

Dalibor Prančević

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(1945. – 1952.)

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Hrvatska udruga likovnih umjetnika – Split
Croatian Association of Visual Artists – Split, Croatia

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PROSLOV AUTORA

Knjiga koja je pred vama nastala je u povodu osamdesete obljetnice kontinuiteta umjetničkoga udruženja čije su se organizacijske, pravne i imenodavne odrednice mijenjale u skladu s društvenim, institucijskim i povijesnim okolnostima od 1945. godine do danas. Polazište knjige čini potreba za sustavnijim sagledavanjem formativne faze ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju. To je vrijeme neposrednoga poraća, obilježenoga uspostavom novoga državnog poretka, preoblikovanjem kulturnih politika i artikulacijom novih zahtjeva koji su stavljeni pred likovnu umjetnost.

Istraživanje koje čini temelj ove knjige oslanja se ponajprije na arhivsku građu, osobito zapisnike splitske podružnice te dokumentaciju zagrebačke središnjice, koji omogućuju uvid u unutarnju dinamiku udruženja, njegove organizacijske izazove i programske odrednice. U knjizi su obrađene rane izložbene prakse, sudjelovanje umjetnika u oblikovanju nove likovne paradigme, prvih sedam prvomajskih izložbi, kao i izložba posvećena obnovi, sagledana kao osobito važan interdisciplinarni projekt splitskih umjetnika, inženjera i arhitekata.

Posebna je pozornost posvećena recepciji izložbi u lokalnome javnom prostoru, s ciljem prepoznavanja ključnih kritičkih diskursa i načina na koje se poslijeratni likovni život u Splitu razumijevao, tumačio i vrednovao. Knjiga je stoga zamišljena kao doprinos poznavanju institucijskih početaka, kriznih i konsolidacijskih procesa te izložbenih modela koji su obilježili rano razdoblje djelovanja udruženja u Dalmaciji.

Dalibor Prančević
Split, lipanj 2026.

POPIS VAŽNIJIH AKRONIMA

AFŽ	Antifašistički front žena
AVNOJ	Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije
CK	Centralni komitet
FNR	Federativna Narodna Republika
FNRJ	Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija
HDA	Hrvatski državni arhiv
HSS	Hrvatska seljačka stranka
HULU	Hrvatska udruga likovnih umjetnika
JRM	Jugoslavenska ratna mornarica
KP	Komunistička partija
KPH	Komunistička partija Hrvatske
KPJ	Komunistička partija Jugoslavije
KUD	Kulturno-umjetničko društvo
KUO	Kulturno-umjetnički odbor
MJ	Muzej Jugoslavije
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska
NO	Narodni odbor
NOR	Narodnooslobodilački rat
NR	Narodna Republika
NRH	Narodna Republika Hrvatska
SLUJ	Savez likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije
SULUJ	Savez udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije
ULUH	Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske
ZAVNOH	Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Hrvatske

1 UVODNA RAZMATRANJA

Poratno ustrojavanje likovnoga polja: institucije, nadzor, pregovori

U poratnome likovnom životu Splita zamjetne su promjene koje se ne mogu razumjeti samo pojedinačnim opusima, izložbama i stilskim pomacima. Njihovo se značenje razabire i u širim organizacijskim praksama: u zapisnicima, administrativnoj korespondenciji, institucijskim pregovorima i svakodnevnim oblicima rada strukovnoga udruženja. Stoga važnim postaje pitanje na koji se način nakon 1945. godine oblikovao prostor likovnoga djelovanja u Splitu i kako je ULUH-ova Podružnica za Dalmaciju sudjelovala u njegovu ustrojavanju. Takav istraživački rakurs dosad nije bio sustavno proveden, premda to ne znači da je poslijeratni splitski likovni kontekst ostao izvan historiografskoga interesa. Naprotiv, povjesničar umjetnosti i polihistor Duško Kečkemet sustavno je pratio i tumačio splitski likovni kontekst, osobito u knjizi *Slikari, kipari, arhitekti. Likovna umjetnost novijeg doba u Splitu. Splitski umjetnici i likovni život od 1945. – 1992.*, oblikujući temeljnu kronološko-problemsku platformu na kojoj se zasnivaju sva potonja istraživanja.¹ Njegova je analiza postavila ključne orijentire u razumijevanju pojedinačnih opusa, stilskih mijena i kulturne dinamike grada. Ipak, Kečkemetov pristup – u skladu s dominantnim metodološkim modelima druge polovine dvadesetoga stoljeća – primarno je bio usmjeren na umjetničke osobnosti, estetske profile i interpretaciju djela, a organizacijski, administrativni i proceduralni aspekti djelovanja strukovnih institucija ostajali su u pozadini istraživačkoga interesa. U novije su vrijeme pojedini segmenti poratne likovne scene, osobito aktivnosti Umjetničkoga salona Galić u prvim godinama nakon 1945. godine, dobili novu valorizaciju, čime su dodatno osvijetljeni izložbeni i programski tokovi toga razdoblja.² No, i u tim je istraživanjima

1 Duško Kečkemet, *Slikari, kipari, arhitekti. Likovna umjetnost novijeg doba u Splitu. Splitski umjetnici i likovni život od 1945. – 1992.*, Marjan tisak, Split, 2004.

2 Dalibor Prančević, „Izložbeni program umjetničkoga salona Galić u vrijeme poraća (1945. – 1949.)”, *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu*, br. 18, 2025., str. 35–66; Dalibor Prančević, „Umjetnički salon Galić pod neposrednim ravnanjem udruženih umjetnika. Modeli i razmišljanja o uporabi izložbenog prostora u drugoj polovini 20. stoljeća i danas”, u: Sandi Bulimbašić (ur.), *Salon Galić 1924. – 2024.*, Galerija umjetnina i Hrvatska udruga likovnih umjetnika – Split, Split, 2025., str. 184–234.

naglasak prvenstveno bio na izložbenim manifestacijama, umjetničkim pojavama i reprezentativnim događajima, dok je institucijska struktura splitske podružnice ULUH-a – njezina geneza, unutarnja organizacija, odnos prema republičkim i savezним tijelima te svakodnevna operativna dinamika – ostajala bez sustavne arhivske rekonstrukcije.

Ovom se knjigom teži pomaknuti istraživački fokus s narativne povijesti opusa i izložbi prema institucijskoj povijesti likovnoga polja. Zapisnici sjednica, administrativna korespondencija i pripadajuća dokumentacija kojom se ovdje koristi tretirani su kao primarna analitička osnova, a ne kao ilustrativni dodatak već formiranome narativu. Takav pristup omogućuje uvid u konkretne mehanizme odlučivanja, distribucije materijalnih resursa, odnose prema gradskim i republičkim tijelima, oblikovanje profesionalnih kriterija te strategije umjetnika u uvjetima normativno strukturiranoga kulturnog sustava. Novina u doprinosu ove knjige stoga se ogleda u preciznoj rekonstrukciji procesa institucionalizacije ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju kao dijela širega poratnog ustroja kulturnoga života, pri čemu se likovno polje promatra u estetskim rezultatima, administrativnim praksama, organizacijskim modelima i strukovnim pregovorima koji su omogućili njegovo djelovanje.³ Na toj se osnovi splitska likovna scena ranoga poraća može sagledati u punini svoje institucijske slojevitosti, pri čemu se estetska i izložbena povijest nadopunjuju analizom unutarnje strukture i mehanike strukovnoga udruživanja.

Za razumijevanje organizacije javnoga, pa tako i likovnoga djelovanja u poratnome Splitu, potrebno je najprije naznačiti promjene koje se uvode na saveznoj i republičkoj razini. Odmah nakon oslobođenja zemlje pristupa se modelima organizacije umjetničkih udruženja po republičkome ključu, što valja promatrati kao dio širega procesa institucijske konsolidacije kulturnoga polja u okvirima nove socijalističke države.⁴ Dana 6. lipnja 1945. godine osnovano je Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske (ULUH) na sjednici Udruženja likovnih umjetnika i arhitekata, a odmah se pristupilo i izradi pravila i kriterija za prijam u članstvo. Unutar tih je kriterija, uz umjetničku kompetenciju, bilo nužno ispitati i moralnu kvalitetu članova, što se prvenstveno odnosilo na procjenu aktivnosti pojedinih umjetnika u ratnome razdoblju. Time se strukovno udruživanje

u začetku prožima s etičko-političkim prosudbama, a profesionalna legitimacija postaje neodvojiva od ideološke podobnosti. Dana 29. srpnja 1945. godine održana je skupština ULUH-a na kojoj su obznanjene odluke Suda časti, odnosno izrečene su kazne umjetnicima koji su tijekom postojanja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske bili ocijenjeni kao kompromitirani ili politički neprihvatljivi. Ova epizoda upućuje na proces simboličke i institucijske purifikacije struke, koji je trebao označiti jasnu distinkciju između „staroga” i „novoga” kulturnog poretka.

Pravni temelj novoga poretka dodatno je učvršćen donošenjem prvoga Ustava Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije 31. siječnja 1946. godine. Ustav kao temeljni pravni akt države definirao je Jugoslaviju kao federativnu zajednicu naroda utemeljenu na vlasti radnoga naroda i na načelu planskoga socijalističkog razvoja. U odredbama o prosvjeti, znanosti i kulturi naglašava se obveza države da potiče kulturni napredak u skladu s interesima naroda i izgradnjom socijalističkoga društva, pri čemu se izrijeком jamči sloboda znanstvenoga i umjetničkoga rada, ali i ističe da država pomaže znanost i umjetnost radi razvitka narodne kulture te štiti autorska prava zakonom. Ujedno se podizanje opće kulture naroda postavlja kao programska zadaća nove države, a prosvjetne i kulturne ustanove određuju se kao dostupne širokim slojevima stanovništva, čime kultura poprima dimenziju društvene obveze i općega dobra, a ne isključivo individualne ili elitne prakse. Iako Ustav jamči slobodu govora, tiska, udruživanja i javnoga okupljanja, istovremeno predviđa i sankcioniranje svake uporabe tih prava koja bi bila u suprotnosti s temeljnim načelima ustavnoga poretka. Takva kombinacija jamstava i ograničenja određuje kulturnu proizvodnju kao prostor posebne društvene odgovornosti. Umjetnost se u tome kontekstu implicitno razumijeva kao aktivni sudionik u afirmaciji novih društvenih vrijednosti: rada, kolektivnosti, socijalne jednakosti i povijesne legitimacije Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Takva ustavna artikulacija temeljnih vrijednosti posredno je usmjeravala i umjetničko djelovanje, sugerirajući da kultura treba doprinositi društvenoj transformaciji. Umjetnički rad tako poprima karakter javne službe u širem smislu riječi, uključen u izgradnju simboličkoga poretka koji treba potvrditi i učvrstiti novi društveni sustav.

Taj se ustavni temelj ubrzo počeo provoditi mehanizmima planske privrede i državnom regulacijom kulturnoga života. Uvođenje prvoga Petogodišnjeg plana (1947. – 1951.) označilo je početak sustavnoga promišljanja kulture kao dijela općedruštvenoga plana, u kojemu su kulturne institucije, izložbene aktivnosti i strukovna udruženja dobivala mjesto unutar širega programa modernizacije i ideološke konsolidacije zemlje.⁵ Na taj se

3 O povijesti Hrvatskoga društva likovnih umjetnika i obradi njegova arhivskog fonda u Hrvatskome državnom arhivu vidjeti: Marijana Jukić, „Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika – 135 godina promicanja kulture i umjetnosti”, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 58, 2015., str. 209–227. Autorica donosi pregled razvoja Društva od osnutka do suvremenosti te poseban osvrt na fond HR-HDA-1979, u kojem je gradivo podijeljeno na potfond Društvo umjetnosti (1879. – 1941.) i potfond Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika (1945. – 1992.). U potonjem su cjelovitije sačuvani materijali radnih tijela, pravilnici, popisi članova, zapisnici, korespondencija i druga dokumentacija važna za proučavanje institucijske povijesti likovnih udruženja.

4 Suzana Leček, „Likovna umjetnost u društvenom životu Hrvatske 1945 – 1947.”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, XXII/1-2, 1990., str. 131–156; Ana Šeparović, „U znaku totalitarizama”, u: Irena Kraševac (ur.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija*, Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika i Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2018., str. 175–199.

5 Prva petoljetka u Jugoslaviji bila je prvi sveobuhvatni planski dokument gospodarskoga i društvenoga razvoja Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije, izrađen u okviru Savezne planske komisije i usvojen 1947. godine kao akt sa zakonskom snagom. Temeljila se na sovjetskome modelu središnjega planiranja te je predviđala ubranu industrijalizaciju, kolektivizaciju poljoprivrede, razvoj teške industrije i energetike te modernizaciju infrastrukture. Uz gospodarske ciljeve, Petoljetka je uključivala i prosvjetne,

način i likovno djelovanje implicitno uvrštava u horizont planskoga razvoja, u kojemu se od umjetnika očekuje doprinos vizualnoj artikulaciji društvenih prioriteta. Istovremeno, sustav narodnih odbora – kao temeljne jedinice lokalne vlasti – osiguravao je upravnu razinu na kojoj se kulturna politika provodila na terenu. Za kulturu su tako bila ovlaštena gradska i oblasna tijela, što je splitsku podružnicu ULUH-a od samoga početka smještalo u suodnos s lokalnom upravom, bilo u pitanju organizacije izložbi, dodjele prostora, materijalnih potpora ili otkupa umjetnina. Ta upravna logika razjašnjava zbog čega su zapisnici Podružnice isprepleteni s referencama na gradske odjele, odobrenja i suglasnosti, jer se likovni život nije odvijao izvan struktura javne vlasti, nego unutar njih. Naposljetku, ustavno naglašena dužnost rada i afirmacija radnoga čovjeka kao temeljnoga subjekta društva imala je i simboličku refleksiju na status umjetnika. Umjetničko stvaralaštvo dobiva obilježja društveno korisnoga rada, a strukovno organiziranje u ULUH-u postaje način institucijskoga potvrđivanja profesionalnoga identiteta u novome vrijednosnom poretku.

Akt o osnivanju i potvrda pravila – koje će usvojiti i sve podružnice ULUH-a – doneseni su 25. studenoga 1945. godine, premda je udruženje i prije formalne potvrde započelo s operativnim aktivnostima. Ta vremenska nepodudarnost između formalno-pravnoga čina i faktične prakse zorno svjedoči o ubrzanome procesu institucionalizacije, u kojemu se pravila oblikuju usporedno s već započetim djelovanjem na terenu. U suodnosu formalne regulative i konkretne strukovne prakse valja tražiti početke Podružnice za Dalmaciju, čije će ustrojavanje biti uvjetovano lokalnim specifičnostima, ali i obvezom usklađivanja s republičkim modelom.

Lokalne specifičnosti splitskoga kulturnog života neposredno nakon oslobođenja pritom poprimaju osobitu važnost. Pri institucijskome profiliranju likovnoga života u poratnome Splitu posebnu pozornost valja posvetiti osnivanju Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”, čije je djelovanje u više segmenata anticipiralo i pripremilo teren za pokretanje ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju. Kulturno-umjetnička grupa „Ivan Lozica” utemeljena je 1943. godine na oslobođenome teritoriju u Hvaru, a činili su je dalmatinski znanstveni i kulturni djelatnici. Djelovala je kao jedna od prvih organiziranih inicijativa za umjetničku i kulturnu obnovu u ratnim uvjetima. Početkom 1947. godine grupa se transformirala u istoimeno kulturno-umjetničko društvo, čime se nastojalo odgovoriti na sve veće potrebe zajednice za sustavnijim kulturnim radom i obrazovanjem.⁶ Grupa „Ivan Lozica” zauzima osobito mjesto neposredno nakon

znanstvene i kulturne zadatke, polazeći od pretpostavke da je kulturno uzdizanje stanovništva sastavni dio izgradnje socijalističkoga društva.

6 U izvještaju iz tadašnjega tiska ističe se sljedeće: „Danas kad naša zemlja prelazi u fazu temeljite i srede djelatnosti, kad narodne vlasti, čisteći nepismenost, nastoje da se što više digne kulturna razina naše zajednice, i kada se u narodu osjeća želja za pozornicom, pjesmom i knjigom, ukazala se potreba jednog šireg kulturno-umjetničkog društva, koje bi, radom svojih članova, pomagalo kulturno-umjetničko izdizanje naše oblasti. Takvo društvo bi, uz to, omogućavalo svojim članovima izgrađivanje

oslobođenja, u trenutku kada je postalo razvidno da dotadašnji organizacijski ustroj – Udruženje kulturnih radnika Hrvatske za Dalmaciju – više ne može odgovarati dinamici i složenosti novonastalih kulturnih potreba. Obnova razorenih sela i gradova, društvena mobilizacija i politička transformacija zemlje stavljale su pritom nove zadatke pred umjetnike i kulturne djelatnike, zahtijevajući fleksibilnije i angažiranije oblike organiziranja. Prema zapisima Živka Jeličića u tadašnjim dnevnim novinama, grupa je okupljala najaktivnije splitske kulturne radnike oko imena mladoga kipara Ivana Lozice, simbolički prepoznatoga kao predstavnika generacije obilježene borbom protiv okupatora.⁷ U simboličkome i organizacijskome smislu „Ivan Lozica” nije bio tek nova kulturna udruga nego izraz nastojanja da se u umjetnosti provede idejno i moralno razgraničenje s prethodnim razdobljem, da se prevlada kulturna pustoš naslijeđena iz ratnih godina te uspostave temelji nove, društveno angažirane kulture. Grupa je objedinjavala različite oblike kreativnoga rada – književne, likovne, glazbene, izdavačke i druge aktivnosti – čime je stvarala platformu za interdisciplinarno i kolektivno djelovanje u skladu s poratnim kulturnim programima. Važno je pritom naglasiti da se upravo unutar njezina okrilja formira likovna sekcija, koja će generirati jezgru buduće splitske podružnice ULUH-a. Likovni umjetnici okupljeni oko Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica” djelovali su u okolnostima materijalne oskudice i infrastrukturne razorenosti, ali su svoj rad temeljili na snažnome ideološkome i društvenom zanosu, bliskosti s Narodnom frontom te uvjerenju da umjetnost sudjeluje u procesu opće obnove i kulturnoga uzdizanja naroda. Na toj se genealoškoj liniji splitska podružnica ULUH-a može promatrati kao rezultat postupne institucionalizacije impulsa koji su se već artikulirali u radu ove grupe: od spontanoga i mobilizacijskoga okupljanja do strukovno definiranoga udruženja uklopljenoga u republički organizacijski model. Veza između grupe „Ivan Lozica” i splitske podružnice ULUH-a pokazuje kako se lokalna likovna scena nakon 1945. godine razvijala u napetosti između ideološkoga angažmana, potrebe za organizacijskom stabilnošću i težnje za profesionalizacijom umjetničkoga rada. Profesionalna i organizacijska diferencijacija koja se nazire u okviru grupe „Ivan Lozica” ubrzo će se formalizirati ustrojem splitske podružnice ULUH-a, integrirane u republički i savezni sustav kulturne uprave.

