

“zemlja”: some problems of interpretation: on the occasion of the critical retrospective exhibition

The art of Zemlja (Earth) has already been presented at retrospective exhibitions¹ and the interpretation of this period of Croatian art has experienced significant changes. The interest for Zemlja has always been interdisciplinary: art history and criticism have joined forces with other scholarly disciplines, such as history and philosophy. However, without a unique system of values, all these attempts could not avoid the basic disadvantage of *the lack of principles in the theory of interpretation*. In practice, dominant aesthetic pluralism allows for the application of everything-goes method; thus, the significance of Zemlja's art has been interpreted in most various ways.

Was the aim of this last retrospective of Zemlja to clarify the theoretical problem of the relationship between *the revolutionary intent of a work of art and its form* or to present certain period in a documentary manner? If it is the latter case, the exhibition could be satisfied with its external historical meaning, but that was not its most important starting point. The exhibition did not intend to be *merely a retrospective*, but also a *critical assessment*, which it also was,² though rather in the interpretation of its historians and critics³ than in the choice of material: insignificant and failed pieces were not explicitly distinguished from significant and accomplished ones. But what have we lost on one side, we have gained on another: peripheral personalities and facts rounded up the impression of a *milieu* in which the art was created.

The reasons for a revival of interest in Zemlja's art are not only in its work, but also in us, in our times: the issue of the artist's engagement in his art belongs to the existential problems of artistic creation today. Certainly, the artist is always engaged, but we are interested in that special case when he is not only a servant of the “*higher purposes, with precise, great and sacred duties*” (Kandinsky), but also directly obliged to the revolutionary intent of the work of art.

The first distinction that matters to us is that between the metaphysical engagement in creation and the actual engagement in reality, in life, in the undertaken (political) idea. The second one compels us to distinguish between the notions of *revolutionary art and revolution in art*. In theory, this problem has an interesting genesis, especially because of fact that some of the most brilliant minds in our country, from Cesarec to Krleža, have tried to solve it from the Marxist positions and that such debates have significantly intensified the “conflict within the Left.” A rather precise answer to the question what is revolutionary art was offered by B. Arvatov, an almost forgotten aesthetician of Lenin's post-October period. According to Arvatov, art is revolutionary if it represents the “*construction of new forms*.” Unfortunately, the quoted phrase is only the first part of his definition (which is daring and future oriented, while in case of Tatlin it is also based on his work!), since the pragmatist placenta came out with its *post*

“zemlja”: neki problemi interpretacije u povodu kritičke retrospektive

Stvaralaštvo Zemlje predstavljeno je bilo već retrospektivnim izložbama,¹ a interpretacija tog razdoblja hrvatske umjetnosti doživjela je najveće promjene. Interes je za Zemlju oduvijek bio više značajan: uz povijest umjetnosti i kritiku tu su se angažirale i neke druge naučne discipline, kao povijest i filozofija. Bez jednoznačnog vrijednosnog sistema svi ti pokušaji nisu mogli izbjegći osnovni nedostatak: *nenačelnost u teoriji interpretacije*. Prevladavajući estetski pluralizam dopušta u praksi primjenu sve-sva metoda, pa je i značaj zemljaške umjetnosti najrazličitije tumačen.

Je li cilj ove posljednje retrospektive Zemlje bio razjašnjavanje teoretskog problema odnosa *revolucionarne intencije umjetničkog djela i njegova oblika*, ili dokumentirano iznošenje jednog razdoblja? Ako je o ovom posljednjem riječ, onda se izložba mogla zadovoljiti svojim vanjskim povijesnim smislom, ali to nije bilo njeno najvažnije polazište. Ta izložba nije htjela biti *samo retrospektiva*, nego i *kritička* prosudba, i ona je to bila,² više u interpretaciji svojih povjesnika i kritičara³ nego u izboru materijala: neznačajna i promašena djela nisu explicite razlučena od značajnih i potpunih. Ali, što smo na jednoj strani izgubili, na drugoj se iskazuje kao dobitak: periferne ličnosti i činjenice zaokružile su dojam o *sredini* u kojoj je nastajala ta umjetnost.

