdvojiti jedino unutar strukture koja obuhvata opisane kretnje, i da se, s druge strane, njegova podeljenost ukazuje kao nešto što preostaje**,** a to je upravo objekt".[17]

Ovaj višak *(reste)* nije tek tehnička činjenica, recimo sintaksičkog lanca, već jedan kreativni element procesa koji se ne odvaja od *pitanja***,** a ono je kod Merlo-Pontija, ne pitanje suštine, nego pitanje koje produkuje „dinamičku znakovitu proizvodnju", gde se proces ne završava sintaksički, to jest zatvorenom jezičkom produkcijom – porukom. Naprotiv, pitanje ovu produkciju drži kao otvoreni proces nalaženja jedinstva *duha-tela,* nalaženjem ideja u telu u procesu *stvaranja homolognih stanja* (između onog stoje, uglavnom diskurzivno i onog što je, uglavnom čulno). Merlo-Pontijeva formula *vidljivo i ono koje vidi* počiva na ubeđenju da „nemi svet nikada nije dat kao objekt, već je on za nas SREDINA u kojoj samo saznanje i istina dobijaju svoj smisao".[19]

Lakoća aluzivnog cinizma vs težina seksualnog cinizma

Podsticajna je tvrdnja Gadamera da je rad na slici „čoveku svojstven način da izobrazi (*ausbilden*) svoje prirodne sklonosti i sposobnosti". Sloterdijk, pak, vidi seksualni cinizam u činjenici da je blizina prirodne stvarnosti najveća u genitalijama. Da ne bi izgledalo da prebrzo (zlo)upotrebljavamo uočene homologije, podsetićemo na uobičajeno trošenje značenja *aluzivan* kao svojstvo slikanog. Ovo svojstvo računa na konvenciju *objektivnog* shvatanja sveta, po kojoj je istna u predmetnom svetu i samo je treba otkriti. Ovo je i najzastupljenija ideja u metodologije trome, hroničarske istorije umetnosti.

Kako je već potencirano *istina nije u poklapanju objekta u subjektu,* već (potrošimo još jednom Merlo-Pontijevu zadužbinu) već u *telo-duhu.* Zbog toga i naša uporna tvrdnja da *figure* kod Raše Todosijevića nisu objekt-subjekt interpretacije sveta,

sa pripadajućim značenjskim konvencijama, već kretnje *telo-duha* koje otvaraju akivnost učesnika u projektu, kretnje koje računaju na interakcijsku proizvodnju značenja. U toj *prozvodnji* cinički je početni stav autora prema konvenciji, i zbog toga ćemo podsetiti na Jakobsonovu *tehniku* značenjskih obrazaca. Kinički je pak osećaj pripadnosti zajednici *stvaralačkog pogleda* – pogleda iz Bića, u kojoj je jedino moguće poslanstvo umetnosti.

Evo podsetnika: „Tek na nivou značenjskog lanca Jakobsonova formula da su metafora i metonimija (selekcija i kombinovanje) dve ose jezika biva zamenjena Lakanovim formulama: (1) Kondenzacija je metafora kojom subjekt iskazuje potisnuto značenje svoje želje, i (2) pomeranje je metonimija kojom se označava šta je želja, želja za nečim drugim što uvek nedostaje. Naime, u osnovi tih dvaju formula stoji ideja da se trop ne dobija prostom zamenom označitelja jedne reči označiteljom one druge reči koja se koristi umesto nje. Metafora je, ustvari, upad u jedan lanac jednog označitelja koji pripada nekom drugom lancu i koji, na taj način, prelazi preko ('odbrambene') crte algoritma da bi, svojim prodorom potresao označenik prvog lanca, u kojem proizvodi efekat besmisaonosti i time potvđuje da 'smisao' postoji 'pre subjekta'.
Što se metonimije tiče, manje je važno to što se jednom rečju upućuje na neku drugu reč, sa kojom prva stoji u odnosu kontigviteta; važnije je to što se metonimijom označava osnovna funkcija unutar značenjskog lanca: funkcija nedostajanja. Naime, povezanost označitelja omogućava da se u jedan diskurs 'prebacuje' ono što u njemu uprkos svemu uvek nedostaje, a to je uživanje".[18]

A posledica je u sledećem zaključku.

Usud Mnemozininih kćeri da u zanosnoj formi očuvaju pamćenje, primili su u novo doba veštaci (i tumači) za proizvodnju i očuvanje kulturne produkcije. Očekuje se da njihova zakletva efikasno neutrališe opasnost od zanošenja u nestvarno i od zavođenja nepostojećim. Jedan od temeljnih cinizama vlasti (institucija...) je da sama piše svoju istoriju, potpuno ignorišući povesnice (ili ignorišući neumitnost povesti). Cinizam vlasti, dakako, moguć je samo na veri svih ostalih (to jest *ogromne većine)* u pošten društveni ugovor. „Narodu je sve logično što je prirodno", tvrdnja je koja je najbliža kiničkom odnosu čoveka spram stvarnosti, kako nas na Diogenov stav podseća Sloterdijk. Da bi pravila svoju istoriju (ova joj se oduvek podavala), vlast prenosi usud pamćenja na *sve ostale.* Usud je, dakako, u tome da se istorija ponavlja, a kinički odnos je prirodan i prema ponavljanju grešaka. Oživljavajući je kao učiteljicu života, cinizam „profetske" vlasti računa na kiničku razumljivost usuda, te čuva *sve (ostale)* od onog čemu stvarno uču povest, a rasvetljava ono što je istoricistički umišljaj.

Može li se pomisliti da se Muza može zaneti? Dakako ne, ali da Muza može *zaneti,* svakako da. Zbog činjenice da je blizina prirodne stvarnosti najveća u genitalijama, lako je razlučiti da cinici prostituišu istoriju a da je usud kinika da im je povest silovana.

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[1] M. Merleau-Ponty, *Oko i duh*, Beograd 1968, 34.
[2] S. Prošić, „Merlo-Pontijeva dijalektika vidljivog“, u: *Ideje*, 1/87, 1987, 35-50.
[3] Nav. delo, 45.
[4] M. Merleau-Ponty, *Visible et l'invisible. Suivi de notes de travail*, Gallimard, Paris 1964, 170.
[5] M. Merleau-Ponty, *Signes*, Gallimard, Paris 1961, 55.
[6] M. Merleau-Ponty, *Oko i duh*, 35.
[7] H-G. Gadamer, *Istina i metoda*, Sarajevo 1978, 36.
[8] Nav. delo.
[9] Nav. delo.
[10] Nav. delo.
[11] Nav. delo.
[12] Nav. delo.
[13] Nav. delo.
[14] D. Sretenović, „Umetnost kao društvena praksa“, u: *Hvala Raši Todosijeviću*, Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd 2002
[15] Nav. delo.
[16] Nav. delo.
[17] O. Dikro, C. Todorov, *Enciklopedijski rečnik nauka o jeziku*, 1-2, Prosveta, Beograd 1987, 319.
[18] M. Merleau-Ponty, *Oko i duh*, 31-32.
[19] O. Dikro, C. Todorov, nav. delo, 320.

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THE SCIENCE OF DECODING OF ART AGENCY BETWEEN THE APORIAE OF AESTHETIC PARADIGMS AND THE STITCHES OF HERMENEUTIC PARABLES

Summary:
The main topic of this essay is the, seemingly superfluous, question of whose is the finger on the Sistine Ceiling? If the God is omnipresent, the man is simply sinful. Wanting it or not, the science is to be trusted, in the secular conformity, and art is to represent „the God's hand", and nothing else. In this state of common sense, the process of *deciphering of authorship* renders the superfluity questionable; in the first place, by the fact that this phenomenon has been current in the rational science for more than two centuries. In genesis of a scientific paradigm, an aporia is natural state. This is the strain of thought that occurs not only in following Karl Popper's determinant of the questionability of objective knowledge. The main topic of this essay is *how* exactly the scientific foundation of truth should open to the question of veracity of authorship. This is an attempt to apply experiences of the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty and the hermeneutic poststructuralist fruits in which the logic of the *stitched on aporiae* of aesthetic paradigms is more than self-sufficient *objective description* of symbiotic states of the phenomenon of authorship. Or, in our case, how valuable is the question: how much Raša Todosijević's exclamation *Gott liebt die Serben*, is in fact „an outcry of a feeble"?