Ustrojavanje ULUH-a nije moguće sagledati izvan mreže političkoga nadzora koja se nakon 1945. godine postupno učvršćivala na saveznoj i republičkoj razini. Rad udruženja nadzirao je kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete, a ovlast nad tim odjelom imao je Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi Federativne Narodne

i produbljivanje u nauci, književnosti i umjetnosti i razvijalo njihove stvaralačke sposobnosti. S obzirom na sve te potrebe i zadatke, kao i s obzirom na obilat broj kulturnih radnika u Dalmaciji, spomenuta Kulturno-umjetnička grupa ‘Ivan Lozica’ pretvorila se u društvo s istim imenom.” D.(anilo) Čović, „Kulturno-umjetničko društvo ‘Ivan Lozica’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 26. siječnja 1947., str. 3.

7 Živko Jeličić, „Kulturna nastojanja kulturno-umjetničke grupe ‘Ivan Lozica’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11. kolovoza 1946., str. 3.

Republike Jugoslavije – FNRJ.⁸ Takva višerazinska struktura nadzora svjedoči o uspostavi čvrsto centraliziranoga modela kulturne uprave, u kojem se profesionalne organizacije integriraju u širi državni aparat. Udruženja time postaju dijelom planski reguliranoga kulturnog sustava, a njihovo djelovanje uklapa se u programatske smjernice državne kulturne politike. Centralizirana upravna struktura dodatno se prelama i hijerarhijom Komunističke partije, koja nad kulturom uspostavlja politički nadzor Odjeljenjem za agitaciju i propagandu – Agitpropa, s Milovanom Đilasom na čelu. Agitprop je bio zadužen za širenje socijalističke ideologije na svim područjima kulturnoga i intelektualnoga stvaralaštva.⁹ Rano djelovanje Agitpropa obilježeno je brzim uspostavljanjem centraliziranoga, direktivnoga i višerazinski organiziranoga sustava kontrole nad medijima, utemeljenoga na kadrovskome premrežavanju, planskome tematskom usmjeravanju i materijalno-represivnim mehanizmima, čime je tiskovina integrirana u državno-partijski aparat.¹⁰ Valja naglasiti kako je njegova uloga nadilazila

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- Ana Šeparović, „U znaku totalitarizama”, u: Irena Kraševac (ur.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija*, Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika i Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2018., str. 175–199, 188.
- 9
- Za djelovanje Agitpropa u kulturnome polju NR Hrvatske, ponajprije na primjeru književnoga rada i izdavaštva, ali s važnim uvidima u mehanizme partijskoga nadzora nad kulturom, vidjeti: Tatjana Šarić, „Djelovanje Agitpropa prema književnom radu i izdavaštvu u NRH, 1945.–1952.”, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 42/1, 2010., str. 387–423.
- 10
- Kako zapisuje Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, rano djelovanje Agitpropa nakon 1945. godine obilježeno je brзом i sustavnom uspostavom partijskoga monopola nad medijima, što je predstavljalo jedan od temeljnih elemenata konsolidacije komunističke vlasti u Hrvatskoj i Jugoslaviji. Već u završnim mjesecima rata pristupilo se reorganizaciji aparata agitacije i propagande u smjeru centralizacije i uvođenja „direktivnoga načina” upravljanja, s ciljem koncentriranja političkoga, kulturnoga, prosvjetnoga pa i znanstvenoga života u rukama partijskih ustanova. Takva je koncepcija podrazumijevala integraciju medija u širi državno-partijski aparat te njihovu funkcionalizaciju u procesu izgradnje novoga društvenog poretka. Sustav kontrole pritom se nije temeljio na osnivanju formalne cenzorske institucije, kakve su postojale u nekim drugim komunističkim državama, s obzirom na to da su premrežavanje redakcija i izravno upravljanje sadržajem činili takav mehanizam suvišnim. Ključni instrument predstavljao je kadrovski nadzor: postavljanje pouzdanih partijskih članova u redakcije, jačanje partijskih organizacija unutar medija te njihovo ideološko osposobljavanje sustavnim oblicima političke izobrazbe. Profesionalna udruženja, uključujući novinarska, djelovala su kao transmisijski mehanizmi partijske politike, čime se dodatno učvršćivala vertikalna struktura nadzora. Uz kadrovsku politiku, Agitprop je razvijao i precizne mehanizme tematskoga usmjeravanja. Redakcijama su se dostavljali popisi poželjnih tema i interpretativni okviri, organizirana su savjetovanja i konferencije, a zahtijevalo se i plansko definiranje sadržaja listova. Kontrola je obuhvaćala i materijalnu dimenziju medijskoga sustava: sustav dodjele papira, državni monopol nad distribucijom te oslonac na represivni aparat činili su dodatne instrumente regulacije i discipliniranja izdavačke djelatnosti. Na taj je način tisak postao integralnim dijelom državno-partijskoga aparata, s jasno definiranom ulogom u oblikovanju „socijalističkoga čovjeka” i podizanju svijesti masa. Rani agitpropovski model može se stoga opisati kao centralizirani, hijerarhijski i planski ustrojen sustav nadzora i usmjeravanja medija, u kojem su ideološki, organizacijski i materijalni mehanizmi djelovali istodobno i komplementarno. Vidjeti: Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, „Agitprop među novinarima. Uspostava komunističke vlasti i nadzor nad medijima”, u: Igor Duda (ur.), *Stvaranje socijalističkog čovjeka. Hrvatsko društvo i ideologija jugoslavenskoga socijalizma*, Srednja Europa i Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Zagreb i Pula, 2017., str. 177–200.

puki administrativni nadzor: riječ je o tijelu koje je formuliralo normativne obrasce društveno poželjne umjetnosti, usmjeravalo javni diskurs te poticalo usklađivanje umjetničkih praksi s ideološkim horizontom vremena. Slijedom toga kulturno je polje postajalo prostorom artikulacije političkih prioriteta, ali i mjestom njihove simboličke legitimacije. Komisije Agitpropa djelovale su na saveznoj i republičkim razinama, a među njima i Kulturno-umjetnička komisija, kojom je predsjedao Marin Franičević. Unutar nje djelovao je likovni sektor, s Franjom Mrazom zaduženim za praćenje cjelokupnoga likovnog života, uključujući i rad ULUH-a.¹¹ Ovakva organizacijska razdioba upućuje na sustavno praćenje likovne produkcije, njezine javne prezentacije i organizacijskih modela, što je podrazumijevalo stalni dijalog između strukovnih tijela i političkih instanci. U tom suodnosu nadzora, usmjeravanja i operativne autonomije oblikuju se realni uvjeti rada udruženja, čija će lokalna djelovanja – pa tako i ona u Splitu – biti istodobno prožeta profesionalnim inicijativama i zahtjevima ideološke usklađenosti.

U istome smjeru centralizacije, početkom 1946. godine, pokrenuta je inicijativa za osnutak Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije (SULUJ), iako su se formalno ujedinjenje republičkih udruženja u Savez i potvrda Statuta dogodili na Kongresu u Zagrebu tek u prosincu 1947. godine. Osnutak SULUJ-a valja promatrati kao dio šire transformacije kulturnoga života na razini Federacije, u kojemu se težilo standardizaciji organizacijskih oblika, koordinaciji izložbenih aktivnosti te ujednačavanju profesionalnih kriterija i statusnih pitanja umjetnika. Savez je trebao djelovati kao krovno tijelo koje objedinjuje rad republičkih udruženja, artikulira zajedničke programske smjernice te posreduje između likovnih umjetnika i saveznih institucija vlasti. Na taj se način dodatno učvršćuje vertikalna struktura kulturnoga upravljanja, pri čemu republička i lokalna udruženja zadržavaju operativnu razinu djelovanja, a strateške i normativne odluke postupno prelaze u domenu savezne koordinacije. Kongres održan u Zagrebu u prosincu 1947. godine označio je formalnu kulminaciju tih nastojanja jer je tada potvrđen Statut i definirana organizacijska arhitektura Saveza. Tada je likovno polje Jugoslavije dobilo institucijski ustroj koji je istodobno omogućavao mobilnost umjetnika na saveznoj razini, sudjelovanje u reprezentativnim izložbama i međunarodnim nastupima, ali i jačao mehanizme nadzora i usklađivanja umjetničke proizvodnje s društveno-političkim prioritetima. Djelovanje splitske podružnice ULUH-a valja promatrati upravo unutar te slojevite republičke i savezne koordinacije.

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- Više o odnosu Narodne fronte, Agitpropa i medija vidjeti u: Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda. Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945.–1952.*, Hrvatski institut za povijest i Dom i svijet, Zagreb, 2002. Autorica analizira Narodnu frontu kao transmisijski mehanizam partijske volje te pokazuje kako su mediji, pod nadzorom Agitpropa, funkcionirali unutar modela dirigrane javnosti, služeći legitimizaciji komunističke vlasti i ideološkoj mobilizaciji društva.
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- Ana Šeparović, „U znaku totalitarizama”, u: Irena Kraševac (ur.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija*, Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika i Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2018., str. 175–199, 188.

Prvi kongres likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije: savezna koordinacija i kriteriji umjetničke kvalitete

Prvi kongres likovnih umjetnika FNR Jugoslavije, održan u Zagrebu 6. i 7. prosinca 1947. godine u prostorijama Doma kulture „Vladimir Nazor”, predstavlja jedno od ključnih mjesta na kojem se organizacijsko povezivanje republičkih udruženja likovnih umjetnika izravno povezalo s pitanjem umjetničke kvalitete, društvene funkcije umjetnosti i uloge umjetnika u socijalističkoj izgradnji.¹² Za razumijevanje splitske podružnice ULUH-a Kongres nije važan samo zbog formalnoga potvrđivanja savezne koordinacije, Statuta i upravne strukture Saveza likovnih umjetnika FNRJ-a. Podjednako je važan kao mjesto artikulacije kriterija koji će se, na lokalnim razinama, prelamati u pitanjima članstva, žiriranja, izložbene selekcije, otkupa, narudžbi i vrednovanja umjetničkoga rada. Upravo zbog toga pruža širi analitički ključ za čitanje zapisnika ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju.

Samomu kongresu prethodila je dulja priprema, koja svjedoči o tome da savezno organiziranje likovnoga polja nije bilo samo administrativno pitanje.¹³ Pretkongresna konferencija udruženja likovnih umjetnika federalnih jedinica, održana 15. i 16. siječnja 1946. godine u prostorijama Umjetničke akademije u Zagrebu, već je tada definirala Kongres kao vrhovni organ budućega Saveza, sa zadaćom koordinacije rada svih republičkih udruženja.¹⁴ Istovremeno je zaključeno da se sudionici konferencije smatraju akcijskim odborom za formiranje Saveza. Taj podatak upućuje na zaključak da se savezna struktura uspostavljala postupno, pregovorima i pripremnim sastancima, a ne jednostavnim administrativnim nalogom. Na istoj je konferenciji otvoreno i

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- Prvi kongres likovnih umjetnika FNR Jugoslavije održan je u Zagrebu 6. i 7. prosinca 1947. godine, u prostorijama Doma kulture „Vladimir Nazor” na Trgu maršala Tita 6. Premda je njegovo održavanje bilo planirano za 1946. godinu, kongres je odgođen za kraj 1947. godine, što upućuje na složenost priprema, nedovoljnu razrađenost referata i potrebu za prethodnim usklađivanjem organizacijskih i programskih pitanja. Tiskani program pokazuje jasnu dvodijelnu strukturu skupa: svečano otvorenje održano je 6. prosinca u 17 sati, a radni dio započeo je 7. prosinca u 9 sati. U radnome su dijelu kao središnje točke bili predviđeni referat Đorđa Andrejevića Kuna o stanju i zadatcima likovnih umjetnika, referat Đure Tiljka o organizacijskim pitanjima te izbor Uprave Saveza likovnih umjetnika FNRJ-a. Vidjeti: „Program Kongresa”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.
- 13
- Kao jedan od indikativnih primjera za razumijevanje načina na koji se u neposrednome poraću pitanja javnoga kulturnog pozicioniranja, umjetničke autonomije i društvene funkcije umjetnosti razabiru i iz privatne, a ne samo iz službene korespondencije, vidjeti: Snježana Pavičić, „Pisma Lea Juneka i Đure Tiljka iz 1945. godine. Važni dokumenti vremena”, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016., str. 197–202.
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- „Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije udruženja likovnih umjetnika federalnih jedinica” održane 15. i 16. siječnja 1946. u prostorijama Umjetničke akademije u Zagrebu, Ilica 85/a, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.

pitanje estetsko-ideološkoga usmjerenja budućega kongresa. Marino Tartaglia je, primjerice, predložio da se u kongresnome referatu obradi pitanje socrealizma u odnosu prema naturalizmu i formalizmu, kao i da se posebnim referatom obuhvate smjernice umjetnosti.¹⁵ Time je već početkom 1946. godine naznačeno da se od budućega saveznog okupljanja očekuje i programska intervencija u samo razumijevanje likovnoga stvaralaštva. Kongres je, prema tome, zamišljen kao organizacijska točka objedinjavanja, ali i kao mjesto idejne orijentacije likovne umjetnosti u novome društvenom poretku.

Napose je, međutim, indikativna rasprava o kritici. U zapisniku se upozorava da je likovna kritika u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bila slaba, da u novim okolnostima gotovo nema osposobljenih kritičara te da bi kritičar morao obuhvatiti pozitivne i negativne strane djela prema kriteriju znanstvene teorije, odnosno dijalektičkoga materijalizma.¹⁶ Predlaže se organiziranje kritičara, njihova odgovornost za rad i redovit kontakt s umjetnicima. Takva formulacija otkriva da se kritika zamišlja kao sastavni dio novoga sustava vrednovanja umjetnosti, a ne kao kakav usputni novinski komentar. Zajedničke konferencije umjetnika i kritičara trebale su, kako se navodi, služiti „pročišćavanju pojmovlja”.¹⁷ To upućuje na svijest o terminološkoj i vrijednosnoj nesigurnosti poratnoga trenutka. Dakle, pojmovi realizma, formalizma, tematike, kvalitete i društvene funkcije umjetnosti nisu bili samorazumljivi; trebalo ih je raspraviti, uskladiti i učiniti operativnima.

Još otvoreniji uvid u unutarnje prijepore pruža pretkongresna konferencija održana 5. i 6. ožujka 1947. godine u Zagrebu. Ondje se posebno raspravljalo o „ideološkome referatu”, njegovu tonu, dosegu i stupnju direktivnosti. U izjavama sudionika jasno se razabire napetost između potrebe za programskim usmjeravanjem i opasnosti da se umjetnički postupak pretvori u kruto propisivanje forme. Vanja Radauš pritom zauzima izrazito borbenu poziciju, upozoravajući da se ne smije upasti u kompromis i da se ne želi „igru forme zbog forme”.¹⁸ Đorđe Andrejević Kun sažima smjer referata formulom „za tematiku a protiv bezidejnosti”, dok Sreten Stanojević ističe potrebu ulaska „punim plućima u život” kako umjetnici ne bi zaostali za narodnim usponom.¹⁹ U tim se iskazima jasno razabire temeljni vrijednosni horizont: umjetnost mora izaći iz zatvorenoga ateljerskog kruga, povezati se s društvenom stvarnošću i sudjelovati u oblikovanju novoga života. Najizravniji i najpolemiziraniji dio rasprave odnosi se, dakako, na formalizam. Radauš govori o „bitci protiv formalizma a za sadržaj”, predlaže da se „parišku školu raskrinka”

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- „Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije održane 5. i 6. ožujka 1947. u Zagrebu”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.
- 19
- Isto.

i poseže za izrazito sugestivnom tvrdnjom prema kojoj je „kvalitet Pariza degradirao čovjeka na flek”.²⁰ Taj izraz sažima jedan od temeljnih prigovora poratne estetske kritike modernističkomu slikarstvu: čovjek, kao središnji subjekt nove društvene stvarnosti, u formalističkome se jeziku gubi, raslojava ili svodi na optički, koloristički ili kompozicijski element. Radauševa formulacija stoga nadilazi razinu retoričke dosjetke. Ona vrlo precizno artikulira ideološku jezgru spora: pitanje umjetničke forme postaje pitanje prisutnosti ili odsutnosti čovjeka, a time i pitanje društvene odgovornosti umjetnosti. Ipak, rasprava nije bila jednoznačna. Andrejević Kun upozorava da baš na pitanju forme kongres može doživjeti neuspjeh, ako se forma bude propisivala.²¹ Đuro Tiljak se pridružuje tom oprezu i naglašava da težište treba prebaciti na tematiku i približavanje narodu, bez formalističkoga postavljanja problema.²² Stojanović, pak, upozorava da je uspješno izvedena ruža prihvatljivija od loše naslikane partizanke ili nosača tretiranoga kao interijer.²³ Taj je dio rasprave osobito važan jer razjašnjava da se kvaliteta djela nije mogla svesti na odabir teme. Tematika Narodnooslobodilačke borbe, rada ili izgradnje sama po sebi nije jamčila umjetničku vrijednost. U tome se unutarnjemu prijekoru već jasno oblikuje problem koji će obilježiti i lokalne splitske rasprave: kako uskladiti idejnost, motivsku suvremenost i stvarnu likovnu kvalitetu djela.