Uzroci ponovnog buđenja zanimanja za zemljašku umjetnost ne leže samo u njenim djelima nego i u nama, u našem vremenu: pitanje angažiranja umjetnika umjetničkim

djelom jedan je od egzistencijalnih problema stvaralaštva danas. Umjetnik je, naravno, uvijek angažiran, ali nas zanima onaj poseban slučaj kad on nije samo sluga “viših svrha čije su dužnosti precizne, velike i svete” (Kandinsky), nego kad je obvezan konkretno prema revolucionarnoj intenciji umjetničkog djela.

Prva distinkcija koja je za nas važna jest lučenje metafizičkog angažiranja u stvaralaštvu od konkretnog angažiranja u stvarnosti, u životu, na poduzetoj (političkoj) ideji. Druga distinkcija obvezuje nas na odvajanje pojma *revolucionarne umjetnosti od revolucije u umjetnosti*. U teoriji taj problem ima zanimljivu genezu, posebno zbog toga što su se u njegovu rješavanju s marksističkih pozicija angažirali u nas najsjajniji umovi, od Cesareca do Krleže, i što su raspre o tome bitno produbile “sukob na ljevici”. Prilično točan odgovor na pitanje što je revolucionarna umjetnost dao je B. Arvatov, gotovo zaboravljeni estetičar postoktobarskog lenjinskog razdoblja. Prema Arvatovu, umjetnost je revolucionarna ako predstavlja “građenje novih formi”. Nažalost, citirana rečenica samo je prvi dio njegove definicije (smjele i okrenute budućnosti, a u povodu Tatlina i s osloncem na njegovu stvaralaštvu!), jer je post partum izšla pragmatistička košuljica u obliku ideološkog dočetka: “... uz paralelnu preobrazbu društvenih formi”.

August Cesarec, jedan od najzainteresiranijih promatrača drame ruske likovne avangarde (slušao je — a takvih je slušalaca

partum in the form of an ideological completion: "... along with a parallel transformation of social forms."

August Cesarec, who was one of the most interested observers of the drama of Russian vanguard in visual arts (some time in 1923 he attended a lecture by Malevich in Moscow - and there was "at most eight to ten" people in the audience!), endorsed such art that "sees its revolution precisely in leaning upon the revolution of masses."⁴ Leaning on the revolution of masses actually meant serving its goals. Instead of being the subject of historical processes, art was to become their instrument.

It was the beginning of the involution of "Marxist aesthetics" and the introduction into art criticism of the "great principles of collective sensibility, which has made art our need in the first place" (A. Cesarec). Obsessed by the real world and the collective, our entire Left rose against the "aesthetic arbitrariness and subjective taste." More precisely: it was necessary to get rid of all emotional acciden-tality and to reduce it to scientific (Marxist) laws of the society. The immanent revolution of form in art was neglected in favour of accomplishing the social revolution.

Cesarec immediately sensed the dangers of such interdependence of revolution art and was wisely asking back in 1924: "Does that mean that art and revolution are actually in contrast?"⁵ However, since after Harkov (1930) all that were politically orthodox considered the dilemma of Cesarec senseless, Zemlja could develop its ideology of form reached by the methods of political thinking in the gloomy Harkovian climate until as late as 1933, the year of Krleža's Foreword to Hegedušić's *Podravina Motifs*.

In that Foreword, Krleža observed in the context of literature what had been evident in the visual practice of Zemlja from its beginnings: although in theory they were giving advantage to positive and social art over the individual and metaphysical one, in their practice they had accomplished, if they did, only subjectivity and the assertion of individuality! But let us turn back to the case of Cesarec; I believe that his attitude leads us to the crucial question of the ideological character of Zemlja's art. The entire amplitude of events in the young Soviet vanguard in art "from Larionov's primitivism to Tatlin's constructivism" presented itself in his imagination as the spasm of searching for the beginning and the end, the life and death of art, "not only in today's Russia, but

in the whole world"; and Cesarec saw the way out of all those "directions", which had "brought art to the brink of suicide" in social revolution, "which has also placed its original demands" before art. Cesarec's essays on this topic, published in *Književna republika* from 1923-1927 certainly described the basic determinants of Zemlja's *Program* from 1929. Tatlin's call to war "against the aesthetic arbitrariness and subjective taste of former art" corresponded to Hegedušić's demand for a collective that would "use its art to foreword the interests of its society, assisted by deserters from old art," just as the programmatic protest of Zemlja against "l'art pour l'art" had its model in the contrast between the (Russian) vanguard and the individual and metaphysical art of expressionism.