Key words: hermeneutic, art plastic,
author, Moris Merleau-Ponty, Raša Todosijević

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD)

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DEATH, WAR, AND PUBLIC MEMORY: IWO JIMA, VIETNAM, AND THE WILD WEST

Abstract:
While war memorials are one of the most public ways a nation tells stories about its past, its ideology, and its hopes for the future, they are seldom read with the attentiveness with which we read text. This paper looks at American war monuments – especially Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial of 1981-82 – and investigates the role of private memory, public memory, popular culture, photojournalism, and aesthetic power in the creation of and public response to these vehicles of grief, mourning, reconciliation, and (sometimes) action.

Key words: monument, war, photojournalism, sculpture

Our task is to address the relationship between "the 'people,' the 'popular' and the 'public.'" I will do so by considering monuments. Recently we witnessed the dedication of the World War II Memorial in Washington, D.C., a choreographed spectacle in which a complicated iconographic program was explicated, newsreel footage recapitulated a heroic conflict between the forces of Good and Evil, G. I. veteran octogenarians told war stories, and popular entertainers (movie stars, country and western singers) gave the whole static sculpture sound, light, and movement. It was a public event on public land, telecast nationally, probably globally. What was *really* going on? Was it a cloaked call to arms in Iraq? Was it a tidy upbeat dignified political response to the messy undignified tragic business of 9/11? Was it an expression of generation-envy by belated politician would-be warriors? Is it a "successful" monument? In what ways can the World War II memorial, or ANY artwork trigger, capture, and direct personal memory and public meaning?

I am not going to offer a sustained critique of that particular monument – I note that its architect, Friedrich St. Florian, lives in Providence, Rhode Island, and I am on alien turf. However I note that *another* critic has said that it is the "purest banality, – an inert plaza dressed with off-the-shelf symbols of grief and glory." St. Florian's response to that sort of critique is recorded as: "The controversy will die away, as it has with all the great memorials in Washington." He is alluding in this comment, of course, to the controversy two decades ago surrounding the design of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial which will be the focus of my attention in this paper.

What makes monuments "great" or "banal"? What are the vocabularies that speak to Grief or Glory in public space? What, in fact is a monument's job? On the most basic level, a monument, a commemorative public architectural sculpture, is an aesthetic thing: it triggers personal memory; it catches the eye, the curiosity, and, if it's good, the soul. Where personal memory gives out, its second job is to create a synthetic memory, that is, to educate.

Maya Lin's "The Women's Table," for instance, is a serene granite slab that commemorates the education of women at Yale University. Erected in 1993, the twentieth anniversary of the graduation of the first women undergraduates from that institution, it is an understated water-washed chronicle of female enrollments that one reads, hears, and experiences visually and kinesthetically. Characteristic of public art, it instructs newcomers, and reminds the old guard, about the past.

The past casts a shadow over the present – whether ominous, benign, celebratory, or cautionary. But the past is unstable; its meaning, its dimensions and hierarchies need to be fixed and re-fixed. This need is social and political. Monuments help because they face hard facts – like the exclusion of women or the death of soldiers – but then they soundbite those facts, providing a safe and orderly place for strong emotions to surface but remain orderly, polite. This paper evolved out of my musings on the difference between private memory and public memory, and on the role of art in constructing memory. Public sculpture and photojournalism allow us to remember events we never witnessed. They allow us to find meaning in events that come precariously close to meaninglessness.

Public memorials usually differ in *scale* (they are bigger) and in *subject* from objects made for or commissioned by private individuals, and even for most municipal institutions like art museums and parks. In public art, Europeans and European-derived cultures (and this is probably true elsewhere but I cannot speak to that) frequently tell stories about cultural foundations: where do "we" come from; what in the past is worthy of our regard and imitation? What constitutes virtuous and valorous action for us? Who, in other words, *are* "we"? Because of their role in religious and historic life, in telling tales central to the culture, these artworks have occupied a privileged, elite position in the hierarchy of artistic genres and in public life. It was an accepted fact well into the nineteenth century that history painting and architectural sculpture commissioned for public buildings and for erection on public land were intrinsically more important than portraiture, landscape painting, genre painting, or still life, or than sculpture intended for the domestic sphere.

In America and in the twentieth century the status and business of public art became trickier; the question of just who "we" are and what kind of consensus we can assume about virtuous behavior and valorous action is much more vexed. Why, in the first place, is this job delegated to art, to monuments? The answer is, of course that it often is not: these codes are written (if in negatives) in our law books, in our high school civics texts, in the editorial columns of our newspapers, and many other places, but they are frequently most concisely and powerfully expressed, or called into question, in public art. Public art matters because it encapsulates *public memory*, a very special kind of memory, and it does so in a very special kind of shorthand language. In public monuments meaningful distillation of complex and consequential (and often contested) issues is usually understood to be the primary criterion for success.

No one was alive who had personally known Washington when the national monument to his memory was completed and dedicated in 1888. Planning for it had begun within months, in fact, within hours of his death almost a century before in 1799, but its construction was delayed decade after decade, not just because of a lack of funds but principally because getting a consensus of Americans to agree about *how* to remember George Washington (and he was a virtually uncontroversial figure) was almost insurmountable. This "how" points to the issue of design. More than a hundred designs were proposed, budgeted, even partially built before the project was turned over to Robert Mills, an engineer who executed the stark, reverential obelisk that today punctuates the skyline of the capital city. An unadorned geometric shaft of stone, this obelisk points to ancient forms, forms associated with Egypt and memory, and death that is arrestable, or at least death that defies decay. These are the elements of public memory: *death* (especially meaningful death) and *eternal life* of a figurative if not a literal sort, and lastly, *education*. Education figures prominently because those gathered around Washington's deathbed and citizens throughout the country desired his memory live on beyond their personal anecdotal memory of his deeds and virtues. Public memory, in other word, kicks in when personal memory seems insufficient, and the person or event commemorated is of public consequence, is the subject of emulation

and tales foundational to a national sense of unity. When I say *tales* I do not mean to imply these narratives of public memory are untrue, only that they are the result of construction, selection, and emphasis.

The stakes in cultural memory are much higher than in personal memory because these are the tales people tell themselves, each other, and their successors to make sense of their corporate experience, a much more tenuous and complex thing than individual history and individual memory. The Robert Shaw Memorial on the Boston Common by Augustus St. Gaudens (1884-97) exhibits the dominant sculptural mode for public monuments in the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries: figural cast bronze. Formed in a mold in a molten state, bronze has the capacity to show great detail (far more, for instance, than marble), capturing clothing and texture and details of physiognomy with extraordinary immediacy. Bronze also has extraordinary longevity, beyond that of marble when exposed to the elements. Permanence and specificity of detail are bronze's material and technical virtues. In 1880, then, the two competing possibilities for medium and type in public memorials were stone abstraction like the Washington monument, and bronze figurative particularity like the Shaw Memorial. These remained the two competing possibilities for medium and type into the late twentieth century and my comments will address the nature of this competition and the social values ascribed to each.

The man who first conceived of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial (1981-82) was Jan Scruggs, an ordinary infantry volunteer, who awoke one night in March 1979 to realize he could not remember the *names* of all his fallen buddies from Vietnam. The monument he imagined, then, first and foremost, was to function as an *aide-memoire*: its job was to freeze and assist the memory of comrades. It was also to instruct those who never knew the *what* and *who* of this traumatic national event. The monument was conceived in his imagination as a 30-foot black obelisk like a small, dark version of the Washington monument – on the surface of which all the names would be carved, names because they are, in our culture, a shorthand sign of individual identity. Jan Scruggs conceived a monument designed to remember the 57,611 soldiers killed or missing and to avoid politics concerning this most divisive and longest (1959-75) of all American wars.

The completed Vietnam Veteran's Memorial points with one long black arm to the Washington monument and it gestures in the other direction to the Lincoln Memorial. The 20year-old designer, Maya Lin, submitted one of 1,421 entries to the competition Scruggs's committee initiated; in fact she did not have much choice in the matter – her professor decided the competition would make a good course assignment. She was an undergraduate at Yale at the time. The committee judging the designs did so "blind," that is, they did not have the names or resumes of the candidates; they just had the projects. It is doubtful that her design would have won had the politics of her being a woman, Asian, and a college student intruded before the decision was made.