Završne pretkongresne konferencije u prosincu 1947. godine bile su neposredno vezane za pročišćavanje Statuta, usklađivanje referata i pripremu rezolucije.²⁴ Dana 3. prosinca raspravljalo se o pojedinim glavama i točkama Statuta Saveza likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije, a 4. prosinca, zbog toga što Andrejević Kun nije predao referat za raspravu, čitan je pročišćeni i ispravljeni Statut. Dana 5. prosinca Kun čita referat „O mogućnostima, zadacima i perspektivama naše likovne umjetnosti”, nakon čega se raspravlja o potrebi usklađivanja njegova referata s Tiljkovim referatom o organizacijskim pitanjima.

Središnji programski tekst Kongresa bio je referat Đorda Andrejevića Kuna „O mogućnostima, zadacima i perspektivama naše likovne umjetnosti”, koji je zbog Kunova zdravstvenog stanja na koncu pročitao Branko Šotra.²⁵ Referat polazi od teze da su nakon stvaranja narodne države nastali posve novi uvjeti umjetničkoga rada i novi odnos između društva, države i umjetnosti. Umjetnik više nije prepušten tržišnoj anarhiji,

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- Vidjeti: „Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 3. prosinca 1947.”, „Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 4. prosinca 1947.”, „Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 5. prosinca 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.
- Đorde Andrejević Kun, „I. referat o stanju i zadacima likovnih umjetnika: O mogućnostima, zadacima i perspektivama naše likovne umjetnosti”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.

nego djeluje u okolnostima u kojima država otkupljuje i naručuje umjetnička djela, a umjetnost pripada narodu. Time se materijalni položaj umjetnika prikazuje kao bitno izmijenjen, ali još važnije, mijenja se njegov društveni status. Umjetnici se opisuju kao cijenjeni članovi društva, stvaraoci koji djeluju na narod, zadovoljavaju njegove potrebe i od njega dobivaju priznanje.²⁶ Kunov referat izravno povezuje umjetnost s Petogodišnjim planom i socijalističkom izgradnjom. Plan se, usto što donosi ekonomski razvoj, reflektira i na kulturno uzdizanje naroda, a likovnim umjetnicima pruža nove teme, inspiracije i praktične mogućnosti. Izgradnja reprezentativnih zgrada, domova kulture, javnih ustanova i spomenika otvara prostor za monumentalnu umjetnost, dok herojska oslobodilačka borba nameće potrebu za umjetničkim ovjekovječenjem likova i događaja. U toj se viziji umjetnost postavlja kao sastavni dio izgradnje države i društva. Slika, reljef, skulptura i spomenik postaju sredstva u kojima narod prepoznaje vlastiti povijesni napor.

Nadalje, posebnu težinu ima Kunovo tumačenje ratne umjetnosti. Narodnooslobodilačka borba postavila je pitanje „šta, kako, zašto i za koga slikati ili vajati”.²⁷ To pitanje u referatu ima temeljno značenje jer razara predodžbu umjetnosti kao zatvorena autonomnog područja. Tijekom rata umjetnici su radili u ograničenim uvjetima, koristili su se crtežima, plakatima, ilustracijama i grafičkim tehnikama koje su omogućavale brzo širenje poruke, a njihova je umjetnost imala jasnu namjenu, publiku i učinak. Upravo se u toj ratnoj praksi, prema Kunovu mišljenju, ostvario neposredan kontakt između umjetnika i naroda. Takav kontakt nakon oslobođenja valjalo je produbiti, proširiti i prenijeti u uvjete mira.

Referat ujedno opisuje i prijelaznu nesigurnost poratnih umjetnika. Mnogi su bili zbunjeni novim zadacima, plašili su se da se od njih traži samo dnevna tematika, primijenjeni rad, plakat, ilustracija ili dekoracija. Dio umjetnika nije znao kako pristupiti novoj publici, novoj kritici i novim motivima. Kun pritom ističe da nova tematika traži i nova izražajna sredstva, oslobađanje od navika nedostatnih za velike teme te stjecanje sredstava kojima umjetnici prije nisu vladali. Ta napomena ima osobitu interpretativnu vrijednost jer upućuje na to da kongresni diskurs ne zagovara samo zamjenu jedne ikonografije drugom. Od umjetnika se traži promjena ukupna stvaralačkog odnosa, i to prema temi, formi, publici, funkciji djela i društvenoj ulozi vlastitoga rada. U tome je smislu znakovito mjesto na kojemu Kun govori o povratku čovjeka u umjetnost. Figura čovjeka, prema njegovu tumačenju, počinje se vraćati na platna iz položaja gotovo zaboravljenoga ili potisnutoga motiva. Portret dobiva crte karaktera, pejzaž prestaje biti samo povod za formalna istraživanja i postaje tema zavičaja, domovine, rada i prirode koju mijenja svjesni čovjek.²⁸ Ovdje se jasno artikulira kriterij koji će se često ponavljati u poratnoj kritici, a

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on umjetničku vrijednost povezuje sa sposobnošću djela da izrazi čovjeka u povijesno određenoj stvarnosti. Formalna sredstva nisu odbačena, ali se njihova vrijednost mjeri odnosom prema sadržaju i sposobnošću da iznesu bitne crte epohe.

Kunova kritika zapadne umjetnosti formulirana je u izrazito oštrim ideološkim terminima. Formalizam se povezuje s krizom kapitalističkoga svijeta, udaljavanjem od života i čovjeka, osiromašenjem sadržaja i forme te prikazivanjem fantazmagorija, nakaza i apstrakcija umjesto stvarnosti.²⁹ Nasuprot tomu, nova se jugoslavenska umjetnost treba osloniti na vlastite zdrave tradicije i velike epohe svjetske umjetnosti, od antike i renesanse do Goye, Daumiera, Meuniera i Rodina.³⁰ Posve sigurno, takav izbor tradicije nije neutralan. Uspostavlja genealogiju umjetnosti koja je formalno snažna, sadržajno bogata i društveno relevantna. Tako se modernistička novost bez sadržaja odbacuje kao jalova, a originalnost se traži u povezivanju nove epohe s povijesnim modelima umjetnosti koja je znala izraziti napredne ideje vlastita vremena.

Drugi temeljni kongresni referat, Tiljkov tekst o organizacijskim pitanjima, znatno je važan za temu ove knjige jer izravno povezuje ustroj udruženja s pitanjem kvalitete umjetničkoga rada. Tiljak polazi od čišćenja udruženja nakon oslobođenja i od potrebe reorganizacije likovnih umjetnika.³¹ Posebno odbacuje mogućnost da se umjetnički rad zaštititi prema modelu industrijskoga sindikata, jer je umjetnost slobodno zanimanje, a umjetnik proizvođač kulturnih vrijednosti čiji se rad ne može mjeriti isključivo materijalnim kriterijima.³² Ova formulacija pomaže razumjeti zašto je ULUH, na republičkoj i lokalnoj razini, toliko inzistirao na hijerarhiji članstva, žirijima, umjetničkim sudovima i komisijama: zaštita umjetnika podrazumijevala je i zaštitu umjetničke kvalitete.

Tiljak vrlo jasno definira kvalitetu umjetničkoga rada. Ona se, prema njegovu referatu, sastoji u visokoj umjetničkoj „idejnosti” djela, odgovarajućim izražajnim likovnim sredstvima, originalnoj formi i solidnoj zanatskoj tehnici.³³ Ta je definicija iznimno važna za cjelinu ove knjige jer omogućuje preciznije razumijevanje mnogobrojnih lokalnih rasprava u Splitu. Kada se u zapisnicima Podružnice za Dalmaciju raspravlja o redovitome članstvu, statusu pojedinih autora, žiriranju, kvaliteti radova na prvomajskim izložbama ili prihvatljivosti radova za javne narudžbe, ti se problemi mogu čitati upravo u svjetlu Tiljkove formule: idejnost, likovna sredstva, originalnost forme i tehnička izvedba. Kvaliteta nije shvaćena kao čisto estetska kategorija, niti kao puka tematska pravilnost.

29 Isto.
30 Isto.
31 Đuro Tiljak, „II. referat o organizacionim pitanjima”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.
32 Isto.
33 Isto.

Ona se oblikuje na sjecištu idejnoga sadržaja, forme, zanatske sposobnosti i društvene funkcije. Tiljkova razrada zadaća udruženja dodatno potvrđuje tu vezu. Udruženja likovnih umjetnika trebaju razvijati visoki umjetnički kriterij, štititi osnovne materijalne interese umjetnika i biti regulatori pravednoga nagrađivanja progresivne važnosti umjetničkoga djela i umjetničke ličnosti.³⁴ Drugim riječima, udruženje nije zamišljeno samo kao administrativno tijelo ili staleška organizacija. Ono je trebalo biti mehanizam vrednovanja, usmjeravanja, posredovanja i discipliniranja umjetničkoga rada.

Važna je i Tiljkova tvrdnja da članovi udruženja ne mogu biti ljudi bez likovne kvalitete, „notorne lijenštine i neznalice”.³⁵ Taj grubi izraz otkriva disciplinarni aspekt strukovnoga udruživanja. U novome poretku pripadnost udruženju nije samo pravo nego i obveza stalnoga rada, idejne izgradnje, primanja kritike i samokritike.³⁶ Takav model izravno korespondira sa splitskim zapisnicima u kojima se opetovano problematiziraju pasivnost članova, neredovito plaćanje članarine, izostanak rada, nesudjelovanje u zadatcima i niska kvaliteta pojedinih ostvarenja. Kongresni diskurs ovdje pruža saveznu artikulaciju onoga što se u Splitu pojavljuje kao svakodnevna organizacijska poteškoća.

Tiljkov referat, nadalje, otvara i pitanje umjetničke propagande, odnosno približavanja umjetnosti širokim narodnim masama. Izložbe, reprodukcije, monografije, kritičke studije, galerije, muzeji, filmovi, dijapozitivi, gipsoteke i putujuće izložbe navode se kao sredstva stvaranja kulturnoga odnosa prema umjetničkomu djelu.³⁷ Taj je dio važan za razumijevanje izložbene politike Podružnice za Dalmaciju. Prvomajske izložbe, skupne manifestacije, javna predavanja, kritike u tisku, putovanja izložbi i otkupi nisu bili tek lokalne aktivnosti nego dio širega modela umjetničke pedagogije. Umjetnost se trebala izvesti iz uskoga kruga stručnjaka i kolekcionara te ući u javni prostor nove publike.

Treća cjelina Tiljkova referata, posvećena umjetničkomu materijalu i alatu, pokazuje da se kvaliteta djela tumačila materijalno-tehnički, a ne samo idejno i formalno. Tiljak upozorava na potrebu planske proizvodnje slikarskih i kiparskih materijala: boja, pigmenata, ulja, smola, kistova, tuševa i papira.³⁸ O solidnosti tih materijala, kako ističe, uvelike ovisi kvaliteta umjetničkoga rada. To je važno jer širi razumijevanje umjetničke kvalitete i na infrastrukturu proizvodnje.

Konačna rezolucija Prvoga kongresa sažima ideološki i programatski horizont rasprava. Likovni umjetnici u njoj izražavaju odanost ideji napretka i narodne demokracije, ističu da im novi poredak prvi put omogućuje slobodan i stvaralački rad pod uvjetima

34 Isto.
35 Isto.
36 Isto.
37 Isto.
38 Isto.

dostojnima radnoga čovjeka te prihvaćaju obvezu stavljanja stvaralačkih snaga u službu naroda.³⁹ Rezolucija formalističku umjetnost građanskoga društva opisuje kao dekomponiranje stvarnosti i brisanje čovjeka i ljepote života iz umjetničkoga stvaralaštva. Nasuprot tomu, traži se pravilna preorijentacija prema monumentalnoj umjetnosti, širemu vidiku, bogatijim izvorima i čovječnijemu cilju umjetnosti.

Ovdje postaje važan dio rezolucije u kojem se izrijeком navodi dužnost borbe za kvalitetu djela. Kvaliteta se postavlja kao preduvjet da nova realistička umjetnost bude dostojna narodnih napora u borbi i izgradnji te da može umjetnički oblikovati lik čovjeka – graditelja. Rezolucija time povezuje tri ključna elementa: kvalitetu, realizam i lik novoga čovjeka. Umjetničko djelo treba biti idejno produbljeno, formalno dovoljno snažno i društveno prepoznatljivo. U završnici umjetnici se obvezuju da će produbiti idejnost umjetničkoga sadržaja, podići kvalitetu rada i stvarati djela dostojna života, napora naroda i epohe.⁴⁰ Ova formulacija izravno objašnjava zašto će se u lokalnim sredinama, uključujući Split, kvaliteta djela stalno prosuđivati u odnosu prema tematici, društvenoj korisnosti, reprezentativnosti i sposobnosti djela da javno posreduje sliku nove stvarnosti.

Promatra li se Kongres u cjelini, razabire se njegova višestruka funkcija u procesu poratnoga strukturiranja likovnoga polja. Formalizirao je saveznu koordinaciju likovnih udruženja i time dopunio republičke organizacijske modele, ali je istovremeno artikulirao i normativni jezik kojim su se definirale zadaće umjetnosti u novome društvu. Posebna se važnost Kongresa očituje u pokušaju uspostave kriterija umjetničke kvalitete koji su povezivali idejnost, temu, ljudski lik, formu, tehniku i društvenu namjenu djela. U tome su se okviru otvorila i pitanja kritike, javnih narudžbi, otkupa, izložbene propagande, materijala i suradnje s narodnim vlastima. Sva će se ona pojavljivati i u dokumentaciji splitske Podružnice za Dalmaciju, premda u drukčijemu, svakodnevnomu i operativnomu registru: u zapisnicima, dopisima, žiriranjima, prigovorima, popisima članova, izložbenim pripremama i otkupnim postupcima. Zbog toga Prvi kongres likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije ne treba promatrati kao udaljeni savezni događaj koji se lokalne povijesti tiče samo formalno. On pruža pogled u unutarnju logiku sustava u kojemu se splitska podružnica kretala. Kongresni referati i rezolucija artikuliraju ono što će se u Splitu svakodnevno provjeravati: tko može biti član, što je kvalitetan rad, kako se žirira, što znači tematska suvremenost, kako se odnositi prema formalizmu, na koji se način umjetnik povezuje s narodom, kako se vrednuje javna narudžba i zašto je otkup umjetnine dio kulturne politike. Upravo zato ovo poglavlje treba prethoditi analizi lokalnih izložbenih praksi. U odnosu prema splitskoj građi, ono funkcionira kao širi

interpretacijski ključ za razumijevanje lokalnih rasprava o članstvu, kvaliteti, žiriranju i društvenoj funkciji umjetnosti.

Socrealizam i regulacija umjetničkoga polja

Kako se navodi u literaturi, Drugi svjetski rat označio je usporavanje – ili čak potpuni prekid – modernističkih umjetničkih istraživanja, pa su se europske zemlje nakon 1945. godine uglavnom okretale intenziviranju ili „rekonstrukciji modernističke paradigme”.⁴¹ Ratno razaranje infrastrukturnih, institucijskih i intelektualnih okvira modernizma proizvelo je diskontinuitet unutar kojega se poslijeratna obnova umjetničkoga života odvijala u znaku redefinicije odnosa između estetske autonomije i društvene funkcije umjetnosti. U zemljama Istočnoga bloka, priklonjenima Sovjetskomu Savezu, prevladavao je model kulturne politike povezan s doktrinom Andreja Aleksandroviča Ždanova. Taj je model podrazumijevao jasno normirani sustav vrijednosti u kojemu je umjetnička praksa bila integrirana u ideološki projekt izgradnje socijalističkoga društva. Umjetnost se definirala kao sastavnica društvenoga plana, a vrijednosni kriteriji proizlazili su iz njezine društvene i ideološke funkcionalnosti. Kulturno upravljanje počivalo je na vertikalno ustrojenoj mreži institucija i nadzornih tijela, a estetski zahtjevi uključivali su afirmaciju figurativnosti, narativnosti, tipizacije likova i optimistične projekcije stvarnosti, osobito tematikom rada, kolektiva i Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Modernistički formalizam i autonomističke tendencije u tom su kontekstu bili podvrgnuti kritici kao izraz ideološke nedovoljnosti ili estetske dekadencije. U hrvatskoj se likovnoj kritici takav odnos prema modernističkoj genealogiji slike može prepoznati i u polemici s „idolatrijom Cézannea” Grge Gamulina, pri čemu Cézanne postaje znak formalističke tradicije koju socrealistički diskurs nastoji podrediti zahtjevu za sadržajno čitljivom i društveno odgovornom umjetnošću.⁴²

U jugoslavenskome i hrvatskome kontekstu socijalistički realizam predstavlja važnu, premda vremenski ograničenu fazu u procesu institucijske i ideološke transformacije umjetničkoga polja. Nova kulturna politika, oslonjena na sovjetski uzor, artikulirala je normativne zahtjeve koji su umjetničku produkciju usmjeravali prema društvenoj transparentnosti i ideološkoj čitljivosti. Pojedini umjetnici sudjelovali su u oblikovanju reprezentativnoga vizualnog jezika nove države, osobito javnim narudžbama,

39 „Rezolucija I. kongresa likovnih umjetnika FNRJ” koju je pročitao Franjo Mraz, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 73: Korespondencija SLUJ.