Thus, the ideas of European vanguard in visual arts did reach the shores of Zemlja, but they were running under ground, they were "translated", sometimes very metaphorically. For example, it is interesting to compare the Marxist interpretations of the notion of "social art" in Russia and Croatia in the transition period of 1920-1925. Whereas for B. Arvatov social art was "the art of creating things," i.e. "the laboratory processing of matter with production tasks," the same ideological basis of constructivism was transformed on our side into a demand for art that will critically process the reality with political tasks.

Here we have already entered the historical level of the problem, where the "external arrangement" of Zemlja's art is becoming clearly evident: in our space and time, rayonism, suprematism, and constructivism were just "pale and transparent mist" on the horizon where clouds of terror and dictatorship were accumulating and the only way out of that absurd reality was the negation of the absurd, rather than the mere negation of reality in the form of the denial of realism.

What were the echoes of this extra-artistic demand in the art of the unlimited subject?

In case of Zemlja, the task of the political (social, engaged) intent of art was an accent rather than limitation. Even though "objective realism" could serve as a "mould" for ideas to be formed according to the intention of party theory, the art of Zemlja constantly reveals the reaction of subjectivity. There is no stylistic unity in the group; it is only presupposed in its programme. From that presupposed goal, individual consequences of form are developed, each of them according to the power of individual creative personalities.

Zemlja did not develop a characteristic style (and it would take us too far away from the aim of this paper if we wanted to distinguish in detail what was specific, incomparable and indubitable rather than apocryphal in the expression of Zemlja artists!), but its historical achievement should be assessed precisely in its shifting away from the instrumentalisation of the creative act by emancipating its formal intent.

The gloomy principle of political engagement did not always feel comfortable with being thrown into a game of artistic instruments, while the genetic and the descriptive analysis of Zemlja reveals its history in this respect as a history of experimenting with various viewpoints, especially now, in the *Critical Retrospective*, when the movement is presented as a whole, in its most complete version. Contradictions and even conflicts were something natural for an efficient movement like that, since it was, beside its presupposed unity, enriched by a huge amount of unidentified, individual, sublime, and spiritual motives.

What is then the factor of unity in Zemlja's art? We are approaching this question after we have denied Zemlja all unity of style.

The existence of Zemlja's art, and even its limited historical significance, is not based on something predetermined (such as the theory of social realism), but only on something individual: the artist and his art. It was not only art licences that helped Zemlja's art to avoid becoming the "instrument of the party's political pragmatism," but rather the inevitable "shining through of the individual" (De Sanctis) and the following crucial question: "does the one who is painting have his inner face?"⁶

The hypothesis about the "most consistent inner correlation" could be sustained exclusively on the basis of exterior, non-artistic reasons. The common (unique) goal did not find an appropriate answer in the consequences: the supposition about the "artistic independence of our people" (Krsto Hegedušić) was not realized. Certainly, this fact raises the question of the relationship of Zemlja towards the tradition and the given state of our visual arts.

The "engaged" art of Zemlja and the contemporary "formalist" art were mutually permeated depended internally on each other. Certain features of "bourgeois" and "collective" art coincided and the process of integration of their basic formal characteristics was most evident from the beginning until

bilo "najviše osam do deset"! — Maljevića negdje 1923. u Moskvi), zalagao se za takvu umjetnost koja "svoju revoluciju vidi upravo u tome da se oslanja na revoluciju masa".⁴ *Oslanjati* se na revoluciju masa značilo je, konkretno, *služiti* njenim ciljevima. Namjesto da bude subjekt povijesnog događanja, umjetnost je imala postati njegovo sredstvo.

Bio je to začetak involucije "marksističke estetike" i uvođenja u kritiku "velikih načela kolektivne prijemljivosti po kojoj je umjetnost i postala našom potrebom" (A. Cesarec). Opsesionirani realnim svijetom i kolektivom svi su na našoj ljevici ustali protiv "estetske samovolje i subjektivnog ukusa". Konkretno: trebalo je odbaciti emocionalne slučajnosti, svesti ih na naučne (marksističke) društvene zakonitosti. Imanentna revolucija forme u umjetnosti zapostavljena je na račun ostvarenja socijalne revolucije.