Like architecture and unlike many other artworks, the making of monuments is a collaborative enterprise. The execution of the design involved engineers, crafts-

MAYA LIN,
VIETNAM VETERAN'S MEMORIAL (1981-82)

men, and bulldozer drivers. The Vietnam Memorial also involved the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial Committee (which laid out the competition rules and raised the funds), the selection committee, the senate committee that hassled over the question of site, and the millions of veterans, widows, parents, and friends who gave $8 million in small donations to see that the project was realized.

Remembering war is never just a veteran's issue. War "over there" (however distant "over there" is) is also catastrophe at home: soldiers, who are brothers, fathers, and sometimes sisters, die or are wounded or maimed. How does one remember these things? These things time two hundred thousand? How does one teach others to remember them? Maya Lin figured it out. Lin's memorial is geometrically precise, non-figurative and abstract. In that it seems to have much in common with both the Washington Monument to which it points, and mid-century modernism in architecture and design: Meisian modernism made into an excavated wedge. Her design has certain formal qualities to handle the irregularity of individual names within the sameness of non-human geometries: typographically, the list is ragged left on the left side and ragged right on the right.

Lin's design turns its back on many of the visual rhetorics used in dealing with death in America, such formats as the arched-topped tablet shape of typical eighteenth-century headstones, and such visual shorthands as the winged skull or crossbones that often crown the text rectangle on such personal memorials with their admonitions "when this you see, remember me." What she did preserve from this long familiar rhetorical toolbox was the Roman serephed lettering system and the black stone (Lin's shiny marble is elegant but not permanent – marble is much softer than the slate of colonial headstones).

Maya Lin's wall, like eighteenth-century gravemarkers, is about human time and eternal time, personal memory and community memory. It is a thing but it is also a place with an aura, a tradition, like the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. It profoundly touches individual and corporate grief. It is an aesthetic success, a critical success, and a popular success. *Why then was this design controversial?* Why, when the winning design was announced, was there a firestorm of criticism along these lines (this is from

FELIX DE WELDON, *MARINE CORPS WAR MEMORIAL* (1954)

a newspaper editorial, 1981): "[There is] no mention of Vietnam, war, duty, country, sacrifice, courage, or even tragedy. This memorial says one thing: only the dead, nothing besides, remain […] It is an unfortunate choice of memorial. Memorials are built to give context and, possibly, meaning to suffering that is otherwise incomprehensible. We do not memorialize bus accidents, which by nature are contextless, meaningless. To treat the Vietnam dead like the victims of some monstrous traffic accident is more than a disservice to history; it is a disservice to the memory of the 57,000. It is an act of arrogance for us to assign them the status of victims, nothing but victims."

This editorial focuses on the absence of rhetorics of motive and consolation: the familiar language of "duty, country, sacrifice, courage." What did they think would be right and why? Some wanted little temples, one wanted a building-sized military helmet. Most, it seems wanted and expected something like Robert Summers, *John Wayne, American Legend*, of 1982 (Orange County Airport), something congruent with words like "courage" and "hero," something, frankly, that was consistent with mid-century models of masculinity. They wanted something concrete and real and figurative, something in bronze with all that specificity of detail bronze does so well, something that can make your spine tingle like Ella Fitzgerald singing "Oh Say Can You See by the Dawn's Early Light." What Maya Lin's design conjured up instead was the cool, distant, abstract, and, if truth be told, *elite* forms of mid-century abstraction

with its earnestness; its silent, non-referential existential angst; and its aesthetic, which is frankly either irrelevant or emperor's-new-clothesish to most Americans. It seemed to have the air of Mark Rothko's black-on-black canvases, like *Triptych* at the Rothko Chapel in Houston, Texas: spiritually moving perhaps to some, but certainly perplexing to most Americans.

High-end mid-century American painting and sculpture did begin to include the human figure after 1960 as in the work of Duane Hanson, but usually only with a wry smile, a chuckling, self-subverting post-modern realism, never invoking words like "courage" and "hero." But in popular culture, in the vernacular, the human figure and realism survived as a strong (unironic) aesthetic completely outside the twentieth-century march to abstraction in the Madison Avenue galleries of New York City. In Guten Borglum's *Mount Rushmore* of 1927-41, and Felix de Weldon's *Marine Corps War Memorial* of 1954, in Arlington Cemetery outside Washington, D. C. – here, Americans felt, was the appropriate shorthand of history: the great leaders and the footsoldiers of history heroically figured for our popular memory and future role models. Here were two ways of being real men.

Particularly strong was the precedent of the Iwo Jima monument. Let us look for a moment at how the Iwo Jima monument achieved its iconic status as *the* appropriate way to memorialize war, sacrifice, and heroicism, and exactly how the moment it memorializes became installed in the national memory as *the* event of World War II. To understand it one needs to reflect on the role of photojournalism in our culture. On Iwo Jima, on this tiny Pacific island in the closing months of the Second World War when the Japanese were tenaciously fighting for every foothold, the Marines landed and, characteristically, a news photographer, Joe Rosenthal, landed with them. What he saw and photographed was the beach with its usual dead and dying, and, after the battle, troops standing around as a U. S. flag was planted – as the U.S claimed and with this flag symbolically "liberated" this territory – certainly none of his initial images has iconic power. As the flag-raising was taking place and being photographed, some Japanese soldiers emerged from an underground bunker and a skirmish occurred. It was decided that the flag, which had tumbled in the fracas, needed to be reinstalled and Rosenthal apparently assisted in the choreography of this event, getting a much more dramatic, active, cooperative, manly, image which appeared on all the wire services, and in *Life* magazine. Rosenthal's photo of the second flag-raising was put on stamps, and the 1946 Rose Bowl parade included a float with this tableau in roses. With such an image, I would propose, war and triumph in the Pacific in particular, were pictured as human and heroic, deflecting the alternative models of mechanized warfare and fusion bombs more to the point. Even more exposure occurred in the vastly popular medium of film when, in *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1945), Rosenthal's photo was reanimated and contextualized into a tale of heroic action starring, and introducing to the American public, John Wayne. Wayne, of course, went on to a career in cowboy films about white-hat heroes, black-hat evil-doers, and sixguns righting wrongs.

JOE ROSENTHAL,
SECOND FLAG RAISING ON IWO JIMA (1945)

Rosenthal's choreographed image was fixed in bronze by Felix de Weldon on immense scale at Arlington (ancestral home of Robert E. Lee, taken over by the nation during the Civil War as burial ground for Union soldiers), just outside Washington; the monument was dedicated November 10, 1954. This sculpture presides over the burial ground at Arlington where military casualties and presidents are buried, and rhetorically rehearses words like "duty, honor, courage" and, especially, "hero."

A smaller limestone version was installed at the entrance to Quantico, a Marine base in northern Virginia where it has been seen by generations of Marines, and invoked by every commanding officer. The power of this image is constantly reinvoked on occasions like the 4th of July, occasions on which words like "patriotism," "liberty," "freedom," and "heroicism" circulate. The image has sufficient power and familiarity that cartoonists invoke it both in reverence for the common man (as in Beatle Bailey, 1998), and in jest (as in Clinton's health plan position); it is the iconic heroic effort of teamwork. Pictorial editors and cartoonists can count on public memory of this image and on its resonance with words like "war" and "victory" in order to make their point succinctly about a victory over drugs or over a faltering economy. It has the power and recognizability of a folk saying, a ballad, a flag. The 50-year public life of Rosenthal's image is an index of the power of photojournalism in our visual culture, and the status of the Second World War as a formative event in our national culture.

The photojournalism that came out of the Vietnam war, on the other hand was very different, and tended to look like Eddie Adams' *Execution in Saigon Street* (1968), or Nick Ut's memorable image of a child, *Fleeing Napalm Bomb Attack, Vietnam* (1972) – images that sear themselves on one's memory but not images that invoke words like "heroicism," "courage," or "model masculinity." Vietnam, for Americans, seemed to call those very words into question: guns blazing, yes, but no John Wayne.

In 1984, two years after Maya Lin's monument was dedicated, a bronze figural statue with appropriately diverse figural types by Frederick Hart was planted near to Lin's black marble wall in a grove of trees. The intent was to placate the diehard Iwo Jima-ists. It lacks the confidence of its predecessors. But it has all the detail and particularity of costume and facial features that bronze can give and that Americans had learned to admire in St. Gaudens' *Shaw* memorial, Frederick Remington's *Bronco Buster*, and Weldon's *Iwo Jima* monument. More recently, in 1994, a sculptural group

designed by Glenna Goodacre figuring and commemorating the women (that is, the nurses) who served in Vietnam was also added, pointing up one of the problems of particularity – it seems to demand ever more precise categories rather than moving in the direction of distilled public memory.