40 Isto.

41 Ljiljana Kolečnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada. Hrvatska umjetnost i likovna kritika 50-ih godina*, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2006., str. 29.

42 O Gamulinovu odnosu prema socrealističkoj kritičkoj matrici i njegovoj polemici s modernističkom cezanneovskom paradigmom vidjeti: Tonko Maroević, „Ideja socrealizma u kritičkoj praksi Grge Gamulina. Nekoliko primjera iz vrućih, militantnih godina 1945. – 1952.”, u: *Desničini susreti 2009. Intelektualci i vlast 1945. – 1954.*, ur. Drago Roksandić, Magdalena Najbar-Agičić i Ivana Cvijović Javorina, Zagreb, 2011., str. 28–42.

spomeničkom plastikom i izložbenom produkcijom koja je afirmirala partizansku i radničku ikonografiju, dok su teorijski i kritički tekstovi nastojali dodatno disciplinirati estetski prostor. U hrvatskome je kontekstu ULUH imao osobito važnu posredničku ulogu između političkih instanci i konkretne likovne proizvodnje. Ana Šeparović tumači djelovanje Udruženja pomoću nekoliko povezanih područja: stručno polje, koje obuhvaća organizaciju godišnjih revijalnih izložbi, nabavu stručne literature i oblike radne prakse poput večernjega slikanja akta; ekonomsko polje, povezano s ateljeima, nabavom slikarskoga i kiparskoga materijala, prodajom radova i pomoći članovima te idejno-političko polje, koje je funkcioniralo kao kanal preko kojega su država i Partija nastojale nametnuti socrealistički kanon likovnoj umjetnosti.⁴³ Time se ULUH pojavljuje kao staleška organizacija s izrazitom posredničkom i regulacijskom funkcijom: njegovim su se djelovanjem umjetnički rad, materijalni uvjeti stvaranja, izložbena praksa i idejno-politička izgradnja članstva uključivali u širi političko-kulturni projekt. Ipak, pitanje stvarne razine i rigidnosti primjene socrealističkih zahtjeva otvara složeniju sliku. Dosadašnja istraživanja pokazuju kako se normativni okvir socijalističkoga realizma u jugoslavenskome kontekstu očitovao heterogeno, s izraženim razlikama između programatskih dokumenata, kritičkih intervencija i konkretne umjetničke prakse. Dok se u agitacijskim i kritičkim tekstovima zagovarala ideološki poželjna paradigma, u galerijskim prostorima moguće je razabrati djela koja nastavljaju linije prijeratnih modernističkih poetika, bilo u formalnim rješenjima, bilo u ikonografskim izborima. Uočljiva je diskrepancija između diskurzivnoga aparata likovne kritike, snažno obilježenoga aktualnom ideološkom matricom, i realne produkcije u kojoj se očituju procesi prilagodbe, kompromisa i kontinuiteta. Takvu interpretaciju dodatno potvrđuju istraživanja Bojane Videkanić, koja jugoslavensku poratnu umjetnost promatra kroz njezin složen i „nelagodan” odnos prema socijalističkom realizmu.⁴⁴ Analizirajući prvu saveznu izložbu Saveza likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije priređenu u Beogradu 1949. godine, Videkanić pokazuje da se službeni zahtjev za idejno jasnom, narodu razumljivom i društveno korisnom umjetnošću u samoj izložbenoj praksi nije pretvorio u jedinstven estetski model. Naprotiv, izložena su djela pokazivala širok raspon formalnih, tematskih i stilskih rješenja, pri čemu su se tragovi modernističkih poetika, prijeratnih slikarskih navika i društveno angažirane figuracije zadržavali unutar službeno proklamiranoga socrealističkog horizonta. Slijedom toga jugoslavenski socrealizam treba razumjeti kao nestabilno i hibridno polje u kojemu se normativni zahtjevi kulturne politike prelamaju kroz različite umjetničke tradicije, institucijske interese i konkretne uvjete poslijeratne proizvodnje.

43 Ana Šeparović, „Mehanizmi kontrole i usmjeravanja likovne produkcije: ULUH u kontekstu socrealizma”, u: *Institucije povijesti umjetnosti: zbornik 4. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti*, ur. Ivana Mance, Martina Petrinović i Tanja Trška, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske i Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2019., str. 277–281.

44 Bojana Videkanić, „Yugoslav Postwar Art and Socialist Realism: An Uncomfortable Relationship”, *ARTMargins*, 5/2, 2016., str. 3–26.

Politički razlaz s Informbiroom 1948. godine nije odmah proizveo popuštanje ideološkoga pritiska u kulturnome polju. Naprotiv, u prvim godinama nakon Rezolucije Informbiroa pojačava se potreba dokazivanja političke pravovjernosti, pa se i u likovnoj umjetnosti osnažuje zahtjev za ideološkom disciplinom, tematskom usmjerenošću i organiziranim radom na političko-teorijskoj izgradnji članstva. Ana Šeparović stoga s pravom upozorava da se u godinama nakon Informbiroa može pratiti intenziviranje ideološko-političkoga pritiska u ULUH-u, najprije općom mobilizacijom članstva, a od 1949. godine i djelovanjem idejno-političkoga sektora, pooštrenim žiriranjem, predavanjima, diskusijama, poticanjima odlazaka na gradilišta i seljačke zadruge te sustavnim usmjeravanjem umjetnika prema temama iz Narodnooslobodilačke borbe i socijalističke izgradnje.⁴⁵ U tome se sustavu žiriranje pojavljuje kao jedan od najkonkretnijih instrumenata ideološkoga i stručnoga usmjeravanja likovne produkcije. Šeparović naglašava da se od 1948. godine u ULUH-u pooštrava selekcija radova te da se pri izboru sve više vodi računa o idejno-sadržajnoj strani djela.⁴⁶ Obrazloženja odbijenih radova pritom otkrivaju širok raspon kriterija: rad je mogao biti označen kao nedovršen, skicozan, nečitljiv, u idejno-sadržajnom pogledu neprihvatljiv, groteskan, neuvjerljiv u prikazu pokreta, formalno neusklađen sa sadržajem ili obilježen neprirodnom romantikom i simbolikom. Iz toga proizlazi da poželjna tematika sama po sebi nije bila dovoljna. Rad je morao zadovoljiti i zahtjeve jasnoće, oblikovne dovršenosti, realističke uvjerljivosti, čitljivosti ljudskoga lika, trodimenzionalnosti forme i društvene sadržajnosti. Pritom je posebice važno da se ta idejno-politička infrastruktura nije zadržavala samo u Zagrebu. Šeparović bilježi da su tijekom 1948. godine i članovi splitske podružnice ULUH-a sudjelovali u idejno-političkim predavanjima posvećenima ekonomskim odnosima među socijalističkim zemljama, reviziji marksizma-lenjinizma po nacionalnom pitanju, borbi protiv revizije marksizma-lenjinizma i komunističkome moralu.⁴⁷ Taj podatak potvrđuje uključenost splitske podružnice u republički sustav političko-teorijskoga usmjeravanja obrazovnim i diskusijskim oblicima rada namijenjenim oblikovanju ideološke spremnosti članstva. Tek potkraj 1949. i oko 1950. godine započinje postupna dekonstrukcija socrealističkoga modela i jačanje diskursa o stvaralačkoj slobodi, individualnosti i pluralizmu umjetničkih pravaca. Taj proces nije bio trenutačan ni jednoznačan, ali je označio postupno slabljenje rigidnoga ideološkog okvira koji je dotad strukturirao umjetničko polje. Distanciranje od staljinističke paradigme nužno je impliciralo i propitkivanje ždanovljevske koncepcije socijalističkoga realizma, s obzirom na to da je upravo ona u sovjetskome kontekstu funkcionirala kao estetski ekvivalent političke ortodoksije. Na samome kraju četrdesetih i početkom pedesetih godina intenzivirale su se rasprave o odnosu ideologije i umjetnosti,

45 Ana Šeparović, „ULUH oko Informbiroa: dinamika ideološko-političkog pritiska u likovnom stvaralaštvu”, *Peristil*, 60, 2017., str. 103–116.

46 Isto.

47 Isto.

društvene funkcije i estetske autonomije. Taj se prijelaz može dodatno razumjeti i poslijeratnom fazom sukoba na književnoj ljevici, koju Domagoj Brozović tumači kao postupno usklađivanje Krležinih ranijih teza o autonomiji umjetnosti s novim političkim okolnostima nakon 1948. godine. U toj preobrazbi časopis *Republika*, Šegedinov istup 1949. i Krležin referat 1952. godine postaju važna mjesta preoblikovanja kulturnoga diskursa: umjetnost se i dalje shvaća kao društveno odgovorna praksa, ali se njezina vrijednost više ne može iscrpiti u utilitarnoj ulozi političke ilustracije.⁴⁸ Ljubljanski kongres književnika 1952. godine često se označava kao simbolička prekretnica u tome procesu, a osobitu je pozornost izazvao referat Miroslava Krleže. U njegovoj je intervenciji artikulirana potreba za kritičkim odmicanjem od shematizma i doktrinarne redukcije umjetnosti na puki ilustrativni instrument političke teze. Krleža pritom nije dovodio u pitanje društvenu odgovornost umjetnosti, ali je inzistirao na njezinoj unutarnjoj kompleksnosti, povijesnoj dubini i estetskoj autonomiji kao preduvjetu njezine istinske društvene relevantnosti. Ta rasprava nije označila napuštanje socijalističkoga projekta; posrijedi je bila njegova reinterpretacija. Umjetnost se i dalje razumijeva kao društveno relevantna praksa, ali se njezina vrijednost više ne mjeri isključivo stupnjem izravne ideološke transparentnosti. Time dolazi do pomaka s modela normativno propisane reprezentacije prema modelu u kojemu se dopušta pluralnost formalnih rješenja i složeniji odnos prema zbilji. U tom se prijelazu mijenja način ideološkoga usmjeravanja umjetnosti: rigidni estetski propis postupno ustupa mjesto fleksibilnijemu sustavu koji dopušta pluralnost formalnih rješenja, pod uvjetom da ona ne ulaze u otvorenu opoziciju prema društvenomu poretku. U likovnome polju takvi procesi dobivaju vidljivu artikulaciju afirmacijom geometrijske apstrakcije, konstruktivističkih tendencija i istraživanja vizualnoga jezika oslobođenoga narativne obveze. Hrvatski kontekst osobito je zanimljiv jer se već početkom pedesetih godina pojavljuju inicijative koje otvoreno rehabilitiraju modernističku tradiciju i uspostavljaju kontinuitet s međuratnim avangardnim iskustvima. Djelovanje grupe EXAT 51 u tom je smislu paradigmatično jer programski dokumenti i izložbene aktivnosti te skupine ne predstavljaju nagli prekid, nego logičnu posljedicu prethodnoga procesa postupne liberalizacije estetskoga polja.

Razdoblje socrealizma u Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj, prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima Ljiljane Kolečnik, Sandre Križić Roban, Ane Šeparović, Ive Šimata Banova, Vladimira Malekovića i drugih, stoga se može razumjeti kao kratkotrajna, ali važna faza normativnoga usmjeravanja umjetničke produkcije.⁴⁹ Njegova važnost očituje se manje u

dugotrajnoj stilističkoj dominaciji, a više u institucijskoj i ideološkoj redefiniciji položaja umjetnika, organizacijskih modela udruživanja i sustava legitimiranja umjetničkoga rada. Socijalistički realizam funkcionirao je kao regulacijski mehanizam kojim su se razrađivali odnosi između estetske autonomije, političke lojalnosti i društvene funkcije umjetnosti, ali i kao prostor prilagodbe, pregovaranja i postupne transformacije kulturnoga polja. Stoga ga ovdje valja promatrati kao promjenjiv diskurzivni i institucijski sustav vrednovanja: kao jezik pritiska, samokritike, žiriranja i javne legitimacije umjetničkoga rada. Takvo razumijevanje osobito je važno za čitanje splitske građe, u kojoj se socrealistički zahtjevi rijetko pojavljuju kao dosljedno provedena estetika, a mnogo češće kao operativni sustav kriterija na temelju kojih se raspravlja o članstvu, kvaliteti, izložbenoj selekciji i društvenoj funkciji umjetnosti. Prije nego što se ti kriteriji stabiliziraju u radu Podružnice, u Splitu se već tijekom rata i neposredno nakon oslobođenja oblikuju izložbeni modeli u kojima se ispituju odnos slike, javnosti, političke poruke i društvene odgovornosti umjetnika.

O izložbenome kontekstu i interpretaciji socrealizma vidjeti: Vladimir Maleković, *Kritička retrospektiva – Hrvatska likovna umjetnost 1945–1955. Tendenciozni realizam* (katalog izložbe), u sklopu 9. zagrebačkog salona, Moderna galerija, Zagreb, 1974. Izložba tematizira razdoblje afirmacije socijalističkoga realizma kao kompleksno polje napetosti između ideološkoga imperativa društveno funkcionalne „čitljive” umjetnosti i autonomnih formalnih istraživanja. Maleković pritom analizira kako „tendencioznost” u tome kontekstu prestaje biti estetski nedostatak i postaje kriterij vrijednosti, dok izbor oblikovnoga rješenja zadobiva dimenziju ideološkoga opredjeljenja: formalna odluka više nije neutralna, nego sudjeluje u proizvodnji političkoga i društvenoga značenja te se vrednuje prema intenzitetu kontakta s „masama”. Usporediti i raniji izložbeno-historiografski pokušaj povezivanja nadrealizma, socijalne umjetnosti, umjetnosti NOR-a i socijalističkoga realizma u šire problemsko polje: *Nadrealizam, postnadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, umetnost NOR-a, socijalistički realizam: 1929.–1950.*, ur. Miodrag B. Protić, Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd, 1969. U katalogu je objavljen i tekst Dragoslava Đorđevića „Socijalistički realizam 1945. – 1950.”.

2 MODEL IZLAGANJA I POLITIČKA PEDAGOGIJA SLIKE

Izložba umjetnika partizana, 1944.

U splitskome likovnom životu neposredno prije formalnoga ustanovljenja Podružnice ULUH-a zamjetna su izložbena pregnuća koja je moguće sagledati kao rane oblike usmjeravanja umjetničke prakse u novome društveno-političkom ozračju. Među njima posebice se ističe prva *Izložba umjetnika partizana*, organizirana krajem 1944. godine u središnjoj palači na Botičevoj poljani u Splitu, u organizaciji Kluba kulturnih radnika Hrvatske za Dalmaciju. Na tome događaju već se razabiru osnovni obrisi poratnoga shvaćanja umjetnosti, njezine javne namjene i njezina odnosa prema iskustvu borbe.⁵⁰ U uvodnome tekstu kataloga Jure Franičević Pločar ističe umjetnike koji su svoj doprinos Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi dali radom u pozadini fronte, stvarajući novi izraz „na zgarištima, u patnjama, u velikoj herojskoj borbi naših naroda”, pritom naglašavajući nerazdvojivost političke i stvaralačke slobode: „Sloboda naroda je sloboda umjetnosti, sloboda naroda je sloboda umjetnika-stvaraoca. Ovu slobodu trebamo budno čuvati radi palih heroja, radi živih, radi napretka novih pokoljenja, radi istine i pravednosti, radi umjetnosti.”⁵¹ Takva sintagma već naznačuje smjer u kojem će se umjetničko djelovanje

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- 50 Prema sažetku o razvoju likovne umjetnosti u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi partizanska likovna aktivnost razvijala se u više središta i uz više institucijskih uporišta: oko Vrhovnoga štaba, AVNOJ-a, ZAVNOH-a, u Cozzanu, Slavoniji i na Žumberku. U istome se pregledu navodi i da je Antun Zupa rukovodio ilegalnim radom likovnih umjetnika u Splitu, a Parać, Studin, B. Kovačević, Bunk, Ž. Kljaković i Šitić djelovali su u El Shattu, što pokazuje da je splitski likovni krug bio dio šire i razgranate ratne mreže umjetničkoga rada. Vidjeti: „Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-12-49 – Razni podaci o likovnim umetnostima, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 12.
- 51 Jure Pločar, *Izložba umjetnika partizana* (katalog izložbe), 23. prosinca 1944. – 10. siječnja 1945., Split. Iz predgovora, kojim se zapravo formulira jedan od prvih ideoloških programa poslijeratne likovne scene u Dalmaciji, valja izdvojiti: „Nikada u historiji našega naroda nisu umjetnici temeljitije polagali ispit pred narodom i umjetnošću, koliko zaista vole istinu, kao u ovome ratu, koji nam je nametnuo borbu za život i smrt. Trebalo se odlučiti. Fašisti su gazili našu zemlju, zavili je oblacima dima, zalili krvlju i suzama, pogazili sve što nam je bilo drago, svojim crnim rukama oskvrnjavali su naše svetinje, dizali su bučno svoje lažne zastave po našim gradovima i selima, defilirale do zubi naoružane divizije kroz naše ulice.

tumačiti kao sastavni dio kolektivne borbe i kao jamstvo buduće društvene i kulturne emancipacije. Svi su radovi uglavnom tematizirali i evidentirali različite događaje i scene rata, njihove protagoniste i doživljaje, a osobita pozornost posvećena je kiparu Ivanu Lozici, kojega su talijanski fašisti strijeljali 1943. godine pa su izložene njegove skulpture, crteži i dokumentarni materijali. O toj je izložbi u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* opširno pisao Cvito Fisković, a njegov se tekst može razumjeti kao programatska intervencija u javni diskurs o novoj umjetnosti.⁵² Nastao u prijelomnome trenutku i upućen lokalnoj publici, članak čin izlaganja sagledava kao moralno, političko i kulturno samopotvrđivanje zajednice, a sama se izložba tumači kao simptom šire društvene transformacije.