Cesarec je iz početka osjetio opasnosti takve interdependencije revolucije i umjetnosti i pitao se, još 1924, mudro: "Znači *li to da su umjetnost i revolucija zapravo kontrasti?*"⁵ Međutim, kako je poslije Harkova (1930.) za sve pravovjernike dvoumljenje nad Cesarčevom dilemom postalo bespredmetno, Zemlja razvija u namrgodenoj harkovskoj klimi svoju *ideologiju forme nađene metodama političkog mišljenja*, sve do 1933., do Krležinog Predgovora Hegedušićevim Podravskim motivima.

Krleža je u Predgovoru literarno uočio ono što je u *likovnoj praksi* Zemlje bilo već od početka očevidno: mada su na rječi individualnoj i metafizičkoj umjetnosti suprotstavljeni pozitivnu i socijalnu umjetnost, zemljaši su u djelu došli, ako su došli, samo do subjektivnosti i potvrde ličnosti! Ali vratimo se još jedanput na slučaj Cesarca; uz njegove nazore, mislim, vezano je presudno pitanje o ideologijskom karakteru zemljaške umjetnosti. Čitava naime amplituda zbivanja u mladoj avangardnoj sovjetskoj umjetnosti "od primitivizma Larionova do konstruktivizma Tatlinova" prikazala se u njegovoj uobrazilji kao tražilački grč početka i kraja, života i smrti umjetnosti "ne samo današnje Rusije nego cijele kugle", i Cesarec vidi izlaz iz svih tih "smjerova" koji "dovedoše umjetnost do samoubojstva" u socijalnoj revoluciji "koja ima svoje originalne zahtjeve" i prema umjetnosti. Cesarčevi napisi o tom pitanju u Književnoj republici 1923.-1927. zasigurno su dali osnovne odrednice zemljaškog Programa iz 1929. godine. Tatlinov poziv na borbu "protiv estetske samovolje i subjek-

tivnog ukusa prijašnje umjetnosti" primijeren je Hegedušićevu zahtjevu za kolektivom koji hoće da putem "svoje umjetnosti zastupa interes svoga društva, potpomagan od dezterera stare umjetnosti", kao što je programski prosvjed Zemlje protiv "lar-purlara" imao svoj predložak u suprotstavljanju (ruske) avangarde individualnoj i metafizičkoj umjetnosti ekspresionizma.

Ideje evropske likovne avangarde dopirale su dakle do obala Zemlje, ali su imale podzemni tok, bile su "prevedene", ponekad veoma metaforično. Zanimljiva je, primjerice, usporedba interpretacije pojma "socijalne umjetnosti" s marksističkim pozicijama u Rusiji i Hrvatskoj u prijelaznom razdoblju 1920. do 1925. Dok je za B. Arvatova socijalna umjetnost — "umjetnost stvaranja stvari", tj. "laboratorijsko obrađivanje materije s proizvodnim zadatacima", na našoj će strani ta ideološka podnica konstruktivizma biti pretvorena u zahtjev za umjetnošću koja *kritički obrađuje stvarnost s političkim zadacima*.

Ovdje se već uključujemo u povjesnu razinu problema na kojoj nam se bjelodano ukazuje "vanjsko ustrojstvo" zemljaške umjetnosti: u našem prostoru i vremenu rejonizam, suprematizam ili konstruktivizam bili su "blijeda i prozirna magla" na obzoru gdje su se gomilali oblaci terora i diktature, i jedini je izlaz iz *apsurdne stvarnosti* bio u negaciji apsurga, a ne samo stvarnosti u obliku otklona od realizma.

Kako se takav izvanumjetnički zahtjev iskazana umjetnostneograničenog subjekta?

U slučaju Zemlje zadatak političke (socijalne, angažirane) intencije umjetnosti djelovalo je akcentirajuće a ne ograničavajuće. Iako je "objektivni realizam" mogao biti "kalup" za ideje koje je trebalo oblikovati pod intencijom partijske teorije, u zemljaškim djelima neprestano zatječemo *reakciju subjektiviteta*. U grupi *nema stilskog jedinstva*; ono se samo programom prepostavlja. Iz tog *prepostavljenog cilja* razvijaju se pojedine konzervativne oblikovanja, već prema snazi pojedine stvaralačke ličnosti.