SANDS OF IWO JIMA (1945)

The Iwo Jima strategy of memorializing death, disaster, tragedy by mobilizing a particular well-circulated image from photojournalism continues to be very much with us, and has a strong public following. In response to the Oklahoma City bombing of 1994, for instance, there was strong support for a bronze reenactment of the news photo of a firefighter cradling a dead child. The problem with war and disaster is that it produces so few images of victory, of heroicism, of human virtue, of buddies working together, but produces so many images from which we are moved to avert our eyes.

The curious thing about Maya Lin's Vietnam Veteran's Memorial is that it has achieved with its abstraction – ordinarily associated with the economic and cultural elite – the *commonality* and the emotional impact of the Iwo Jima photo, monument, film, Rose Bowl float, and sculpture. It isn't that Lin has rendered the esoteric popular, it's that she has designed an artwork in which meaning matters to everyone. People interact with the wall: they leave little flags, boots, teddy bears; they touch the names; and they make rubbings of the names to take home. By definition, Maya Lin's is a project in *public memory*, not personal artistic expression, and because it is public memory, what it says (and how it says it) matters to each of us both individually and as a nation. In sum, I would say that the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial is a "success," the new World War II monument is a failure; and the Iwo Jima-John Wayne monument tells the wrong story.

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SMRT, RAT I JAVNO SEĆANJE: IVO DŽIMA, VIJETNAM I DIVLJI ZAPAD

Sažetak:
Premda su ratni spomenici jedan od najvidljivijih načina da se u javnosti predstavi priča o sopstvenoj prošlosti, ideologiji kao i nadama za budućnost, oni se relativno retko posmatraju sa onom pažnjom sa kojom čitamo zabeleženo o istim temama. Ovaj rad se bavi američkim ratnim spomenicima – posebno Memorijalom vijetnamskih veterana (1981-82), autorke Maje Lin – istražujući uloge i odnose privatnog i javnog sećanja, popularne kulture, foto-žurnalizma i snage estetskog oblikovanja mehanizama tuge, žalosti, pomirenja i (ponekad) akcije.

Ključne reči: spomenik, rat, foto-žurnalizam, skulptura

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – POLEMIKA)

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TRAJECTORIES AND TRAPS: THE VISUALIZATION OF URBAN LANDSCAPES IN HIP-HOP FILMS

Abstract:
Beyond a cultural phenomenon and a movement, hip-hop is an art form – a paradigmatic art form for the postmodern age. Broadly defined the hip-hop film can be thought of as new African-American-themed cinema. Hip-hop films display the aesthetics and culture of hip-hop while also featuring hip-hop music as a score. Hip-hop artists commonly appear as lead actors in these productions and the films are concerned with urban stories about and related to African-American youth of the post-Blaxploitation/post-civil rights era: the hip-hop generation. The city as concept, calculated by a "strategy" that emanates from institutes of power, sets the stage for the dramatic conflict of the hip-hop film. The hip-hop film and the plight of its characters are inextricably linked to urban spaces, both visually and thematically. This space codes and shapes the structures of urban existence in tangible and intangible ways and these codes often become a fatalistic concern for the ones who must navigate them. This objective correlative – the urban city – is key to an understanding of hip-hop culture, to an understanding of the condition of the "expatriates" surviving in the treacherous inner-city.

Key words: hip-hop, film, African-American, city, urban, culture

To the question "What is hip-hop?" I believe the first answer should be, "A unique American cultural force." "As a form of culture with literally millions of participants across the globe…[hip-hop is] the best aesthetic gauge of the consciousness of the masses of people throughout the world and it expresses not only all that is ugly about them, but all that is beautiful and all that yearns to be free."[1] These words were written by General Baker and C. L. R. Odell as part of their *Theses on hip-hop* in an attempt to map the various effects of the culture. Most pertinent for this particular essay is their conception of hip-hop as an aesthetic gauge. Beyond a cultural phenomenon and a movement, hip-hop is an art form – a paradigmatic art form for the postmodern age. Hip-hop is a versatile arrangement that cuts across and synthesizes four of the fine arts: music, dance, painting, poetry… and now, cinema.

Hip-hop films represent the birth of a new Hollywood genre, first manifested in 1983 with the release of the defining *Wild Style* by Charlie Ahearn and coinciding with the onset of the golden age of hip-hop culture (marked by the introduction of the wildly-successful and influential group Run – D. M. C. in 1983). Historically – important hip-hop films were made throughout the 80s like the documentary *Style Wars* (1983) by Tony Silver, the semi-musical *Beat Street* (1984) by Stan Lathan, and the policier *Colors* (1988) by Dennis Hopper. However, films like *Breakin'* (1984) by Joel Silberg and *Breakin' 2: Electric Boogaloo* (1984) by Sam Firstenberg along with others of the decade were not always proficient in form or profound in outlook. Some of these films meant to capitalize on the burgeoning popularity of hip-hop culture as an end and not necessarily to engage with that culture in a meaningful or transformative way.

The hip-hop film matured artistically in the 90s, sparked by the appearance of its first masterpiece: *Do the Right Thing* (1989) by Spike Lee, which many would label a race-based drama but I would argue is steeped in hip-hop culture as an approach to both life and (film) art. Among other things Lee aestheticized the hip-hop film, simultaneously turning it into a serious art form while also paving the way for a new (hip-hop) generation of Hollywood filmmakers. Immediately after Lee's film a steady flow of aesthetically-advanced hip-hop films by a diverse array of auteurs emerged: *King of New York* (1990) by Abel Ferrara, *House Party* (1990) by Reginald Hudlin, and *Boyz n the Hood* (1991) by John Singleton to name a few.

Broadly defined the hip-hop film can be thought of as new African-American-themed cinema, which makes hip-hop films the inheritors and successors of the style, content and concerns of the Blaxploitation film in Hollywood of the 70s. Blaxploitation films were notable for being low-budget crime films with violent and sexualized imagery featuring African-American characters in urban settings, usually with a prominent soul music score. Therefore, hip-hop films can be considered as the second wave of the expression of aesthetics and ideals in cinema related specifically to African-Americans and African-American culture, while also introducing a large number of African-American directors to the world of cinema (as did Blaxploitation films). Todd Boyd, writer on hip-hop culture and politics, notes that, "Hip-hop offers new ways of seeing and understanding what it means to be Black at this pivotal time in history."[2]

This lens is given an additional level of clarity and power through the dynamic visual art of the hip-hop film.

Hip-hop films display the aesthetics and culture of hip-hop while also featuring hip-hop music as a score. Hip-hop artists commonly appear as lead actors in these productions and the films are concerned with urban stories about and related to African-American youth of the post-Blaxploitation/post-civil rights era: the hip-hop generation. Tricia Rose, writer on African-American culture and politics, observes that, "Rap's stories continue to articulate the shifting terms of black marginality in contemporary American culture."[3] These urban stories of the hip-hop generation are laced with social significance within the power structures of America – an implicit commentary on dis-empowerment is present in the texts.