Na ovome je mjestu potrebno uočiti način na koji Fisković umjetnost postavlja u odnos prema fašizmu. U opsežnome uvodu opisuje represiju nad slobodnim umjetnicima u nacističkoj Njemačkoj i fašističkoj Italiji, spominjući progone modernista i koncept „izopačene umjetnosti”. Time partizansku izložbu smješta u širi europski kontekst borbe za slobodu umjetničkoga izraza u kojemu se umjetnost artikulira kao prostor istine u opreci prema politički nametnutoj laži, a umjetnik dobiva status moralnoga

Domaći su im izrodi i izdajnici bili najvjerniji pomagači. Našemu je narodu prijetilo uništenje. Ali je narod ustao smjelo u borbu. Pisani protesti tih dana nisu bili dovoljni. Prvi su umjetnici protestirali radi čovječnosti i radi umjetnosti na koju su povadili nož švapski i domaći koljači. Ostajao je jedini i pravi put, stupiti s narodom u borbu za slobodu, za umjetnost, ili pljunuti na čast i slobodu i umjetnost i saviti kičmu, pasti na koljena pred nalickanim tenentima, feldwebelima i moliti milost i pjevati hvalospjeve njihovim velikim vođama i veličini rasa pozvanim da gospodare, postati sluge i robovi, napuniti novčanike okrvavljenim srebrnjacima i nestati s lica zemlje, biti ožigosan izdajicom. Ovim putem su pošli mekušci i izrodi. Predstavnici istinske umjetnosti, prave i jedine, pošli su putem borbe u kojoj su pali mnogi veliki borci i umjetnici: Cesarac, Markovac, Keršovani, Prica, Miškina, Kovačić, Lozica i mnogi drugi koji su, služeći narodu i umjetnosti, dali svoje živote za velike ideale slobode i napretka. Kroz stradanja i patnje, kroz herojske borbe, kroz glad i studen, prolazile su naše brigade sa vjerom u pobjedu, sa vjerom u Tita, koja je bila i ostaje jača od svake ratne tehnike. Zajedno s brigadama prošli su i mnogi naši umjetnici kroz bitke i napore. Zajedno s brigadama prošao je i veliki hrvatski pjesnik Vladimir Nazor. Mnogi su svoj udio u borbi dali radom u pozadini fronta. Kroz ove napore stvarao se nov izraz na zgarištima, u patnjama, u velikoj herojskoj borbi naših naroda.” Prema katalogu izložbe, uz radove strijeljanoga Ivana Lozice i dokumentarni materijal o njemu, izlagali su Zvonko Agbaba, Ivan Čaće, Vilim Čerić, Lela Čermak, Marijan Detoni, Oskar Herman, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Job-Jeličić, Branko Kovačević, Riko Marasović, Franjo Mraz, Edo Murtić, Mirko Ostoja, Dalibor Parać, Vjeko Parać, Bartul Petrić, Oton Postružnik, Zlatko Prica, Vanja Radauš, Stjepan Rajković, Stella Skopal, Marin Studin, Petar Šimaga, Ljudevit Šestić, Jelena Stark, Đuro Tiljak i Antun Zupa. Izložba je nakon Splita preseljena u Radnički dom u Dubrovniku, a istovremeno je *Izložba umjetnika partizana* priređena i u Šibeniku s predgovorom Vjekoslava Kaleba te poslije u zagrebačkome Umjetničkom paviljonu s opsežnijim katalogom i ilustracijama (20. lipnja – 20. srpnja 1945.). U Zagrebu je, potom, u Modernoj galeriji organizirana i *Izložba slovenačkih umjetnika partizana* (16. – 30. rujna 1945.). Predstavljala se, dakle, specifična umjetnost nastala u ekstremnim ratnim i egzistencijalnim uvjetima koja nije samo – kako to Vjekoslav Kaleb zapisuje – dokument nego oblik i dio borbe, „temelj novog umjetničkog nazora kao što su borbe i stradanja temelj novog života.” Vidjeti: Vjekoslav Kaleb, *Izložba umjetnika partizana* (katalog izložbe), 4. – 11. veljače 1945., Šibenik.

52 Dr. Cvito Fisković, „Izložba umjetnika partizana u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 24. prosinca 1944., str. 3.

subjekta. Ta je postavka ključna jer partizanskoj umjetnosti u njegovoj interpretaciji pridaje simboličku i duhovnu funkciju unutar revolucionarnoga pokreta te sudjeluje u legitimiranju njegove povijesne i etičke pozicije.

Fiskovićevo shvaćanje umjetnosti kao borbene, etički utemeljene i društveno odgovorne valja sagledati u duljemu kontinuitetu ideja. Ono se nadovezuje na iskustvo međuratne grupacije „Zemlja”, koja je već početkom tridesetih godina afirmirala potrebu povezivanja likovnoga rada s egzistencijalnom stvarnošću društvenih slojeva.⁵³ „Zemlja” je zagovarala usmjerenost prema seljaštvu, radu i socijalnoj svakodnevici, uz distancu prema akademskoj dekorativnosti i formalnoj izoliranosti umjetnosti. Iako je njezino djelovanje prekinuto represijom, temeljna ideja o društvenoj ukorijenjenosti umjetnosti ostala je prisutna u intelektualnome horizontu dijela umjetničke scene. Ratno iskustvo dodatno je intenziviralo tu poziciju. Ilegalna izložba organizirana 1943. godine na inicijativu ilegalnoga Centralnog odbora intelektualaca u Splitu, u stanu kipara Marina Studina, predstavlja važan prijelaz između međuratnoga angažmana i poratne institucionalizacije. Na njoj je bilo izloženo oko 70 radova, a prema dostupnim podacima posjetilo ju je približno 2 000 konspirativnih posjetitelja iz različitih društvenih slojeva. Čin izlaganja u tome je slučaju istodobno bio estetska afirmacija, politički otpor i oblik kulturne solidarnosti, što potvrđuje i raspodjela prihoda između autora, fonda za umjetnike drugih grana i Narodnooslobodilačkoga fonda.⁵⁴ U tome se razvojnome luku – od „Zemlje” preko

53 Zanimljive su obavijesti koje se donose u dnevnim novinama. Prema novinskoj obavijesti objavljenoj u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* u siječnju 1945., primjerice, nekadašnji članovi Udruženja likovnih umjetnika „Zemlja” na oslobođenome području Hrvatske odlučili su obnoviti rad udruženja pod istim nazivom. U vijesti se prenosi da je tom prigodom objavljen manifest u kojemu se ističe kako su se „Zemljaši” i ranije zalagali za borbeni sadržaj preuzet iz života te da su svoju umjetničku poziciju temeljili na ozbiljnome proučavanju suvremenoga europskog slikarstva. Novinski tekst nadalje navodi kako nakon oslobođenja domovine predstoji „duga i teška borba na kulturnom frontu protiv umjetničkog nazadnjaštva, polutanstva i mračnjaštva”, zbog čega se oživljava tradicija i ponovno uspostavlja udruženje, obogaćeno iskustvima Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. U obavijesti se kao potpisnici manifesta spominju Antun Augustinčić, Marijan Detoni, Franjo Mraz, Oton Postružnik, Vanja Radauš i Đuro Tiljak. Vijest sugerira namjeru uspostavljanja kontinuiteta između međuratne društveno angažirane umjetničke pozicije i njezina poratnog reafirmiranja u novim političkim okolnostima. Vidjeti: „Obnavlja se udruženje likovnih umjetnika ‘Zemlja’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 28. siječnja 1945., str. 3.

O novijim interpretacijama Udruženja umjetnika Zemlja kao široko zasnovanoga umjetničkoga i društvenog projekta vidjeti izložbeni projekt *Umjetnost i život su jedno: Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja 1929. – 1935.*, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 28. studenoga 2019. – 1. ožujka 2020., autor izložbe Petar Prelog, kustosica Danijela Marković te katalog izložbe *Umjetnost i život su jedno: Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja 1929. – 1935.*, ur. Danijela Marković i Petar Prelog, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2019.

54 „Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”, Prilog 2, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-12-49 – Razni podaci o likovnim umetnostima, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 12. Naslov priloga glasi: „Ilegalna izložba u Splitu (od početka ožujka do konca rujna 1943. godine)”; u prilogu se navodi: „Izložbu je priredio na inicijativu i u kući Marina Studina ilegalni Centralni odbor intelektualaca u Splitu pod pokroviteljstvom G.N.O.O.-a kao protumanifestaciju protiv fašističke izložbe u Splitu 1942. Na ovoj su izložbi bili uz radove od fašista upravo strijeljanog Iva Lozice izloženi i radovi Antuna Zupe,

ratne ilegalne prakse do javno afirmirane partizanske izložbe – može pratiti kontinuitet ideje o umjetnosti kao društveno odgovornoj djelatnosti, koja će nakon 1945. godine dobiti stabilniji organizacijski okvir.⁵⁵

Središnje mjesto u Fiskovićevu tekstu zauzima formulacija prema kojoj izloženi radovi svjedoče da postoje umjetnici sposobni zahvatiti „najteže probleme: čovjeka i borbu za oslobođenje od nasilja i laži”. Time se jasno definira polje umjetničkoga interesa, što je zapravo egzistencijalna i društvena drama čovjeka u povijesnome trenutku. Umjetnost preuzima zadatak artikuliranja iskustva nasilja, otpora i oslobođenja, čime se uspostavlja model društveno odgovorne i iskustveno utemeljene umjetnosti. Ovdje je zamjetna odsutnost doktrinarnoga jezika kakav će obilježiti kasniji, institucijski normirani socrealizam.

Jednako je važno Fiskovićevo distanciranje od monumentalno-alegorijske tradicije međuratne nacionalne umjetnosti. Osvrćući se na „vidovdanske simbole i alegorije” – očigledno meštrovíčevskoga tipa – te na „prazni ukras i patos”, on napušta retorički uzdignuti model herojskoga prikaza koji se oslanja na simboličku hipertrofiju i monumentalnost. Umjetnici partizani afirmiraju „bilješke iz prirode i života”, neposrednost iskustva i osobni rukopis. Naglasak na individualnosti unutar kolektivnoga konteksta posebno je indikativan. Fisković istovremeno uočava i odsutnost dominantne figure koja bi zasjenila ostale autore, čime implicira polje pluralnosti i relativne ravnopravnosti. Takav opis anticipira koncept umjetničke zajednice utemeljene na horizontalnoj dinamici, što će se poslije odraziti i u oblicima strukovnoga organiziranja. Ključna je i njegova ocjena da umjetnici „teže realizmu”, koji označava „najčvršćim putem zdravog razvitka”. U tome trenutku realizam funkcionira kao oznaka iskustvene i etičke ukorijenjenosti u stvarnost, bez rigidne doktrinarne shematizacije. Pojam realizma služi diferenciranju od patetične retorike i ornamentalne

Vjekoslava Paraća, Ive Tijardovića, Nikole Ignjatovića, Sablića, Ljube Nakića i Marina Studina (kipovi i reljefi u drvu i bronci, uljene slike, akvareli, litografije i crteži). Slike je uokvirio i opremio Ivan Galić. Ukupno je bilo izloženo oko 70 radova. Izložbu je konspirativno posjetilo oko 2000 posjetilaca iz svih društvenih slojeva od popova, trgovaca i advokata do studenata, đaka, radnika i težaka, a na njoj je otkupljeno radova za oko 100.000 lira. Od prodajne cijene svaki je autor primio 60%, 30 posto je išlo u fond umjetnika ostalih grana (književnici, glumci, muzičari), a 10% je išlo Narodno-oslobodilačkom fondu. (Prema članku ‘Ilegalna izložba umjetnika 1943’, ‘Glas Slobode’, Dubrovnik, god. II., br. 29, od 11. II. 1945., str. 2. Na osnov govora M. Studina 5. II. 1945. na Radio-stanici Dubrovnik.)”

55 Za širi pregled socijalne umjetnosti i njezinih veza s međuratnim i poratnim tendencijama vidjeti: Božidar Gagro, „Nadrealizam, socijalna umjetnost 1929. – 1950.”, *Život umjetnosti*, 10, 1969., str. 149–167. Gagrin je tekst koristan jer povodom beogradske izložbe *Nadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, 1929. – 1950.* razmatra mogućnost zajedničkoga čitanja nadrealizma, socijalne umjetnosti, umjetnosti NOR-a i socijalističkoga realizma, uz oprez prema metodološki pojednostavljenome povezivanju formalno različitih, ali idejno i akcijski srodnih pojava. Vidjeti i katalog izložbe: *Nadrealizam, postnadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, umetnost NOR-a, socijalistički realizam: 1929 – 1950*, ur. Miodrag B. Protić, Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd, 1969.

monumentalnosti. Ova semantička otvorenost pojma upućuje na prijelaznu fazu u kojoj se još formira diskurs o društvenoj funkciji umjetnosti prije njegova potpunoga administrativnog kodificiranja.

Zaključno, Fiskovićeva tvrdnja da je „svaka prava umjetnost borbena” i da umjetnik mora vjerovati u napredak čovječanstva tekstu daje manifestni ton. Umjetnost se definira kao aktivni sudionik povijesti i kao čin javne odgovornosti. Istovremeno se naglašava sloboda rukopisa i pluralnost izraza, što pokazuje kako se novi model umjetnosti u Splitu oblikuje u suodnosu kolektivne borbe i individualne stvaralačke pozicije. Stoga se ovaj tekst može tumačiti kao rani pokušaj konceptualnoga oblikovanja poratnoga likovnog polja, čije će se organizacijske i institucijske posljedice ubrzo očitovati i u uspostavi splitske podružnice ULUH-a.

Podatci o partizanskim izložbama omogućuju da se splitska izložba s kraja 1944. godine sagleda unutar šire mreže ratne i neposredno poratne likovne mobilizacije.⁵⁶ Niz započinje izložbom u Topuskom, priređenom u okviru Kongresa kulturnih radnika u lipnju 1944. godine, s 13 izlagača i 273 rada, a zatim se razvija u Splitu, Dubrovniku, Šibeniku i Zadru.⁵⁷ Takav slijed upućuje na to da su partizanske izložbe pripadale pokretnoj i višecentričnoj izlagačkoj praksi povezanoj s političkim, kulturnim i reprezentativnim prigodama. U tome je lancu Split imao osobito istaknuto mjesto: ondje je izlagalo 29 autora sa 166 radova, a izložbu je posjetilo oko 8 000 ljudi, što znatno nadmašuje zabilježene brojke za Šibenik i Zadar te se može usporediti jedino s dubrovačkim odjekom. Jednako su znakoviti i podatci o katalogizma, predavanjima, vodstvima i anketnim odgovorima jer upućuju na njihovu edukacijsku i propagandnu funkciju: uz javno predstavljanje radova te su izložbe sudjelovale u oblikovanju publike, organiziranome tumačenju umjetnosti i političkoj pedagogiji slike. Iz te se perspektive i splitska izložba jasnije vidi kao jedna od ključnih točaka šire mreže partizanskih izložbi

56 O Tiljkovu suvremenom tumačenju partizanske umjetnosti i šibenske *Izložbe umjetnika partizana* vidjeti: Đuro Tiljak, „Narodno-oslobodilačka borba i umjetnost” i „Izložba umjetnika partizana u Šibeniku”, u: Đuro Tiljak, *O građanskoj, socijalnoj i partizanskoj umjetnosti*, prir. Ivana Hanaček i Vesna Vuković, BLOK, Zagreb, 2021., str. 143–158.

57 „Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”, Prilog 1, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-12-49 – Razni podaci o likovnim umetnostima, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 12. Prema tom prilogu o partizanskim izložbama, Topusko je 1944. godine okupilo 13 izlagača s 273 rada i oko 1 500 posjetitelja u povodu Kongresa kulturnih radnika, uz dva predavanja i jedno vođenje; Split krajem 1944. i početkom 1945. imao je 29 izlagača, 166 radova i oko 8 000 posjetitelja, uz plakat koji se pripisuje Mirku Ostoji te 722 anketna odgovora; Dubrovnik u veljači 1945. također je okupio 29 izlagača, sa 120 radova i oko 6 000 posjetitelja, u povodu blagdana sv. Vlaha, uz šest predavanja; Šibenik je imao 20 izlagača, 154 rada, 4 297 posjetitelja i plakat Zlatka Price, a izložba je bila priređena u okviru Tjedna kulture, uz 479 anketnih odgovora, jedno predavanje i četiri vođenja; Zadar je okupio 22 izlagača, 145 radova i oko 2 500 posjetitelja, također s plakatom Zlatka Price, u okviru Tjedna kulture, uz jedno predavanje i dva vođenja.

koja je povezivala Topusko, dalmatinske gradove i poslije Zagreb, gdje su najznačajniji originali s dalmatinskih izložbi ponovno predstavljeni i otkupljeni za muzejske zbirke.⁵⁸

Likovni umjetnici Dalmacije, 1945.