Zemlja nije došla do sebi svojstvenog stila (udaljilo bi nas od svrhe ovog napisa da podrobnije razlučujemo što je u izrazu zemljaša vlasno, neprispodobivo i neprijeporno a što apokrifno!), ali njeno povijesno dostignuće treba potvrditi upravo u *otklonu od instrumentaliziranja stvaralačkog čina osamostaljivanjem formalne intencije*.

Namrgoden princip političke angažiranosti nije se uvijek ugodno osjećao ubaćen u igru umjetničkih sredstava, a genetska

i deskriptivna analiza Zemlje otkriva nam u tom pogledu njenu povijest kao povijest iskušavanja različitih gledišta, posebno sada u *Kritičkoj retrospektivi*, kad se cjelina pokreta predstavlja u svom najpotpunijem izdanju. Proturječnosti, pa i sukobi, bili su naravni u jednom takvom djelotvornom pokretu koji je osim prepostavljenog jedinstva cilja bio obogaćen i najvećim brojem neidentificiranih individualnih najviših duhovnih podstrelka.

Što je, onda, faktor ujedinjenja zemljaške umjetnosti? Na ovo pitanje prelazimo pošto smo Zemlji odrekli svojstvo jedinstva stil-a.

Egzistencija zemljaške umjetnosti, pa ni njen ograničeno povijesno značenje, ne zasniva se na nečem unaprijed danom (kao što je teorija soc-realizma) nego samo na nečem pojedinačnom; na umjetniku i umjetničkom djelu. Nisu samo umjetničke licencije pomogle da zemljaška umjetnost ne postane "instrument partijske političke pragmatike", nego je bilo posrijedi ono nezaobilazno "prosijavanje individualnog" (De Sanctis), ključno pitanje: "Ima li onaj koji slika svoje unutarnje lice?"⁶

Teza o "najdosljednijoj unutarnjoj povezanosti, mogla bi se održati temeljeći svoje argumente samo na vanjskim, neumjetničkim uzrocima. Zajednički (jedinstveni) cilj nije našao dostojan odgovor u posljedicama: pretpostavka o "likovnoj samostalnosti našeg naroda" (Krsto Hegedušić) nije ostvarena. Ovdje se nadaje, naravno, pitanje *odnosa Zemlje prema tradiciji i prema zatečenom stanju naše likovnosti*.

Zemljaška "angažirana" i suvremena joj "formalistička" umjetnost uzajamno se prožimaju, unutarnje ovise jedna o drugoj. Pojedine se značajke "građanske" i "kolektivne" umjetnosti poklapaju, a proces integracije osnovnih formalnih svojstava bio je od početka do kraja zemljaškog razdoblja najoručiji; u rastenju Zemlje postoji tjesna veza zakonomjerno uzastopnih stadija razvitka hrvatske moderne umjetnosti.

Svaka povijesna interpretacija Zemlje koja je radila na razvrgnuću tog principa uzajamnosti mogla je dokazati samo svoju nemoc. Stvoriti umjetnost prema svom političkom naziranju, to je kao nakana unaprijed bilo osuđeno na propast zbog zadrtog solipsizma modernog umjetnika. Da bi nastala "nova umjetnost", trebalo je stvoriti novog umjetnika, a to je bila tada, i danas je, tlapnja.

Nikakvi prodori interpretacije nikada neće napipati u tome stilski heterogenom

the end of Zemlja's activity; in its growth, there was a close connection between the regularly subsequent stages of development in Croatian modern art.

All historical interpretations of Zemlja that worked on abolishing this principle of mutuality could only prove its impotence. To create art according to one's political ideas was doomed to fail as intent from the very beginning because of the stubborn solipsism of the modern artist. In order to create "new art", it was necessary to create the new artist, which was an illusion then as it is today.

No breakthroughs in interpretation will ever find in this stylistically heterogeneous material any justification for promoting one correct art, which would convince us that "we can possess the world in a completely different sense than we used to possess it" (C. Fiedler), in an orthodox way. And it is precisely that failure of Zemlja that contains the historical justification of its effort.