Genres often are most immediately and accurately defined by setting and conflict. As such the hip-hop film is set in the urban inner-city and the conflict is between African-Americans – with each other, within themselves and with society at large. The city is one of the dominant icons of the hip-hop film and those cities that feature most prominently in the genre are the same cities that have been prominent contributors to the development of hip-hop culture over the years: New York City (the birthplace of the culture), Los Angeles and others. Besides being linked through their shared hip-hop narratives these cities also have in common the fact that they are the largest urban metropolises in America with the largest multi-cultural populations. The hip-hop film has rarely ventured into small-town America or even mid-sized urban centers, though this is likely to change due to hip-hop's increasing regionalization since the turn of the century.[4]

Just as Michel de Certeau described the city in general, the hip-hop city is a "concept." As a concept it stands for something that expresses identity, as locale is terribly important in hip-hop culture. Over time hip-hop has championed a common maxim in both of its inverses: "It's not where you're from, it's where you're at/It's not where you're at, it's where you're from."[5] Both are equally crucial in hip-hop culture as both define the codes that not only express one's identity but also affect it from an external position. Not only that but, within hip-hop culture, depending on what city you are from or what section of a particular city and being able to be identified with it can potentially put one within a life and death struggle for survival. These are the stakes that hip-hop citizens often play for on a daily basis.[6]

De Certeau differentiates the contemporary city denizen as "user" instead of "consumer," the former being a more appropriate term to describe how urban residents interface with their everyday reality. If so the hip-hop citizen is a user *par excellence* as the entire culture of hip-hop is founded on "poaching" on the property of others in countless ways. That property includes the city structure itself, which hip-hop users subvert to engender their own ends. The city as concept, calculated by a "strategy" that emanates from institutes of power, sets the stage for the dramatic conflict of the hip-hop film. The hip-hop film and the plight of its characters are inextricably linked to urban spaces, both visually and thematically. This space codes and

HIGH-ANGLE VIEW OF THE CITY SKYLINE - *NEW JACK CITY* (1991)

shapes the structures of urban existence in tangible and intangible ways and these codes often become a fatalistic concern for the ones who must navigate them. The hip-hop film offers clues to understanding this dastardly predicament in its unique evocation and incarnation of the urban space. The city is a character in these films – an assertion which now warrants a turn towards a discussion of its characteristics.

The city in hip-hop films is an urban dystopia in which demonic imagery reigns supreme. The city presents a hellish nightmare, of which one of the stronger examples is depicted in the gangster film *New Jack City* (1991) by Mario Van Peebles. In this film New York City is shown to be suffering under various plagues such as crack cocaine, AIDS, murder and other deadly scourges. The film opens by descending into the city – mirroring a decent into hell – with Van Peebles' camera craning past a graffiti-covered wall that depicts a biblical quote[7] down into the smoke and flames of an abandoned yard inhabited by drug abusers and dealers.

The evocation of this plagued city space foreshadows another one, where crime boss Nino Brown (Wesley Snipes) engages in a bit of his own strategic city planning by taking over a housing project named "The Carter" and turning it into a drug sales/processing factory which also doubles as a recreational center for users. The building courtyard is populated by soulless zombies aimlessly wandering around in a state of shock, in an incessant search for their next hit. The artist Chuck D from the notorious group Public Enemy previously evoked this nightmarish cityscape (also referencing horror film culture) in the brilliant song "Night of the Living Baseheads"[8] which was released in 1988. The wildly-satirical and self-reflexive video for this song opens with a shot of the group standing over the gravestone of a "basehead" and is further populated by visions of addicts in a stupor, "shriveled to the bone" like skeletons, stumbling helplessly through an indefinite zone "like comatose walking around" which is akin to a living death.[9] The Carter becomes a graveyard – better yet, a purgatory for condemned spirits, or as the writer Vilém Flusser would say, an "alternative city" inhabited by "expatriates." When the police raid The Carter the criminal gang sets it on fire and the whole place goes up in smoke and flames, creating a small apoc-

alypse that metaphorically evokes the multiple deaths that the urban city undergoes as a result of its dangerous street corners.

Those dangerous city street corners become a trap, as recent hip-hop slang literalizes it – a diabolical trap from which there is no escape.[10] In this sense the city space is an enclosed space in hip-hop films and their appearances in the opening credit sequences of these films not only sets the dramatic stage but also delineates the urban boundaries that cannot be transgressed by the hip-hop citizens. Flusser writes that, "We were thrown into civilization […] without anyone asking us for our permission."[11] This concept exemplifies the fate of so many inner-city urban residents, particularly those of the hip-hop generation and their struggle with forces beyond their control, their struggle against the supra-structure foisted upon them by institutions of power. This is why the hip-hop citizen "poaches," why his existence is governed by "tactics" for survival, and why he is categorized as the (dangerous) "other." As de Certeau notes, "Increasingly constrained, yet less and less concerned with these vast frameworks, the individual detaches himself from them without being able to escape them and can henceforth only try to outwit them, to pull tricks on them, to rediscover, within an electronicized and computerized megalopolis, the 'art' of the hunters and rural folk of earlier days."[12] Hip-hop culture can be said to practice this "art."

Though the urban city is an expansive space (among America's largest, in hip-hop films) ironically, it still functions as an effective trap. Writing on "non-places" Marc Augé elaborates this point by stating, "We could start by saying – again somewhat paradoxically – that the excess of space is correlative with the shrinking of the planet."[13] This paradox lies at the core of the trap that the hip-hop citizen finds himself enclosed in. Again, relating this idea to the notion of a trap, Augé writes, "This spatial overabundance works like a decoy, but a decoy whose manipulator would be very hard to identify (there is nobody pulling the strings)."[14] But of course someone is always pulling the strings as one cannot be prey without a hunter and vice versa. If the hip-hop citizen is trapped in the urban space, like a rat in a maze, from the ground level it is very difficult indeed to ascertain the identity of the trapper, as Augé notes. In a larger sense this is where hip-hop has gone astray – by focusing its energy on trying to outwit the framework rather than leveling an attack on those who set its parameters, be that as it may that they are difficult to flush out. This search for the door – not to the exit of the trap but rather its very control room – will make hip-hop a really revolutionary method.

As the most representative icon of the city space the city skyline appears repeatedly in the opening credit sequences of hip-hop films, reiterating the importance of the city as a concept and also as a character. *Wild Style* opens with a static framing of an empty, generic urban space at night devoid of movement. The main signifying object within this sequence shot is a wall with the word "graffiti" sprayed in an array of decorative colors. The city itself, as a living object, is denoted through the use of off-screen sound effects – cars, police sirens, stray cats, gunshots – before a rope drops into the frame and the main character slides down it, projecting himself into this stark,

hellish environment. Zorro ("Lee" Quinones), the protagonist, advances towards the camera until he comes against a wire fence which locks him in the frame as well as the city space. The visual notion of the city trap is evoked here. Also as Zorro silently moves through the shadows, dressed in all black, he mimics the manners of a hunter, though his prey is a fresh urban surface – a subway train – to use as a canvas for his latest work of street art. Zorro is a "user" and a hunter, whose "tactic" as a graffiti artist "insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance."[15]

This brief pre-credit prologue in *Wild Style* gives way to the credit sequence proper which is rendered as animated designs. After a flurry of shifting images that detail the four organizing elements of hip-hop culture[16] a cartoonish city skyline drawn as a backdrop is introduced as one of the final images in the credit sequence and this is the image that the director signs his name upon. The hip-hop film as a genre is born with an introduction to the urban space and the use of the city skyline as an establishing shot/setting.

CELEBRATING THE CITY SKYLINE
KRUSH GROOVE (1985)

THE CITY AS THEATRICAL BACKDROP
DO THE RIGHT THING (1989)

The musical biopic *Krush Groove* (1985) by Michael Schultz opens with a montage of images of the New York City skyline, almost fetishizing the city through this series of celebratory pictures that seem to promise action, allure, fame and fortune. Because of its historical position within the hip-hop film canon this particular opening credit sequence works as a template-setting piece that would be followed time and time again in the genre. The city in the hip-hop film as depicted through its enchanting and majestic skyline in opening credit sequences promises everything and reveals nothing. It is an impersonal mass in these introductory moments – rarely do we see life teeming from within.

The film *Do the Right Thing* abstracts the city space in its opening credit sequence. Lee presents the backdrop of a city street as a literal theatrical backdrop, flat and distant. The studio floor is visible in this opening shot, lending further artificiality to the abstraction. A highly-theatrical lighting scheme dominates the frame, as it is bathed in a series of alternately warm and cool primary colors that wash over the entire image, enhancing its lack of depth. The city space is reduced here to the level of a crude

signifier, a *literal* stage for the ensuing drama. Flusser's "alternative city" comes to mind, though without citizens or even expatriates – a total alternative to a living city itself. The only thing that populates the frame is Rosie Perez as she gyrates to the sounds of Public Enemy's anthemic song *Fight the Power* (1989).

Lee's fractured city in this opening credit sequence is the opposite of Augé's "supermodernity" – there is no excess, no spatial overabundance. Yet and still this visualization of the city functions as a decoy. As Augé states, "We can say of these universes, which are themselves broadly fictional, that they are essentially universes of recognition. The property of symbolic universes is that they constitute a means of recognition, rather than knowledge, for those who have invented them: closed universes where everything is a sign; collections of codes to which only some hold the key but whose existence everyone accepts […]."[17]

High-angle shots are the primary method through which the city skyline is visualized in the opening credit sequences of hip-hop films. These high-angle shots often appropriate the point-of-view of God, just as de Certeau describes the effect of maps as the city experienced by someone looking down from high above. Of course, that someone represents the institutes of power that strategize the city formation. In the context of the hip-hop film these high-angle shots become a subtle reminder of those who create the rules the hip-hop citizen must contend with, of those who pull the strings of the urban trap.