Nakon *Izložbe umjetnika partizana*, koja je krajem 1944. godine u Splitu uspostavila normativni horizont društveno angažirane likovne prakse utemeljene na iskustvu Narodnooslobodilačke borbe, slijedi prvi opsežniji poratni likovni događaj. Riječ je o izložbi *Likovni umjetnici Dalmacije*, priređenoj u Umjetničkome salonu Galić u kolovozu 1945. godine, u okviru Prvoga dalmatinskog festivala.⁵⁹ Festival, održan od 18. do 26. kolovoza, zamišljen je kao objedinjena platforma različitih kulturnih manifestacija s naglašenom participativnom ambicijom. Time se kulturna produkcija promišlja kao sastavni dio šire društvene reorganizacije, u kojoj umjetnost postaje medij simboličke integracije poslijeratne zajednice. U takvu ozračju i likovna izložba zadobiva značenje koje nadilazi strukovni okvir te se uklapa u širi projekt mobilizacije i kulturnoga uključivanja širokih narodnih masa, kako je u novinskome osvrtu formulirao Živko Jeličić.⁶⁰ Njegovo inzistiranje na pretvaranju umjetnosti u „svojinu” naroda upućuje na pomak u percepciji kulturne proizvodnje: umjetničko djelo promatra se unutar paradigme društvene raspodjele i kolektivne identifikacije, a izlagački čin unutar procesa demokratizacije kulture. Izložbu je organizirala likovna sekcija Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”. Za razliku od partizanske izložbe, čiji je legitimitet proizlazio iz neposrednoga ratnog iskustva i borbene ikonografije, izložba dalmatinskih umjetnika otvorila je pitanje susreta naslijeđenih likovnih poetika i novih očekivanja poratne kulturne politike. Upravo je ta napetost postala predmetom javne rasprave. U novinskim osvrtima, osobito u tekstu Šime Vučetića, naznačen je problem vremenske

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Isto.

O prijelazu od ilegalnih i subverzivnih ratnih izložbenih praksi prema masovnim, manifestnim i ideološki usmjerenim izložbenim formatima u Hrvatskoj od 1943. do 1948. godine vidjeti: Snježana Pavičić, „Od subverzivnoga do masovnoga i manifestnoga: izložbe u organizaciji komunističkih odbora za kulturu u Hrvatskoj od 1943. do 1948.”, *Informatica Museologica*, 50, 2019., str. 95–98.
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Prema tekstu „Otvorenje izložbe likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije”, objavljenom u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* 17. kolovoza 1945. (str. 3), popis izlagača bio je sljedeći: „U subotu 18. VIII. otvara se, u prostorijama Umjetničkog salona Galić u Splitu, izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije. Izlažu: Armanda Nikola slikar, Armanda Ljubica slikar, Baković Stjepan slikar, Bakulić Fabjan kipar, Bašić Ljubomir slikar, Bulimbašić Ivan kipar, Boteri Josip slikar, Bučan Ante slikar, Bunk Rudolf slikar, Domić Svetozar slikar, Dujmović Šime kipar, Franičević Ante slikar, Gojak Ante slikar, Ivanišević Ante kipar, Jansevski Votmar slikar, Jeličić-Job Cvijeta slikar, Knežević Joko slikar, Krstulović Andrija kipar, Matas Božidar slikar, Maretić Mirko slikar, Masle Antun slikar, Mirković Ivan kipar, Parać Vjekoslav slikar, Petrić Bartul slikar, Pulitika Ante slikar, Popović Stanasije slikar, Račić Miše slikar, Stanojević Dušan kipar, Strajnić Jovanka slikar, Studin Marin kipar, Tolić Milan slikar, Tolić Ranko slikar, Vidović Emanuel slikar, Vitaljić Kuzma slikar i Zupa Antun slikar.”
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Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), „Narodne mase na polju umjetnosti”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12. kolovoza 1945., str. 5.

neprilagođenosti dijela izloženih umjetnina.⁶¹ Vučetić zamjećuje da su mnogobrojni radovi nastali prije rata te ih opisuje kao „fantazijski doživljaj stvarnosti”, čime implicira udaljenost od aktualnoga društvenog trenutka. Pritom nije riječ tek o stilskoj primjedbi. Vučetić zapravo artikulira vrijednosni kriterij kojim se umjetnost procjenjuje shodno stupnju usklađenosti s povijesnom situacijom i intenzitetom odnosa prema društvenim procesima. Drugim riječima, temporalna dimenzija djela – trenutak njegova nastanka – postaje važan čimbenik ideološke i estetske evaluacije.

Posebno je indikativan način na koji Vučetić analizira slikarstvo Vjekoslava Paraća. Spominjanje impresionističkih polazišta (*Jablani*) nasuprot pokušaju da se, pod utjecajem realizma (*Mrjekarice*, *Solinsko polje*), stvarnost obradi drukčije od pukoga kolorističkog tretmana, otkriva šire ideološko-estetsko usmjerenje teksta. Kada ističe potrebu da se svijet zahvati „realistički”, a ne kroz „fantaziju” ili modernističku interpretaciju, on zapravo predlaže transformaciju samoga kriterija likovne vrijednosti. Formalna odluka prestaje biti autonomna i dobiva društvenu dimenziju te podliježe vrednovanju prema sposobnosti da prenese iskustvo kolektivne zbilje. U tome se zahtjevu može prepoznati rana formulacija doktrine prema kojoj umjetnički izraz treba služiti jasnoj komunikaciji društvene stvarnosti, a estetska kompleksnost podređuje se transparentnosti poruke. Time se estetska rasprava preobražava u pitanje kulturne strategije.

U drugome dijelu osvrta Vučetić još eksplicitnije formulira zahtjev za suvremenim motivima i „realističkom obradom” stvarnosti. Njegov poziv da „motive iz oslobodilačkog rata i današnjeg života dignu na dostojnu umjetničku visinu” uspostavlja izravan kontinuitet s paradigmom *Izložbe umjetnika partizana*. Ta se ranija izložba u Vučetićevu tekstu implicitno uzdiže na razinu mjerila – primjer djelovanja u kojemu su umjetnički izraz i povijesni trenutak bili u neposrednoj sukladnosti. Referenca na nju funkcionira kao argument autoriteta: iskustvo rata predstavlja temelj legitimnosti nove estetske orijentacije. Ratno iskustvo ovdje kao da poprima funkciju normativne matrice, svojevrsnoga kanona suvremenosti koji legitimizira temu, ikonografiju i način prikaza. Jednako je važan i retorički aspekt kojim Vučetić problematizira zadržavanje na motivima krajolika i mrtve prirode. Kada ironično priziva „mudrost o bari i baruštini”, sugerira da umjetnost koja ostaje unutar pastoralnoga ili introspektivnoga registra zanemaruje dinamiku društvene transformacije. U tome kontekstu pejzaž i cvijeće postaju znakovi estetske inercije, dok su rat, rad i izgradnja simbolički kapital novoga poretka. Riječ je o normativnoj intervenciji formuliranoj u skladu sa zahtjevima socrealističkoga diskursa, iako se 1945. godine ona još odvija u otvorenijemu polju rasprave, u kojemu su različite poetike prisutne i javno izložene. Iz te koegzistencije pluralnosti i normativnoga zahtjeva razabire se da proces ideološke stabilizacije likovnoga polja još ni izbliza nije dovršen.

^[1] Šime Vučetić, „Likovna izložba u okviru festivala”, Slobodna Dalmacija, 19. kolovoza 1945., str. 3.

Izložba *Likovni umjetnici Dalmacije* stoga predstavlja prijelaznu točku između kontinuiteta međuratnih modernističkih i individualnih poetika te rastućega pritiska za redefiniciju umjetničke funkcije u skladu s progresivnim društvenim naporima. U napetosti između zatečenoga umjetničkog naslijeđa i postavljenoga ideološkog horizonta razabire se pregovaranje unutar samoga polja umjetnosti. Još uvijek nije uspostavljen čvrsto normirani sustav estetskih propisa, ali se jasnije oblikuje očekivanje da umjetnički rad bude usklađen s transformacijom društvene stvarnosti.

Nema povratka na staro, 1945.

Izložba karikatura programatski naslovljena *Nema povratka na staro* otvorena 20. listopada 1945. godine u Etnografskome muzeju u Splitu – uz širenje postava i na Narodni trg – također predstavlja jednu od ključnih manifestacija ranoporatne političke vizualne kulture u Dalmaciji. Trajala je do 26. listopada.⁶² Nastala na poziv Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”, izložba je od samoga početka oblikovana kao kolektivni čin gotovo cjelokupne splitske likovne scene. Sudjelovali su slikari i kipari, a novinski izvještaji posebno naglašavaju masovnost odaziva autora i publike (oko 500 posjetitelja na otvorenju, uz istodobno ispunjen muzejski prostor i trg).⁶³ Već sam naslov – *Nema povratka na staro* – uspostavlja jasan programatski horizont: izložba se koncipira kao vizualna artikulacija povijesnoga prijeloma i odbacivanja monarhijske prošlosti, odnosno stare Jugoslavije s kraljem na čelu. Novinski diskurs ističe antagonizam dvaju vremena, gotovo manihejsku podjelu na represivnu, „žandarmerijsku” Jugoslaviju i novu, republikansku političku stvarnost. Karikatura pritom postaje medij političke demarkacije i moralnoga obračuna. U tekstovima se naglašava kako je riječ o izložbi političke karikature usmjerene „protiv stare Jugoslavije”, ali i o manifestaciji demokratskih sloboda: njezina „sadržajnost, masovno učešće izlagača, kao i spontanost njenog postanka” tumače se kao „dokazi dubokog slobodarskog sadržaja naše demokracije”.⁶⁴ Programatski ton dodatno se pojačava retoričkom formulom poput: „Kad je narod robovao i umjetnost je robovala”, čime se vizualni medij karikature izravno povezuje s političkom sudbinom zajednice.⁶⁵

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„Izložba karikatura ‘Nema povratka na staro’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25. listopada 1945., str. 3. U novinama se objavljuje kratka obavijest kojom se čitateljstvo informira da je toga dana posljednja prilika za razgledavanje izložbe.
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„Otvorenje izložbe karikatura u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21. listopada 1945., str. 3. Valja naglasiti kako godišnji izvještaj tajnika Podružnice Živka Kljakovića sa skupštine od 26. siječnja 1947. kaže da se upravo izložba karikatura i izrada groteski u izornoj kampanji smatrala početkom stvarnoga djelovanja udruženja, premda formalni oblik Podružnice u tome trenutku još nije bio dovršen. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
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„‘Nema povratka na staro’. Izložba karikatura, još jedan prilog likovnih umjetnika Splita u borbi za republiku”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23. listopada 1945., str. 3.
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Isto.

Umjetnost se promatra kao povijesno uvjetovana i politički angažirana praksa; u ropstvu je bila sputana, u slobodi preuzima aktivnu, afirmativnu ulogu.

U tome kontekstu karikatura djeluje kao satirički komentar te kao sredstvo moralne i simboličke delegitimacije prošloga režima. Pisac članka ističe da je „sva ta prošlost... toliko zaprljana krvlju” da je „teško nasmijati se nad tim krvnicima”, pa je umjetnik „prisiljen... da ih karikira do životinje”.⁶⁶ Ovdje se jasno artikulira retorika mržnje prema staromu poretku u kojoj je deformacija lika etički sud, a ne samo estetski postupak. S druge strane, isti se novinski izvještaj poziva na „ljubav kulturnih radnika prema svima onima koji su bili na udaru u žandarmerijskoj Jugoslaviji”.⁶⁷ Izložba tako funkcionira u dvostrukome registru: kao manifest „mržnje na staro” i afirmacije „ljubavi” prema potlačenima, čime se jasno razlikuju dvije Jugoslavije – monarhijska i republikanska – i uspostavlja politički diskontinuitet.

Posebice je naglašena ideja kolektivnoga rada u organizaciji izložbe. „Spontanost ove izložbe njen je poseban naglasak”, bilježi novinar, ističući da su splitski likovni umjetnici „potpuno samoinicijativno” pristupili organizaciji na poziv grupe „Ivan Lozica”.⁶⁸ Štoviše, kolektivni napor organizatora i izlagača uspoređuje se s udarničkim radom u proizvodnji: „Njihov rad može da stoji uz udarnički rad naših radnika u tvornicama i poduzećima... Ovom izložbom splitski umjetnici su rame uz rame sa seljacima i radnicima, istim korakom zakoračali republici.”⁶⁹ Time se umjetničko djelovanje integrira u širi ideološki okvir jedinstva radnika, seljaka i „radne inteligencije”. Karikatura se uključuje u zajednički društveni napor i funkcionira kao kulturni ekvivalent materijalne izgradnje zemlje. U tome smislu vizualna satira postaje jedna od manifestacija „udarništva” na kulturnome planu.

Zanimljivo je izdvojiti da je izložbu otvorio Neven Šegvić.⁷⁰ Popis sudionika potvrđuje širinu i reprezentativnost inicijative: među kiparima sudjeluju Ante Ivanišević, Bartul Krstulović, Tomislav Kukoč, Mirko Ostoja, Petar Ružić, Dušan Stanojević, Marin Studin i Ante Šitić; među slikarima Josip Botteri, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Jeličić-Job, Živko Kljaković, Joko Knežević, Božidar Matas, Ljubomir Nakić, Mate Razmilović, Ivo Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Ranko Tolić i Antun Zupa. Takva participacija gotovo cijele aktivne umjetničke scene u Splitu dodatno potvrđuje kolektivnu dimenziju projekta i njegovu recepciju kao zajedničke kulturno-političke geste. Izložba se nakon Splita preselila u Dubrovnik i Šibenik.⁷¹

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Isto.
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Isto.
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Isto.
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Isto.
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„Otvorenje izložbe karikatura u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21. listopada 1945., str. 3.
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„Izložba karikatura ‘Nema povratka na staro’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25. listopada 1945., str. 3; „Izložba karikatura u Dubrovniku i Šibeniku”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10. studenog 1945., str. 7.

U istome kontekstu valja istaknuti da je u izdanju Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”, a u tiskari *Slobodne Dalmacije*, objavljena i mapa s karikaturama splitskih likovnih umjetnika.⁷² Izložbeni je projekt time dobio trajniji grafičko-izdavački oblik, a njegova je poruka prenesena iz efemernoga izložbenog prostora u umnoživi medij šire recepcije.

S obzirom na sve navedeno, izložba *Nema povratka na staro* može se razumjeti kao simbolički čin inauguracije novoga poretka u vizualnome mediju karikature. Antagonizam između „staroga” i „novoga” jasno je naglašen, razlikovanje dviju Jugoslavija artikulirano je retorikom oslobođenja i moralnoga razračunavanja, a kolektivni rad umjetnika prepoznat je kao sastavni dio širega društvenog jedinstva. U novinskome diskursu izložba poprima karakter manifesta: „Danas u slobodi, oni su ovom izložbom glasali za Tita, za novo, za republiku.”⁷³ Samim tim karikatura prestaje biti tek

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- 72 Na naslovnici ovitka uz karikaturu monarha s bajunetama nalazi se naslov *Monarhija – robija*. Na stražnjoj klapni mape navode se sljedeći podatci: „Ovu mapu karikatura sačinjavaju radovi splitskih likovnih umjetnika, izloženi na njihovoj izložbi karikatura ‘Nema povratka na staro’, u Splitu od 20. do 26. listopada 1945. Likovni umjetnici Splita su ovim svojim radovima izrazili mržnju prema staroj Jugoslaviji, s monarhijom na čelu, i istovremeno manifestirali ljubav za novu Titovu federativnu republiku Jugoslaviju, bratsku zajednicu ravnopravnih i slobodnih naroda. Ovaj je kolektivni rad još jedan njihov prilog u borbi za republiku, za bolju budućnost naših naroda. Radili su udarnički, bez umjetničkih pretenzija, da što uspješnije riješe problem koji je vrijeme pred njih postavilo. Oni su ga riješili: ZA REPUBLIKU, ZA TITA!”
- U popisu suradnika navodi se da su u realizaciji mape sudjelovali slikari: Josip Botteri, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Jeličić-Job, Živko Kljaković, Joko Knežević, Božidar Matas, Ljubomir Nakić, Mate Razmilović, Ivo Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Ranko Tolić i Antun Zupa; kipari: Ante Ivanišević, Bartul Krstulović, Tomislav Kukoč, Mirko Ostoja, Pero Ružić, Dušan Stanojević, Marin Studin i Ante Šitić; književnik: Živko Jeličić; fotograf: Petar Rajčević; cinkografi: Antun Dolenc i Franko Katavić; štampari: Marijan Molinari i Edo Kuzmić, strojari: Armando Mlinar i Jakov Kuzmić, slagari: Marija Kraljević i Ema Gazdić, ulagačice; Nikola Safret i Bartul Kirigin, knjigoveže.
- Na kraju se navodi: „Tisak ‘Slobodna Dalmacija’. Štampano u Splitu listopada 1945. u 5500 primjeraka.”
- 1980-ih godina objavljeno je ponovljeno izdanje mape, tiskano u tiskari „Zrinski” u Čakovcu u 2 000 primjeraka; kao izdavač navodi se Književni krug u Splitu, a izdanje je inicirao i financirao Fond za razvijanje i njegovanje tekovina revolucije i NOR-a Općine Split. Mapa je bila zastupljena i na izložbi *Partizanska karikatura 1941–1945* (Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske, Zagreb, 2. veljače – 2. travnja 1989.), kat. br. 153–171. Izložbom se interpretira karikatura kao vizualno-retorički oblik političke mobilizacije unutar Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Njezina demaskirajuća funkcija ostvaruje se kodificiranim znakovima identiteta, tipologiziranim reprezentacijskim obrascima i strategijama groteskne distorzije, koje protivnike reduciraju na prepoznatljive i simbolički opterećene figure te time intenziviraju polemički i mobilizacijski učinak vizualne reprezentacije. Vidi: Dolores Ivanuša i Lucija Benyovsky, *Partizanska karikatura 1941–1945*, Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1989. Nadalje, Hrvatski povijesni muzej realizirao je 2015. godine virtualnu izložbu *Monarhija – robija! Nema povratka na staro ’45.*, kojom je tematski obrađena i kontekstualizirana navedena mapa karikatura; autorice izložbe su Ana Filep i Snježana Pavičić, a izložba je dostupna na mrežnim stranicama Muzeja: <https://www.hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/virtualne-izlozbe/monarhija-robija-nema-povratka-na-staro-45/>
- 73 „‘Nema povratka na staro’. Izložba karikatura, još jedan prilog likovnih umjetnika Splita u borbi za republiku”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23. listopada 1945., str. 3.

ilustrativni komentar političkih zbivanja te postaje aktivni sudionik u konstituiranju nove republike i njezina simboličkog poretka.