The presupposed goal of the political utilitarianism of Zemlja's art could be reached chiefly under the condition that *the means should coincide with the content of presentation* and since that efficient creative harmony was then, just as it is today, born primarily deep within the artist's personality, *singularity of style* was the only authentic answer of the author to these extra-artistic demands. Thus, if we search for the specific quality of Zemlja's art from the art-historical

aspect, we should primarily emphasize the phenomenon of the *emancipation of the formal*, which was again, from the point of view of space and time, a heretical example, observed already then as a dichotomy of political and artistic goals.

Modern criticism viewed that "duality" of Zemlja's art through the slits in Janus's mask and, squinting like that, failed to notice that it was precisely Zemlja that approached the existential question of modern art, the question of the art of revolution and the revolution of art by seeking and finding original solutions (in a broad range from Van Gogh to Masserel, from the grotesque to popular realism, from B. Taut to B. Arvatov) and opening new paths. Much has been written and well reasoned on that topic recently, especially on the occasion of the three afore-mentioned exhibitions. Eventually, the following opinion has prevailed: the quality of Zemlja's art is what matters rather than what it was supposed to achieve socially; thus, its historical merits were detached from its artistic accomplishments.

In such an interpretation of Zemlja's art - in which its specific case was not separated from contemporary art as a whole - even its former utilitarianism acquired a new cultural dimension.

Zemlja's program and practice overstep the boundaries of visual arts; they comprise an entirely new worldview. If we ignore the populist, didactic intentionality and

some other asymptotes (e.g. the School of Hlebine) within Zemlja's programme, it is impossible after this exhibition to deny its role as the moving spirit behind the revival of form and its vanguard position in creating the new "setting" for artistic creation. There are certain coincidences between Zemlja's reference to the "art of the collective" and the modern demand for a divulgation of artistic product; both tendencies radicalise the relationship between art and society! With its efforts in the field of industrial design and architecture, Zemlja also sought to open the perspectives for the artist's detachment from his painting or sculpture by promising the possibility of creation in the sphere of production, in the sphere of the "original organic construction of life."

The theoretical neglect of Zemlja has been justified, among other things, by the statement that an objective evaluation of its art became possible only after the causes and forces that had crucially determined its appearance and position in the history of Croatian modern art had ceased to operate. However, this attitude has a serious flaw: it allows for an interpretation of Zemlja as a closed, completed process, thus limiting historically its activity. And there is absolutely no justification for that. ×

PRIJEVOD: Marina Miladinov

¹ "Angažirana umjetnost u Jugoslaviji 1919-1969" [Engaged art in Yugoslavia, 1919-1969], Umetnosna galerija, Slovenjgradec, 1969.

² For some general remarks on the issue, see: V. Maleković, Zemlja na zemlji [Earth (Zemlja) on earth], Vjesnik, 8 June 1971.

³ Božidar Gagro, Zemlja između uzroka i posljedice [Zemlja between cause and consequence], catalogue of the Critical Retrospective of Zemlja, Zagreb, 1971; Igor Zidić, Slikarstvo,

grafika, crtež [Painting, graphics, drawings], op.cit.

⁴ August Cesarec, Suvremeni ruski slikari [Contemporary Russian painters], Književna republika, 1924. Reprint in: "Svetlost u mraku" [Light in darkness], Stvarnost, Zagreb, 1963, pp. 281ff.

⁵ Op.cit., p. 297.

⁶ Miroslav Krleža, Povratak Filipa Latinovicza [The return of Filip Latinowicz], Zora, Zagreb, 1962, p. 191.

materijalu opravdanje za promaknuće jedino ispravne umjetnosti, koja će nas uvjeriti kako "svijet možemo posjedovati u sasvim drugačijem smislu nego što smo ga posjedovali prije" (C. Fiedler), pravovjerno. I baš u tom neuspjehu Zemlje leži povjesno opravdanje njenog pokušaja.