The film *New Jack City* merits returning to in close consideration of its opening credit sequence and its particular rendering of the city space. The first image of the film is a helicopter shot that glides by the Statue of Liberty with the New York City skyline visible in the background of the frame. The shot is what is traditionally called a "bird's eye" view and it slowly draws us towards the city in an almost magnetic pull. This first image gives way to an overhead view of the city that is captured in a 90˚ angle. It is this particular image that can be equated to the point-of-view of God or the institutional parties that calculate the strategy of the urban environment. As the camera moves in this map-like fashion over the city de Certeau's notion of "trajectory" is evoked which "suggests a movement, but it also involves a plane projection, a flattening out. It is a transcription."[18] The city becomes a graph "which the eye can master"[19]and it is also abstracted here like the city space in the opening credit sequence of *Do the Right Thing*. Like the city space in *Wild Style* we come to know the urban environment through an aural montage that juxtaposes police sirens and other sound effects against a string of news reports that narrate the social strife that the city experiences, the social hell that the city is.

Momentarily visible in this 90˚ graph-like shot is the roof of St. Patrick's Cathedral and the huge shape of a cross that this structure forms. This image is a subtle reminder of the redemptive forces necessary to exit the hellish city we will be subjected to in the film – a reminder (and chance) that is fleeting in this inexorable traveling shot. The cross-shaped roof of St. Patrick's Cathedral also subtly comments on the God-like point-of-view that we are privy to in this opening credit sequence.

THE CITY BECOMES A GRAPH
NEW JACK CITY (1991)

This traveling shot gives off the effect that we are precariously hanging over the city ready to be thrown into it at any moment, without our permission, as Flusser would say. Drops or descents from high angles become a structuring motif of *New Jack City* from the aforementioned early shot where the camera drops into the junkyard inferno of crime and corruption to the final shot of the film, where Nino Brown falls to his death from the top of the courthouse spiral staircase, also evoking the 90˚ shot from the opening credit sequence. Many characters in this film are thrown or dropped to their deaths from high points.

The first action of the film proper is prefigured by the 90˚ graph-like shot of the city. After the conclusion of the credit sequence the camera continues on its flight path, eventually closing in on a far-off bridge and revealing a man who is being held by his feet dangling off the edge above a river. The director signs his name over this precarious image only moments before the man is dropped to his doom. These downward arcs that are a central motif of this film combined with the repetitive religious imagery and themes can be said to represent the fall of man.

The opening credit sequence of *New Jack City* recalls that of *The Naked City* (1948) by Jules Dassin and its extreme high-angle shots of New York City. However, this modern New York City is no longer naked – it lost its innocence some time ago, any Edenic qualities being swallowed up by the plagues described in the aural montage of tragic news reports featured in the credit sequence. The link to *The Naked City* reveals another larger connection that the hip-hop film shares – that with classic film noir. In *New Jack City* the gangsters think of themselves as similar to James Cagney or George Raft – actors who portrayed larger-than-life criminals in classic films noir. This also links with the hip-hop tradition of artists naming themselves with the likenesses of gangsters past, both real and fictional.[20] Furthermore, the classic film noir is an urban film in which the city is often depicted as a trap, an expressionist nightmare as dystopian hell that the noir protagonist must navigate. Finally, city skylines as a representation of the urban space are featured repeatedly in the opening credit sequences of many classic films noir.

THE NOIR CITY
AS EXPRESSIONIST NIGHTMARE
THE NAKED CITY (1948)

The visualization and repetition of city skylines in the opening credit sequences of hip-hop films create a symbolic universe, in the process becoming a "non-place," almost more than a place, somehow transcending its confining categorization as "space" – as Augé says: "Totalities which are partially fictional but effective."[21] They are effective precisely because they are only partially fictional and they have an objective correlative in reality. This objective correlative – the urban city – is key to an understanding of hip-hop culture, to an understanding of the condition of the "expatriates" surviving in the treacherous inner-city. It is key to "give a meaning to the present, if not the past […]."[22]

Endnotes:

[1] General Baker and C. L. R. Odell. "Theses on hip-hop: preface to the second edition," (Tuesday, November 07, 2006), http://democracyandhiphop.blogspot.com/2006/11/democracy-and-hip-hop-our-line_02.html (accessed October 12, 2008).

[2] Todd Boyd. *The new h.n.i.c. (head niggas in charge): the death of civil rights and the reign of hip hop* (New York-London: New York University Press, 2002), p. ix.

[3] Tricia Rose. *Black noise: rap music and black culture in contemporary america* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p. 3.

[4] During this time new regions and cities such as Atlanta, Houston, New Orleans, Miami, Memphis, Detroit and others have put themselves on the hip-hop map, so to speak. A rare hip-hop film that depicted small-town America (set in the state of Arkansas) was the HBO documentary *Gang War: Bangin' in Little Rock* (1994) by Marc Levin, which was followed by a sequel called *Back in the Hood: Gang War 2* (2004) also directed by Levin.

[5] This maxim can be heard to great effect in the song *In the Ghetto* (1990) by Eric B. & Rakim.

[6] I analyze the disastrous codes and the dubious performative strategies hip-hop citizens use to negotiate them in the essay "Performing hip-hop: ethics, complex acting and Tupac Shakur in *Juice*" published in *Kultura* #127 (June 2010).

[7] The quote comes from I Corinthians (6:9) – a letter from the apostle Paul as a disciplinary warning against immoral behavior.

[8] A "basehead" is hip-hop slang for a drug addict, most often one who is addicted to crack cocaine or the particular method of "freebasing" cocaine as a way to smoke it.

[9] A bitter irony regarding Public Enemy and the song "Night of the Living Baseheads" is that group member Flavor Flav struggled with drug addiction problems in his professional life.
[10] The ghetto as "the trap" came into currency as slang derived from the city of Atlanta, most notably evoked in the album *Trap Muzik* (2003) by T. I. and the mixtapes *Trap or Die* (2005) by Young Jeezy and DJ Drama and *Trap or Die II: By Any Means Necessary* (2010) by Young Jeezy and Don Cannon.
[11] Vilém Flusser. *Writings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 172.
[12] Michel de Certeau. *The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. xxiii-xxiv.
[13] Marc Augé. *Non-places, introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity* (London-New York: Verso, 1995), p. 31.
[14] Ibid., p. 32.
[15] Michel de Certeau. *The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xix.
[16] The four organizing elements of hip-hop culture embodying the art forms of music, dance, painting and poetry are, respectively: DJ-ing, B-boying, graffiti writing and MC-ing.
[17] Marc Augé. *Non-places, introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity* (London-New York: Verso, 1995), pp. 32-33.
[18] Michel de Certeau. *The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xviii.
[19] Ibid.
[20] The rapper Scarface named himself after the title character of Brian De Palma's cult film *Scarface* (1983), which although not a hip-hop film is extremely popular and held in the highest reverence in hip-hop culture. Of course, De Palma's film is a remake of Howard Hawks' classic gangster film *Scarface* (1932) which itself was a homage to the life of Al Capone, who went by the nickname "Scarface."
[21] Marc Augé. *Non-places, introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity* (London-New York: Verso, 1995), p. 33.
[22] Ibid., p. 29.

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PUTANJE I ZAMKE:
VIZUALIZACIJA URBANOG PEJZAŽA U HIP-HOP FILMOVIMA

Sažetak:
Kao kulturni fenomen i pokret hip-hop je takođe umetnost – savršen kao primer postmodernog doba. U širom smislu hip-hop film je novi afro-američki film. Ovi filmovi predstavljaju stil života, kulturu i konkretnu muziku. Hip-hop umetnici su glavni glumci u filmovima koji pokazuju gradske priče o afro-američkoj omladini posle 60-ih godina 20. veka: to je hip-hop generacija. Grad kao simbol je scena za dramsko dešavanje u ovim filmovima. Hip-hop film je vezan za grad kako vizuelno tako i tematski. Grad kao prostor definiše oblike urbanog života ljudi koji žive u njemu. Grad je ključna reč za razumevanje i kulturu hip-hopa kao i za ljude koji moraju da prežive u tom opasnom prostoru.