Groteskno veče, 1945.

Ako je izložba karikatura *Nema povratka na staro* artikulirala ideološku i vizualnu negaciju monarhističke prošlosti, tada je *Groteskno veče*, održano 12. studenoga iste godine u organizaciji likovnih umjetnika Splita i uz sudjelovanje glumaca Narodnoga kazališta u Splitu, predstavljalo njezinu prostornu, tjelesnu i masovnu izvedbenu nadogradnju.⁷⁴ Riječ je o događaju koji je, kako proizlazi iz novinskoga osvrta Živka Jeličića, uspostavio korelaciju između likovne satire i kolektivnoga teatarskog čina, pretvarajući političku karikaturu u omasovljeni pučki spektakl.⁷⁵ Inicijativa Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica” pokazala se ključnom u preoblikovanju izložbene prakse u javnu manifestaciju. Umjetnici koji su tijekom Narodnooslobodilačke borbe djelovali u neposrednoj vezi s narodom prepoznali su potrebu da vizualno izraze „problem današnjice” – pobjedu nad monarhijskom i kolaboracionističkom prošlošću – te da ga učine dostupnim širokim slojevima stanovništva. U novinskome tekstu naglašava se da stvaranje u vremenu radikalnih društvenih promjena mora zahvatiti „žilu kucavicu vremena” i uključiti umjetnika kao sudionika borbe za napredak.⁷⁶ Time se estetski čin tumači kao aktivno sudjelovanje u konstituiranju novoga političkog poretka i kao oblik javne afirmacije njegove simboličke legitimnosti.

Izložba karikatura bila je usmjerena protiv stare Jugoslavije, s jasno naglašenim antagonizmom dvaju političkih i povijesnih modela, no *Groteskno veče* taj je antagonizam pretvorilo u pravi scenski spektakl. Ideja kolektivnoga rada, koja je već u novinskome tekstu o izložbi povezana s udarničkim radom radnika i seljaka, ovdje dobiva svoju punu realizaciju. Likovni umjetnici i kazališni glumci zajednički oblikuju masovni performativni čin u kojemu se politička satira materijalizira u monumentalnim figurama. Riječ je o izradi velikih grotesknih figura visine pet do šest metara, što je zahtijevalo iznimno organizacijsko i tehničko umijeće. Ovaj tehnički složen pothvat trajao je puna dva mjeseca i odvijao se u otežanim uvjetima. Glave su najprije modelirane u glini, potom lijevane u sadri, a zatim oblagane slojevima papira do debljine „debeloga kartona” (*papier-mâché*). Za svaku je glavu, višu od jednoga metra i dvadeset centimetara,

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- 74 Dokumentarne su fotografije u novije vrijeme bile izložene na izložbi ’45, u organizaciji Hrvatskoga povijesnog muzeja u Zagrebu, održanoj od 10. ožujka do 30. listopada 2016. godine. Autorice izložbe bile su Matea Brstilo Rešetar, Ana Filep, Nataša Mataušić i Snježana Pavičić. Vidi: <https://hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/arhiva-izlozbi/45/>.
- 75 Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), „Groteskno veče u Splitu, koje su priredili likovni umjetnici Splita u saradnji s glumcima Narodnog kazališta u Splitu 12. studenoga”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25. studenog 1945., str. 3.
- 76 Isto.

utrošeno oko 160 kilograma sadre (što dodatno svjedoči o monumentalnoj ambiciji izvedbe). Tijela su konstruirana od drveta, slame i starih vreća, pri čemu su autori morali pribavljati materijal osobnim angažmanom. Posebno se isticala uz novinski tekst reproducirana *Glava Perice* (kralja Petra II. Karađorđevića, simbola monarhističkoga kontinuiteta i izbjegličke vlade u Londonu), izvedena, kako uz reprodukciju stoji, kao kolektivni rad, te je svojom dimenzijom i naglašenom karikaturalnom deformacijom postala središnji vizualni znak večeri, funkcionirajući kao koncentrirani emblem čitavoga ideološkog narativa večeri.

Povorka s grotesknim figurama *Perice*, Mačeka, Draže, Pavelića i Grola kretala se gradom u scenski osmišljenome slijedu.⁷⁷ Reflektori, rakete, brodske sirene i glazba stvarali su ambijent političkoga spektakla. Figura kralja, okružena „lakejima”, vučena je u improviziranim kolima, dok su se mase građana smijale i izrugivale simbolima prošlosti. Spaljivanje lutaka na obali postalo je kulminacijski čin u kojemu su „kroz Dražina usta suknuli plamenovi”, a publika svjedočila ritualnome razračunavanju s minulim poretkom.⁷⁸ Taj čin ima obilježja javnoga, gotovo obrednoga (u ikonografskome smislu i karnevalski strukturiranoga) performansa, u kojemu se simboličko uništenje prošlosti pretače u potvrdu nove političke stvarnosti. Čitava večer, kako zapisuje Živko Jeličić, nosila je „pečat masovnog teatra u kojem su učestvovale hiljade naroda”.⁷⁹ Ovdje se umjetnički čin pretvara u kolektivni događaj; granica između izvođača i publike postaje propusna, a sudjelovanje građanstva postaje sastavnim dijelom izvedbe. U tome smislu *Groteskno veče* nadilazi okvir izložbe i može se promatrati kao prvi pokušaj organiziranoga masovnog teatra u poslijeratnome Splitu, u kojemu likovna umjetnost, scenografija i gluma funkcioniraju u jedinstvenome političko-estetskom projektu, usmjerenome prema emocionalnoj mobilizaciji publike i simboličkoj konsolidaciji novoga društvenog poretka.

Važno je pritom naglasiti da su u realizaciji sudjelovali istaknuti splitski umjetnici: kipari Marin Studin, Mirko Ostoja, Petar Ružić, Bartul Krstulović, Ante Ivanišević, Tomislav Kukoč i Ante Šitić te slikari Nikola Ignjatović, Živko Kljaković, Antun Zupa i Vjekoslav Jelaska. S njima su surađivali glumci Narodnoga kazališta u Splitu: Ivo Marjanović, Branko Bonači, Matija Žinić, Duka Tadić i Rikard Brzeska. Ta suradnja

potvrđuje interdisciplinarni karakter izvedbe i svjesnu namjeru objedinjavanja likovnoga i kazališnoga izraza u funkciji političkoga i društvenoga komentara, čime se lokalna inicijativa uklapa u širi model kulturne mobilizacije poratnoga razdoblja.

Groteskno veče može se sagledati kao proširenje izložbenoga čina iz galerijskoga prostora prema ulici, trgu i masovnoj publici: poruka oblikovana karikaturalnim listom sada se prevodi u javni, kolektivni i izvedbeni čin. Antagonizam između „staroga” i „novoga” poretka postaje temeljna dramaturška os. Dakako, u tome se sučeljavanju razaznaje i diferencijacija između dviju Jugoslavija: monarhističke, obilježene represijom i simbolikom krvi te republikanske, predstavljene kao prostor slobode i stvaralačke energije, u skladu s dominantnim ideološkim narativom uspostavljenim nakon 1945. godine.

U recepcijskome smislu, kako svjedoče napisi u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji*, manifestacija je imala snažan odjek. Naglasak na masovnosti, spontanosti i kolektivnome radu funkcionira kao potvrda legitimnosti novoga poretka. Umjetnici su, prema autoru članka, „pogodili pravu nit stvaranja” i „osjetili žilu kucavicu današnjice”, čime je njihova aktivnost interpretirana kao doprinos republici i afirmaciji demokratskih tekovina.⁸⁰ U tome se smislu *Groteskno veče* može razumjeti kao ključna točka transformacije likovne inicijative u javnu, performativnu kulturu poraća. Politička karikatura, monumentalna skulpturalna konstrukcija, kazališna izvedba i masovna participacija objedinjene su u modus kulturne akcije u kojemu umjetnički čin postaje instrument kolektivne identifikacije i političke pedagogije.

Izložbe i javne akcije iz 1944. i 1945. godine svjedoče da se u Splitu prije formalnoga ustroja Podružnice već oblikovala društveno angažirana likovna praksa. Sljedeći korak bilo je njezino strukovno uobličavanje i postupno administrativno učvršćenje.

⁷⁷ U karikaturalnome i propagandnome registru poratnoga tiska navedene figure funkcionirale su kao personifikacije politički poraženoga poretka. „Perica” se odnosio na kralja Petra II. Karađorđevića, simbol monarhističkoga kontinuiteta i izbjegličke vlade; Maček na Vladka Mačeka, vođu HSS-a, kojemu je poratni režim pripisivao političku pasivnost i distancu prema partizanskome pokretu; Draža na Dražu Mihailovića, vođu četničkoga pokreta, u novoj Jugoslaviji označenoga kao kolaboracionist i ratni zločinac; Pavelić na Antu Pavelića, poglavnika NDH i personifikaciju ustaške kvislinške vlasti; Grol na Milana Grola, predstavnika građanske liberalne politike i člana izbjegličke vlade.

⁷⁸ Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), „Groteskno veče u Splitu, koje su priredili likovni umjetnici Splita u saradnji s glumcima Narodnog kazališta u Splitu 12. studenoga”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25. studenog 1945., str. 3.

⁷⁹ Isto.

⁸⁰ Isto.

3 INSTITUCIONALIZACIJA, NORMIRANJE I KRIZE ULUH-OVE PODRUŽNICE ZA DALMACIJU

Počeci institucionalizacije likovnoga života u Splitu: Plenarna sjednica osnivanja Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije⁸¹ 25. studenoga 1945.

U splitskome likovnom životu neposredno nakon oslobođenja zamjetna su pregnuća prema strukovnome okupljanju i trajnijemu organiziranju umjetničkoga rada. Njihov prvi jasno dokumentirani oblik može se pratiti od 25. studenoga 1945. godine, kada je sazvana plenarna sjednica radi okupljanja likovnih umjetnika i uspostave nove profesionalne organizacije. U širem smislu ona označava prijelaz iz ratnoga, improviziranog oblika umjetničkoga djelovanja prema stabilnijim organizacijskim strukturama koje su se formirale u okviru nove kulturne politike socijalističke države. Sjednica je održana u tadašnjemu prostoru Gradske biblioteke u Marmontovoj ulici 5, na drugome katu, što njezinu simboličku i praktičnu važnost dodatno veže za središnje kulturne tokove grada. Sačuvana knjiga zapisnika omogućuje precizan uvid u tijek sjednice te bilježi sudjelovanje 24 člana i predstavnika Oblasnoga narodnog odbora Augustina Stipčevića, čime se potvrđuje i službena podrška tadašnjih vlasti kulturnim inicijativama.⁸²

Inicijativa za sazivanje sjednice potekla je iz Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”, koja je u neposrednome poraću već djelovala kao prijelazni oblik između ratnoga kulturnog aktivizma i buduće strukovne organizacije. Simbolički oslonjena na ime mladoga kipara i antifašističkoga borca Ivana Lozice, grupa je okupljala umjetnike i kulturne radnike koji su iskustvo Narodnooslobodilačkoga pokreta nastojali prenijeti u

⁸¹ U izvornoj dokumentaciji nomenklatura organizacije nije posvuda ujednačena te varira između oznake podružnice i naziva udruženja. U ovoj su knjizi te varijante zadržane u obliku u kojemu se pojavljuju u pojedinim dokumentima, s obzirom na to da kontekstualno jasno razlikuju lokalnu splitsku podružnicu od središnjega udruženja u Zagrebu. Takva terminološka raznolikost ujedno odražava postupni proces organizacijskoga oblikovanja i stabilizacije institucijskoga okvira umjetničkoga udruživanja u prvim poratnim godinama.

⁸² Ako nije drukčije naznačeno, podatci izneseni u ovome dijelu teksta temelje se na uvidu u knjigu *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split. Osobito usp. „Zapisnik I. plenarne sjednice ‘Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije’, održane 25. studenog 1945.”

kulturnu obnovu. Njezina je uloga stoga šira od same organizacijske pripreme sjednice jer označava prijelaz od ratne mobilizacije prema institucijskome ustroju likovnoga života.

U takvu razvojnom slijedu treba promatrati i sjednicu Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održanu 25. studenoga 1945. godine, koja je predstavljala formalni iskorak prema institucionalizaciji umjetničkoga djelovanja u Splitu. Sjednicu je otvorio kipar Marin Studin, tada već priznata figura hrvatske likovne scene, čija je prisutnost ujedno davala simboličku težinu osnivanju novoga udruženja. U svojem pozdravnom govoru istaknuo je okolnosti koje su dovele do njezina sazivanja te predložio izbor Radnoga odbora. Za vođenje sjednice izabrani su Nikola Ignjatović, Ljubomir Bašić i Zlata Barbić kao zapisničarka, što je označilo prijelaz iz inicijativne u organiziranu fazu djelovanja. Zapisnik bilježi da je nakon konstituiranja radnoga tijela Studin iznio kronologiju događanja koja su prethodila prvoj plenarnoj sjednici, ističući da se radilo o inicijativi nekolicine umjetnika koji su, svjesni važnosti trenutka, odlučili pokrenuti širi skup. Posebno je naglašena činjenica da su poziv na sjednicu prihvatili i umjetnici iz drugih dalmatinskih mjesta, što dodatno potvrđuje namjeru da novoosnovano udruženje djeluje izvan uskih lokalnih okvira te nastoji uspostaviti regionalni karakter središnje strukovne organizacije. Središnju točku dnevnoga reda činilo je izlaganje o potrebi osnivanja strukovnoga udruženja umjetnika koje bi, osim profesionalnoga predstavljanja, imalo i zadatak aktivno sudjelovati u kulturnoj obnovi zemlje.

Nakon uvodnih riječi Marina Studina riječ je preuzeo Živko Kljaković, koji je iznio opširan i programski važan referat o organiziranju splitske podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske. Njegovo izlaganje razjašnjava tehničke korake osnivanja strukovnoga tijela te idejne pretpostavke prema kojima se umjetničko djelovanje tada nastojalo definirati. Referat također upućuje na ulogu Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica” u pripremi osnivanja udruženja, ali i na specifičan kriterij za članstvo, utemeljen ponajprije na društveno-političkome angažmanu i umjetničkoj produktivnosti, uz manju težinu formalnih stručnih kvalifikacija. Radi jasnijega uvida u idejna i organizacijska načela osnivanja udruženja, kao i u način na koji se umjetničko djelovanje usklađivalo s društveno-političkim okvirima novoga poretka, referat Živka Kljakovića ovdje se donosi u cijelosti:

Drug Kljaković: Referat o organiziranju podružnice udruženja likovnih umjetnika na teritoriju Obl. N. O. za Dalmaciju:

Kao što svaki stalež već danas ima svoje staleške organizacije „sindikate”, tako se nameće potreba i organizacije likovnih umjetnika u jednom udruženju, kojem bi bio zadatak da promiče likovne umjetnosti uopće, a tako isto i staleške interese samih umjetnika.

Kako Vam je poznato ovakva udruženja su formirana već u Zagrebu, Beogradu i Ljubljani, a vjerojatno i u svim ostalim većim gradovima u državi.

Ovo udruženje ima zadatak ne samo da štiti interese uopće kako samog udruženja i svakog svog pojedinog člana, nego da se stavi u vezu sa našim narodnim Vlastima i da u suglasnosti s njima podigne ugled kako same likovne umjetnosti, koji ona po svom kulturnom djelovanju i zaslužuje. Da se lik. umjetnicima omogući da i oni mogu uspješno doprinositi svoj udio u općoj kulturnoj izgradnji na obnovi našega naroda.

Nadalje udruženje treba da omogući svakom likovnom umjetniku začlanjenu u udruženju, da može pratiti kroz jedan kolektiv smjernice kako općeg društvenog razvoja isto tako i savremene smjernice umjetničkog razvoja u svijetu uopće, a napose u samoj našoj domovini / ovo će se postići tako da se u udruženju održavaju mjesečni i polumjesečni sastanci podružnice na kojima bi pojedini drugovi održavali predavanja iz opće političkog razvoja u svijetu i kod nas, te predavanja o općem kulturnom razvoju kao i predavanja iz likovne umjetnosti.

Sva ova predavanja treba održavati uz diskusiju u kojoj će učestvovati svi članovi udruženja.

Što se tiče dosadašnjeg rada oko formiranja naše podružnice ukratko ću iznijeti nastojanja koja smo do sada poduzimali.