Prepostavljeni cilj političke utilitarnosti zemљaških djela mogao se ostvariti poglavito uz uvjet *podudarnosti sredstva sa sadržajem prikaza*, a kako se ta efikasna stvaralačka harmonija, u ono vrijeme kao i danas, rađala ponajprije u dubini ličnosti umjetnika, *singularnost stila* bio je jedini autentični odgovor stvaraoca na te vanumjetničke zahtjeve. Ako dakle tražimo specifikum zemљaške umjetnosti s povijesno-umjetničke razine pitanja, onda treba najprije istaći fenomen *osamostaljenja formalnog*, što je opet, gledano s prostornog i vremenskog stajališta, bio heretički primjer, a uočen je već bio kao dihotomija između političkih i umjetničkih ciljeva.

Suvremena je kritika na tu "dvojnost" zemљaške umjetnosti gledala kroz proreze Janusove maske, i u tom škiljenju promaklo joj je kako upravo Zemlja u odgovoru na to

egzistencijalno pitanje moderne umjetnosti, pitanje umjetnosti revolucije i revolucije umjetnosti, traži i nalazi originalna rješenja (u širokom rasponu od Van Gogha do Masserela, od groteske do pučkog realizma, od B. Tauta do B. Arvatova), otvara nove putove. U posljednje vrijeme, pogotovo u povodu triju ovdje spominjanih izložaba, o tome je dosta napisano, pametno prosuđeno. Konačno je prevladalo mišljenje: nije toliko važno šta se htjelo društveno postići zemљaškom umjetnošću, nego kakva su joj djela, pa su njene povijesne zasluge distinguirane od njezinih umjetničkih dostignuća.

U takvoj interpretaciji umjetnosti Zemlje — kod čega njen posebni slučaj nije izdvojen iz cjeline umjetnosti odnosnoga vremena — čak je i njen prijašnji utilitarizam dobio drugu kulturnu dimenziju.

Program i praksa Zemlje prelaze ograničeno područje likovnih umjetnosti; u njima je sadržan novi odnos prema svijetu. Ako zapustimo populističku, prosvjetiteljsku intencionalnost i neke druge asymptote (tzv. Hlebinska škola) zemљaškog programa, nemoguće je nakon ove izložbe

zanijekati njenu ulogu pokretačke snage obnove oblika, njenu avangardnu poziciju u stvaranju nove "sredine" umjetničkog djela. Između zemљaškog pozivanja na "umjetnost kolektiva" i modernog zahtjeva za divulgacijom umjetničkog produkta ima podudarnosti; obje tendencije radikaliziraju odnos umjetnost-društvo! Zemlja je, također, pokušavala svojim nastojanjima na industrijskom dizajnu i arhitekturi otvoriti perspektive otklona umjetnikovog od slike ili kipa obećavajući mu mogućnosti stvaranja u sferi proizvodnje, u sferi "prvobitnog organskog građenja života".

Teoretsko zanemarivanje Zemlje opravdavalo se između ostalog i tvrdnjom da je objektivnije vrednovanje zemљaške umjetnosti bilo moguće tek kad su prestali djelovati razlozi i sile koje su bitno odredivale njenu pojavu i položaj u povijesti hrvatske moderne umjetnosti. Takav stav, međutim, ima jedan ozbiljan nedostatak: dopušta interpretaciju Zemlje kao zatvorenog, dovršenog procesa i povijesno ograničuje njenje djelovanje. A ništa ne svjedoči tome u prilog. ×

Život umjetnosti, 17, 1972.

- ¹ "Angažirana umjetnost u Jugoslaviji 1919-1969", Umetnosna galerija, Slovenjgradec 1969.
- ² Neke općenitije naznake o tom pitanju: V. Maleković, Zemlja na zemlji, Vjesnik, 8. lipnja 1971.
- ³ Božidar Gagro, Zemlja između uzroka i posljedice, katalog Kritičke retrospektive Zemlje, Zagreb 1971; Igor Židić, Slikarstvo, grafika, crtež, n. dj.

- ⁴ August Cesarec, Suvremeni ruski slikari, Književna republika, 1924. Pretiskano u knjizi "Svetlost u mraku", Stvarnost, Zagreb 1963. str. 281 i d.
- ⁵ N. dj., str. 297.
- ⁶ Miroslav Krleža, Povratak Filipa Latinovicza, Zora, Zagreb 1962, str. 191.