Ključne reči: hip-hop, film, Afro-Amerikanci, grad, urbana kultura

(KATEGORIJA ČLANKA: NAUČNI ČLANAK – ORIGINALNI NAUČNI RAD

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U ŠEJKINOJ ZONI

Apstrakt:
Leonid Šejka bio je deo grupe *Mediala*, a posle istupanja iz nje razvijao je samostalni autorski opus. Među njegovim delima najbrojniji su crteži nastali u periodu između sredine pedesetih i sredine šezdesetih godina 20. veka. Oni objašnjavaju Šejkin univerzalni predmetni svet utemeljen na *Đubrištu* i razvijen u *Skladištima*. *Zamak* predstavlja metaforu konačnog izlaza iz stvarnosti i omogućava bekstvo u sferu umetničke slobode.

Ključne reči: Leonid Šejka, crtež, *Đubrište*, *Skladište*, predmet, *Zamak*

Formalna i stilska heterogenost opusa Leonida Šejke (1932–70) uslovila je različite interpretacije njegovog dela. Kao jedan od osnivača grupe *Mediala*[1], Šejka je bio pojava specifičnog pristupa umetnosti i njenoj istoriji. Upravo zbog toga o njemu se dosta pisalo, a mnoštvo radova koje je ostavio za sobom i danas je predmet kritičke analize.

Mediala je bila okvir ranog Šejkinog delovanja; kasnije on se odvaja od pokreta i u osami posvećuje sopstvenom stvaralaštvu. Stoga mu pripada izdvojeno mesto ne samo u spisima o *Mediali* već i u doslednim pokušajima istoričara i teoretičara umetnosti da demistifikuju/dekodiraju sadržaje njegovih slika, crteža, asamblaža, akcija.[2]Povrh toga, njegova zaokupljenost umetnošću ne svodi se na likovno izražavanje, već uključuje i pisanje o umetnosti, iz pozicije onoga ko u njoj prebiva i svakodnevno je praktikuje. Leonardo je slikarstvo proglasio naukom,[3] a Leonid Šejka je u *Traktatu o slikarstvu* objavljenom 1964, kao i nizu drugih članaka, pokušao da objasni svoje viđenje umetnosti, odredi mesto vlastitog opusa unutar njenih granica i – ne plašeći se da bude neshvaćen ili obeležen kao antimoderan – da govori o uzorima i vrednostima, komentarišući stanje u kome se nalazi moderna umetnost čiji je bio svedok i učesnik. Spisima o umetnosti predstavlja se kao najkompetentniji tumač sopstvenog kompleksnog dela, priključujući se tradiciji umetnika koji su, pored likovnog stvaranja, dali značajan doprinos teoriji umetnosti: u tom smislu Leonardo mu je uzor, što je očigledno već iz naslova njegovog jezgrovitog spisa, a u likovnoj teoriji 20. veka, poput Kandinskog, Klea ili Maljeviča, Šejka izražava jednu moguću filozofiju umetnosti.[4] Pa ipak, on se ne ograničava samo na pisanje o slikarstvu: u pričama *Put*, *Iskušenja Svetog Antonija* i *Priručnik veštice*, iz 1957. godine, kroz parabolu istražuje i pojašnjava centralne pojmove svoje ikonografije - *Đubrište*, *Grad*, *Skladište* i *Zamak*. U ovim beleškama, umetnik razrađuje ideje vizuelnog izražavanja, literarno na tragu začudnosti i mistike Blejka, Poa, Kafke, Rastka Petrovića, Harmsa, Borhesa i Danila Kiša.

Posredstvom više autorskih ličnosti (Šejka Klasifikator, Reg Talbott, Leon Leš i Leon van Kis) Leonid Šejka usmerava sve sebi dodeljene uloge ka izgradnji jedinstvenog sistema: *Đubrišta*. Tek na đubrištu upotrebljeni predmeti postaju ono što zaista jesu: istrošenost i prestanak funkcionalnosti omogućavaju da budu sagledani u pravom svetlu. Bezrazložna egzistencija odbačenih objekata dozvoljava umetničke intervencije pomoću kojih se otkriva suština predmetnog sveta – potrošenog i zaboravljenog. Umetnikova opsesivna potreba za skupljanjem i fiksiranjem[5] (akcije proglašavanja predmeta, kao najava neodade i performansa), registrovanjem (asamblaž, slika ili crtež) i klasifikovanjem predmeta bez značenja i funkcije (predstave pod nazivom *Đubrišta* ili *Skladišta*, nastale tokom sedme decenije 20. veka), na prvi pogled ukazuju na modernu preokupaciju potrošačkim društvom i produktima savremene civilizacije (pop art). Međutim, u tumačenju ove kolekcionarske prakse treba biti vrlo oprezan. Dok pop art glorifikuje konzumerske proizvode[6] i postavlja ih na pijedestal umetnosti, Šejka na đubrištu pronalazi izlaz iz potrošačke groznice, otkrivajući u predmetu koji više nije upotrebljiv njegovu bitnost, neprolaznost, njegov tajni život. Za Šejku, đubrište postaje prostor čiste igre, lavirint brojnih mogućnosti, splet puteva koji

LEONID ŠEJKA,
ČAĐ I POZLATA, MAG I DAN (1960)

ne vode nikud.[7] Na crtežima *Đubrišta* i *Skladišta*[8] nastalim od sredine pedesetih do sredine šezdesetih godina 20. veka, predstavljeni su karakteristični predmeti: ključevi, brave, štipaljke, kaputi (zakrivljena površina omotača valjka), delovi ofingera, kanapi, igle i konci, gitare i pera, čaše, flaše, *Cadis* (kvadratna forma sa dijagonalama, koja simbolizuje jezgro, pupak sveta). Ikonografija ovih predstava nameće se kao specijalni alfabet, moglo bi se reći klinasto ili hijeroglifsko pismo, čiji su konstitutivni elementi do kraja poznati samo njegovom tvorcu.[9] Iako su prostori đubrišta i skladišta ponekad sagledivi, njihovo krajnje značenje uvek izmiče posmatraču, jer umetnik ispunjava površinu papira do poslednjeg milimetra (istina, ponekad samo uglovi ostaju beli, ali time ne olakšavaju tumačenje Šejkinog rukopisa). Iluzionizam perspektive i mir gotskih terasa, produbljenost nenaseljenih soba[10] s globusima, čašama, mapama i slikama, kao neizostavnog mobilijara umetnikovih (renesansnih) enterijera, u kojima obitavaju još samo zmajevi, vilini konjici, psi, anđeli uništenja – sve to postepeno nestaje s mrtvih priroda *Đubrišta* i *Skladišta*, uvlačeći posmatrača u jedan skrajnuti, zanemareni svet, u kome jedino retki, osetljivi, usamljeni pojedinci otkrivaju auratičnost predmetnog i magnetizam univerzalnog, civilizacijskog otpada koji odražava karakter istorijskog subjekta.

Konačno, Šejka tako započinje svojevrsni umetnički / životni projekat (smrt ga je 1970. godine onemogućila da nastavi dalje). Njegove crteže i slike koji registruju postojanje mnoštva objekata na određenim prostorima grada moramo razumeti kao vremenske kapsule, koje čine sadržaj umetnikovih misli i strahova: kolekcija đubreta nastaje kao potreba da se ništa ne odbaci, da se sve sačuva, kako bi se jednog dana dešifrovao duh vremena.[11] Time Šejka postaje vođa kroz nepoznatu i neistraženu *Zonu* u koju stupaju samo izabrani, u kojoj se ostvaruju podsvesne želje.[12] Mnogobrojni crteži sa predstavama izdvojenih predmeta koji se gomilaju, prepliću, ukrštaju i sabijaju do neraspoznavanja, ukazuju na umetnikov osobeni pogled na okruženje. Jer čak i ono što je odbačeno za njega je značajno i ne gubi svoj lik: predmetni svet za Šejku je večita inspiracija, mesto otkrivanja novog puta unutar lavirinta, prostor privatne igre sa sobom. Preko *Đubrišta*, kao zemaljske faze umetnikovog prisustva, stiže se do *Zamka* kao nedostižne i teško dokučive *Zone*. Međutim, *Đubrište* nikada ne prestaje da intri-

gira, iako ga u poslednjem zapisu umetnik naziva prolaznim iskušenjem moderne umetnosti. Naime, slikanje kao izazov, prema njegovom mišljenju, privilegija je renesansnih majstora, koje je najviše cenio.[13] Učestvujući u umetničkim praksama moderne i postmoderne, Šejka napušta svoj rekvizitarijum, ostavljajući posmatrača pred praznim platnom, pred ispažnjenim *Skladištem*, neposredno pre nego što će obezbediti sebi put do *Zamka*.

„Tu vlada bratstvo ljudi i životinja, tu je život osmišljen, tu kao da je borba sa demijurgom urodila plodom, tu kao da se nazire moguća pobeda, to kao da jeste pobeda. Jer ta je kula podignuta uprkos Bogu, ta je kula izazov Bogu, ta kula je izgrađena po idealnim planovima, to je idealna kula, večni zamak. Umetnost je sve, život je ništa. Tu se, u tom šejkinskom zamku, čovek još može nadati nečem."[14]

Napomene:

[1] Kao godina formiranja grupe *Mediala* pominje se 1957. kada je sačinjeno jezgo pokreta, prvobitno kao kluba prijatelja *Baltazara* – beskućnika koji je lutao Beogradom i simbolizovao čistog, neopterećenog čoveka – a zatim pod nazivom *Mediala* koju su sačinjavali umetnici različitog opredeljenja i profila. Detaljno: I. Subotić, „Leonid Šejka: podaci o ličnosti i delu", u: *Leonid Šejka*, Beograd 1972, 25-6; *Mediala*, Gradac, Čačak 1977; L. Merenik, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968*, Beograd 2010, 137-146.

[2] Najbrojniji su crteži, koje je Šejka radio u svakoj prilici i na različitim podlogama, od malih do srednjih formata, podjednako negujući renesansnu perspektivu i iluzionistički produbljeni prostor (posebno u crtežima na kojima postoje tačkasta nagomilavanja, koja obrazuju optičku varku kretanja/ talasanja površine); zatim crteži *Skladišta* koji na dvodimenzionalnoj površini papira stvaraju *horror vacui* ukidajući prostor i umnožavajući predmete, do belih slika ispražnjenih *Skladišta* koje ga povezuju s praksom ruskih avangardnih umetnika, na kojima je ukinuta veza s prostorom i predmetnim svetom.

[3] L. Šejka, *Traktat o slikarstvu*, Zlatna grana, Sombor, 1995, 10.

[4] U segmentu *Traktata* pod nazivom *Mala istorija celovitosti* umetnik analizira iluzionizam, perspektivu i slojevitosti slike, kao i celovitost renesansnog dela, da bi se zatim okrenuo komentarisanju tzv. razbijanja celovitosti u okviru modernog slikarstva i hipertrofiji kao procesu koji uslovljava pojavu različitih ogranaka moderne umetnosti: hipertrofijom teme nastaje nadrealizam, konstrukcije – geometrijska apstrakcija, boje – apstraktni ekpresionizam, gesta – akciono slikarstvo, itd; Nav. delo, 41. Postaje jasno da Šejka neguje tradiciju Leonarda, Vermera, Van Ajka, posebno u delima *Muzejska postavka* (1956), *Odaja svetlozornosti* (1961), *Terasa gotska* (1967), *Mrtva priroda sa morskim konjicem* (1961), *Metafizička alegorija* (1967), *Hronometrija tlona* (1964). Njegov cilj je *integralna slika* čiji svet otkriva totalitet ljudskog lika i sudbine, i koja čoveku pruža idealno boravište u kome se on upućuje ka bitnom u svom postojanju; Nav. delo, 148.

[5] „Fiksiranje se obavlja tako što se na neki predmet *Đubrišta*, na neku drvenu kutiju ili, recimo, na beli kvadrat Maljeviča, ili plavi kvadrat Iva Klajna prenese, pomoću jednog imaginarnog projektora, fatamorgana različitih prizora Zamka....", L. Šejka, *Grad-Đubrište-Zamak 1*, Književne novine, Beograd, 1982, 104.

[6] To su proizvodi koji su još u upotrebi, koji nisu izgubili primarnu funkciju, i sačuvali su svoje prvobitno značenje (npr. konzerva *Campbell* supe ostaje to što jeste – ona nije odbačena, ispražnjena limenka koja za potrošača više nema značaj).

[7] L. Šejka, nav. delo, 103.
[8] Skladište je zona prekomernog gomilanja i množenja predmeta, zona maksimalne gustine i vertikalnog prostiranja. Šejka tvrdi da u Skladištu ne postoji horizont, ne postoji *gore* i *dole*. „Registrovanje malog predmeta Skladišta, koji se mogu naći po džepovima dečaka ili na izbočini nekog zanemarenog zida, može se obaviti u formi mrtve prirode, polumrtve prirode ili mrtve poluprirode." Nav. delo, 104.
[9] Karakter pisma, koji se ovde pripisuje Šejkinim predstavama, u vezi je s ciklusom *Nabrajanje slika* ili *Brojanje do 192* u kome se uočavaju gradivne jedinice umetnikovog rukopisa, koje se i u kasnijim radovima ponavljaju u istom ili donekle modifikovanom vidu. Takođe, na izvesnim delima predmeti su prikazani zajedno s natpisima, izrađenim čitljivim Šejkinim rukopisom: oni pojašnjavaju sadržaj dela, a ponekad su sasvim intimne asocijacije na predstavljeni objekat.
[10] Sobe u kojima se oseća mir i terase na kojima se retko zatiču akteri deo su Šejkinog raja – *Zamka* - metafore prostora u kome se ostvaruje celovitost duše.
[11] Nameće se paralela sa Endijem Vorholom, koji je počeo da formira vremenske kapsule 1974. godine. U njegovom slučaju, to su kutije u kojima su spakovani svi bitni predmeti umetnikove svakodnevice.
[12] Pominjanje *Zone* u vezi je s filmom *Stalker* Andreja Tarkovskog iz 1979. godine, koji je nastao na osnovu pripovetke *Piknik pokraj puta* Arkadija i Borisa Strugackog; Šejka i Stalker su čiste, neokaljane duše u potrazi za Bogom. Stalker demistifikuje tajnu đubrišta neposredno pre ulaska umetnika i naučnika u prostor tajanstvene sobe. On kaže da je *Đubrište* zona u kojoj se ostvaruju posebne želje: one za koje čovek smatra da su izgubljene, koje su nestale negde na putu na kome je došlo do zaborava bića i otuđenja od sopstva.
[13] „Zbog toga, slikari Zamka koji slikaju pod blagoslovom Sv. Luke upotrebljavaju perspektivu", L. Šejka, „Spisak tema", nav. delo, 105.
[14] D. Kiš, „Izgnanstvo i kraljevstvo Marije Čudine", u: *Iz prepiske*, KOV, Vršac, 2005, 95.

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IN ŠEJKA'S ZONE

Summary:
The group *Mediala* was the framework of Leonid Šejka's (1932-70) early artistic actions. After he separated from the group, he continued practicing various forms of art: paintings, performances, drawings and assemblages. Following the tradition of renaissance art, influenced by Leonardo, he wrote *Tractate on Painting* in 1964. Prior to this, in 1957, he wrote several novels in which he tried to explain the main concepts of his art: *Dump*, *City*, *Depository* and *Castle*. Šejka believes that the true being of an object is discovered only after it loses its function, when discarded as useless. In the numerous drawings dating from mid fifties to mid sixties typical items of artist's interest are represented: keys, locks, clamps, coats, parts hangers, string, needles and threads, guitars and pens, glasses, bottles, CADIS (quadratic form with the diagonals, which symbolizes the core, the navel of the world). Šejka created a collection of garbage in need to save everything, without any selection, in order to decipher the spirit of time. This process led the artist from the phase of *Dump* to the phase of *Depository*, where all the chosen objects are represented as existing in their own right. Gradually, he replaced renaissance perspective by two-dimensional representation in which objects are placed like words, in sequence, forming unique alphabet. Eventually Šejka disappears from his storage of objects, leaving a blank canvas in front of the observer, like an empty warehouse, just before he finds the path to the security of his *Castle*.

Key words: Leonid Šejka, drawing, *Dump*, *Depository*, object, *Castle*

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IN MEMORIAM
DR BODIN VUKSAN (1955-2012)

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