Kulturno umjetnička grupa „Ivan Lozica” stavila je u zadatak meni i drugovima Zupi A., Ignjatoviću Nikoli i Krstulović Andriji da se pobrinemo oko formiranja udruženja likov. umjetnika u Splitu. Ja sam bio sazvao dva uža sastanka, međutim nekoji drugovi nisu se odazvali ili su bili zaposleni radom oko izradbe karikatura u okviru izborne kampanje. U međuvremenu ja sam nastojao da uhvatim veze sa Udruženjem likov. umjetnika u Zagrebu, i da bi od njih dobili upute, naime postupak, kako su oni formirali udruženje e da bi time olakšali rad oko uspostavljanja našeg udruženja. Od Udruženja iz Zagreba dobili smo ove upute:

- 1) Da je u Zagrebu formirano Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske sa predviđenim podružnicama u Splitu za Oblasni N. O. za Dalmaciju, u Osijeku za Slavoniju i Sušak-Rijeka za Gorski Kotar.
- 2) Da svaka podružnica treba da izabere svoje delegate koji bi bili u vezi sa Centralnim Udruženjem u Zagrebu i iznosili potrebe ove podružnice. Nadalje obećano nam je da će nam poslati pravilnik netom isti bude odobren od Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova.

U pitanju časnog suda savjetuje nam se da se što prije provede i da se podatci o pojedinom umjetniku što prije pošalju. Još izvjesnih stvari koje su čisto tehničke naravi kao npr. prostorije, pisaća mašina itd.

Pred osam dana sazvan je jedan uži sastanak likov. umjetnika da bi isti izradili osnove za saziv plenuma, naime ovog današnjeg našeg sastanka, te da bi na ovom našem sastanku prema dnevnom redu formirali podružnicu. Glavni zadatak koji je ujedno i principijelan, a za kojeg je trebalo naći formulu je taj: Tko ima pravo da bude član udruženja likovnih umjetnika na teritoriju naše Oblasti. U diskusiji mi smo postavili zaključak, da princip koji bi trebalo postaviti da bude na što široj osnovi i to s razloga toga, što u jeku opće današnje kampanje i izborne parole „rad na obnovi naše zemlje”, rukovodilo je i nas da u tom pravcu pružimo mogućnosti svim onim likovnim radnicima koji su u toku naše narodne borbe a i u periodu od oslobođenja pa do danas pokazali se dovoljno aktivnim da rade na likovnom polju i na kulturnom izdizanju širih narodnih masa. Zato mi nismo uzeli u obzir stručne kvalifikacije, nego težište smo postavili na produktivnost i korisnost rada. Mi ćemo o ovome kasnije provesti diskusiju, kao i o onim drugovima koji nisu pozvani na ovaj sastanak, a što nas je opet rukovodilo da ih ne pozovemo.

Iz Kljakovićeva referata razabire se da se osnivanje udruženja temeljilo na dvostrukome kriteriju: profesionalnoj pripadnosti umjetničkomu pozivu i političko-društvenomu legitimitetu stečenom tijekom Narodnooslobodilačke borbe i kulturne obnove. Predviđena predavanja o političkome razvoju, kulturi i likovnoj umjetnosti pritom potvrđuju da je novo udruženje zamišljeno i kao prostor trajnoga obrazovanja članstva, odnosno kao mjesto na kojemu se umjetnički rad usklađuje s projektom poslijeratne društvene transformacije. Rasprava koja je uslijedila razotkriva da je samo osnivanje udruženja uključivalo i svojevrsnu moralno-političku evaluaciju umjetnika. Pitanje tko je pozvan na sjednicu, kao i referenca na model zagrebačkoga inicijativnog odbora koji je procjenjivao ponašanje umjetnika tijekom Narodnooslobodilačke borbe, upućuje na to da se profesionalni status u novome kulturnom sustavu usko povezivao s političkom i društvenom legitimacijom pojedinca. Situaciju je dodatno otežavala činjenica da još nije bio dostupan pravilnik središnjega udruženja iz Zagreba, pa se djelovalo bez jasnih smjernica. Pritom su se kao razlozi spominjale različite okolnosti, poput odlaska pojedinih umjetnika na daljnje školovanje ili njihove profesionalne orijentacije prema pedagoškomu radu, zbog čega u poslijeratnome razdoblju više nisu djelovali kao aktivni umjetnici. Štoviše, u tome se kontekstu počeo kristalizirati stav da bi kriteriji za članstvo trebali biti utemeljeni ne toliko na formalnim kvalifikacijama koliko na stvarnome doprinosu kulturnomu životu nakon oslobođenja. Usporedna građa iz zagrebačke središnjice smješta pitanje članstva u širi institucijski okvir, jer je i Upravni odbor ULUH-a početkom prosinca 1945. godine raspravljao upravo o „konačnom pitanju članstva” te prihvatio načelo širokoga prijma uz unutarnju diferencijaciju članova prema stupnju umjetničke ozbiljnosti, kvaliteti rada i mogućnosti naknadnoga prelaska u viši status.⁸³

83 Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a održanoj 3. prosinca 1945. kao peta točka dnevnoga reda razmatrano je „konačno pitanje članstva”. U zapisniku se navodi da je bilo teško uspostaviti preciznu

Istovremeno je izraženo nezadovoljstvo što informacije o formiranju zagrebačkoga udruženja nisu prethodno službeno dostavljene, već su u Split stigle posredno, dnevnim tiskom.⁸⁴ Iz takve se situacije razabire da su se u prvim poslijeratnim mjesecima institucijske veze između kulturnih središta tek postupno uspostavljale. Zagreb se profilirao kao središnja točka organizacije umjetničkoga života, a regionalne sredine poput Splita nastojale su vlastite inicijative uskladiti s modelima koji su se oblikovali u republičkoj središnjici.

Dodatni uvid u tijek institucionalizacije umjetničkoga udruženja u Zagrebu pružio je Ante Kaštelančić, čije je izlaganje raspravu pomaknulo s načelnih pitanja prema konkretnim organizacijskim modelima na kojima se temeljilo osnivanje udruženja. U Zagrebu je, kako je istaknuo, najprije formiran inicijativni odbor koji je procijenio umjetničko i društveno-političko djelovanje svakoga pojedinog umjetnika, a potom sazvao skup onih koji se nisu kompromitirali tijekom Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Taj je odbor, nakon provedene evaluacije, utemeljio i časní sud te pristupio izradi pravilnika koji je proslijeđen nadležnim tijelima na odobrenje. U nedostatku toga dokumenta splitski su se umjetnici složili da se izabere Privremeni odbor koji će privremeno preuzeti dužnosti rukovođenja dok se ne steknu formalni uvjeti za izbor stalnoga odbora. U skladu s time, donesena je odluka o izboru osam članova Privremenoga odbora: Marin Studin (predsjednik), Oton Postružnik (dopredsjednik), Živko Kljaković (tajnik), Tomislav Kukoč (pomoćni tajnik), Vjekoslav Parać i Mirko Ostoja (delegati), Nikola Ignjatović (blagajnik) te Antun Zupa (odbornik). Za revizore su izabrani Eugen Krstulović i Ante Kaštelančić. Zaključeno je da se s izborom časnoga suda pričeka do konkretne potrebe, uz preporuku da ga čine tri člana, a umjetnici koji nisu pozvani na ovu sjednicu bit će o svemu informirani i pozvani na idući plenum po zaprimanju pravilnika iz Zagreba.

U završnome dijelu sjednice otvorena su i operativna pitanja, poput zaštite interesa umjetnika koji su sudjelovali u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, a propustili su upis na Akademiju likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu, zatim inicijative za osnivanje umjetničke škole u Splitu te osiguranja prostora i sredstava za rad udruženja. Dogovoreno je da se, do

granicu između onih koji ispunjavaju uvjete za članstvo i onih koji ih ne ispunjavaju, osobito s obzirom na kvalitetu rada. Zaključeno je da se prijam u članstvo postavi na širokoj osnovi, uz podjelu prema dotadašnjemu stupnju ozbiljnosti i kvaliteti umjetničkoga rada na redovite članove, koji su postigli određene uspjehe, i izvanredne članove, koji još nisu izlagali ili nisu pokazali dostatno vidljive rezultate. Predviđeno je da se prijelaz iz izvanrednoga u redovito članstvo provodi svake godine prema odluci žirija, na temelju uspjeha u radu i dosezanja minimalne razine kvalitete potrebne za redovito članstvo. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 3. prosinca 1945.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

84 Kratka vijest o održavanju osnivačke skupštine Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, koja je održana 9. rujna 1945. na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu, objavljena je u dnevnome listu *Slobodna Dalmacija*. Vidi: „Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. rujna 1945., str. 3.

dodjele vlastitoga prostora, privremeno koristi sjedište Kulturno-umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”, a izabran je i Organizacijski odbor za pripremu nove umjetničke priredbe koja bi trebala poboljšati financijsko stanje udruženja, na prijedlog Nikole Ignjatovića. Sjednica, koja je započela u 9 sati i trajala gotovo četiri sata, jasno je pokazala svoju važnost, a zaključena je u 13 sati, nakon čega ju je zatvorio predsjednik Privremenoga odbora Marin Studin.

Osnivanje podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Dalmaciji neposredno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata bio je politički i ideološki duboko uvjetovan proces koji je nadilazio okvir pukoga kulturnoga ili administrativnoga čina. Slični procesi institucionalizacije umjetničkih udruženja odvijali su se u isto vrijeme i u drugim kulturnim središtima Jugoslavije, čime je stvarana mreža regionalnih podružnica povezanih sa središnjim udruženjima u republičkim središtima. U razdoblju intenzivne izgradnje novoga socijalističkog poretka pod vodstvom Komunističke partije umjetnost je dobila novu društvenu funkciju: služiti narodu, poticati kolektivnu svijest i odražavati vrijednosti Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. U novome su se kulturnome okviru umjetnici sve više promatrali kao kulturni radnici uključeni u projekt izgradnje socijalističkoga društva, uz postupno potiskivanje predodžbe o autonomnome i apolitičnome stvaratelju.

U tome kontekstu osnivanje dalmatinske podružnice označava ključan trenutak u procesu institucionalizacije likovne umjetnosti u Dalmaciji. Cilj novoosnovane organizacije bio je višestruk: kulturna revitalizacija regije, organizacijsko i materijalno jačanje umjetničkoga korpusa, ali i njegovo usklađivanje s političko-ideološkim smjericama države. Nastanak nove strukovne organizacije valja promatrati u sklopu šire centralizirane kulturne politike usmjerene prema objedinjavanju i nadzoru umjetničke produkcije stabilnim i državom potpomognutim organizacijama. Tu se očituje ključna razlika između novoosnovanoga Udruženja, njegovih podružnica i postojeće umjetničke grupe „Ivan Lozica”. Dok je potonja djelovala kao slobodna umjetnička grupa okupljena oko entuzijazma i stvaralačkoga impulsa pojedinaca, nova podružnica predstavljala je formalnu, stalešku strukturu s jasno definiranim ciljevima, statutom i odgovornošću prema državnoj kulturnoj politici. Time je regionalnim umjetnicima otvoren pristup republičkim i savezним tokovima kulturne proizvodnje, kao i institucijskim dobrima: financiranju, izložbama, materijalima i javnim projektima.

Podružnica je također djelovala kao mehanizam za usmjeravanje umjetničkoga izraza koji se u novim društvenim okolnostima sve više shvaćao kao sredstvo društvene mobilizacije i edukacije masa, a manje kao izraz individualnoga senzibiliteta. Umjetnici su, kao članovi Udruženja, dobivali organizacijsku zaštitu, ali i obvezu kolektivnoga djelovanja. U tome smislu novoosnovana organizacija bila je važan instrument kulturne obnove i političke integracije dalmatinskoga umjetničkog prostora u širu sliku socijalističke Jugoslavije. Tekst objavljen u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* naglašava profesionalizaciju umjetničkoga rada, ali i uklanjanje „nezdravih pojava” – egoizma, razjedinjenosti

i elitizma – naslijeđenih iz prethodnoga društvenog sistema.⁸⁵ Udruženje je stoga imalo i disciplinsku, gotovo etičku dimenziju. Unutar njega trebali su se rješavati svi nesporazumi, uz mogućnost osnivanja časnoga suda. Ukratko, osnivanje podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije predstavlja početak nove faze kulturnoga života u kojoj umjetnost postaje integrirani dio državne politike, a umjetnici dio širega kolektiva čiji je zadatak stvarati i svojim stvaranjem sudjelovati u oblikovanju društva. Zapisnik ove sjednice stoga pruža dragocjen uvid u rani poslijeratni trenutak: u rasprave, pregovore i nesigurnosti kojima se oblikovao odnos između umjetničke struke i nove političke vlasti. Od Studinova uvodnoga obraćanja preko Kljakovićeva programskoga referata do Kaštelančićeva izlaganja o zagrebačkome modelu organizacije, sjednica pokazuje kako su se lokalne umjetničke inicijative usklađivale s organizacijskim i političkim zahtjevima novoga društvenog poretka.

Od inicijative do konsolidacije: rani institucijski rad Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnice za Dalmaciju (1945. – 1946.)

Nakon konstituiranja Privremenoga odbora krajem 1945. godine uslijedilo je razdoblje intenzivnoga rada u kojemu se Podružnica postupno oblikovala kao središnje mjesto okupljanja, obrazovanja i strukovnoga usmjeravanja likovnih umjetnika u Dalmaciji. Sačuvani zapisi omogućuju praćenje toga procesa u svakodnevnoj dinamici: u pitanjima prostora, nastave, članstva, javnih zaduženja i odnosa prema zagrebačkoj središnjici.

Jedna od središnjih inicijativa koja je obilježila prve mjesece djelovanja Podružnice odnosila se na organizaciju večernjega tečaja – tzv. Večernje škole za umjetnost – koji se javlja kao odgovor na izraženu društvenu potrebu za sustavnim likovnim obrazovanjem te kao pokušaj stvaranja temelja za buduće institucijske oblike umjetničkoga školovanja. U tadašnjoj kulturnoj publicistici večernja je škola interpretirana i kao ideološki iskorak iz naslijeđa elitističke umjetničke prakse. U tekstu objavljenome u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* Živko Jeličić artikulira pokretanje škole kao otklon od dekadentnoga individualizma salonske umjetnosti i afirmaciju novih oblika kolektivnoga rada.⁸⁶ „A oni, sa svoje strane, ne čekaju dok se ostvare ekonomski uslovi za mogućnost stalne škole, već se sami udružuju i osnivaju ovu Večernju školu da naša omladina ima mogućnosti da se razvija i na likovnom polju.”⁸⁷ U nastavku naglašava: „Otvaranjem ove škole likovni umjetnici daju dokaza kako se može, i pod teškim ekonomskim uslovima, ali

85 „Osnivanje udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske za Dalmaciju”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13. prosinca 1945., str. 3.
86 Živko Jeličić, „Povodom otvaranja Večernje škole za likovnu umjetnost”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 27. siječnja 1946., str. 3.
87 Isto.

njezin „temelj” postavio „večernji kurs za likovnu umjetnost”, koji je u Splitu radio dvije prethodne školske godine, premda materijalna sredstva do nove proračunske godine nisu mogla biti dostatno osigurana.⁹⁵ Time se i iz perspektive upravne dokumentacije potvrđuje kontinuitet između ranih nastojanja Podružnice i kasnije formalizacije jedne trajnije obrazovne ustanove.

Pritom je osobito važno da referat priložen uz isti dopis pomaže preciznije rekonstruirati genezu te inicijative. U njemu se navodi da se „odmah nakon oslobođenja Splita počelo snovati o osnutku jedne škole”, da je „udruženje likovnih umjetnika iz Splita izradilo detaljan plan i program jedne takove škole i predložilo ga ZAVNOH-u”, a početkom 1946. godine zadatak ostvarivanja te zamisli preuzelo je „KUD ‹Ivo Lozica›”, uz potporu Oblasnoga i Gradskoga NO-a, Narodne fronte i drugih ustanova.⁹⁶ Takva formulacija omogućuje da se prividna razlika između zapisnika Podružnice i kasnijega administrativnog jezika protumači bez napetosti: inicijalni impuls, stručna koncepcija i nastavna jezgra nastali su u krugu likovnih umjetnika okupljenih oko Podružnice, a društvo „Ivan Lozica” poslužilo je kao potporni organizacijski okvir u kojemu je škola mogla započeti rad.

Jednako je znakovito da isti referat snažno naglašava uspjeh Večernje škole, ali i granice njezina daljnjeg razvoja na postojećoj osnovi. Navodi se da je škola kroz godinu prikupila više od četrdeset učenika različita socijalnog sastava, da je nastava pobudila širi interes publike i da su rezultati bili toliko uvjerljivi da je početkom lipnja priređena i izložba đačkih radova u Salonu Galić, uz novčane nagrade koje su dodijelili prosvjetni odjel i gradske vlasti.⁹⁷ Istovremeno se u referatu vrlo otvoreno upozorava da nastavak rada u dotadašnjemu obliku ne bi osigurao jasnu perspektivu, pa se čak kaže kako bi se na kraju školovanja mogao dobiti „priličan broj umjetničkih lumpenproletera, bez orijentacije”, što bi bilo štetno „i po njih same i po umjetnost i po zajednicu”.⁹⁸ Taj je iskaz posebice važan jer prijelaz prema školi za primijenjenu umjetnost povezuje kulturne ambicije s potrebom jasnijega društvenoga i stručnoga usmjerenja likovnoga obrazovanja.

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Dopis „Otvaranje škole za primijenjenu umjetnost”, koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Anuška Novaković) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 26. listopada 1947., br. 10299/47, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-11-42 – Likovno obrazovanje, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
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„Referat o osnivanju škole za primijenjenu umjetnost u Splitu”, koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Anuška Novaković) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 26. listopada 1947., br. 10299/47, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-11-42 – Likovno obrazovanje, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
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U isto vrijeme dokumenti jasno svjedoče i o trajnoj materijalnoj nesigurnosti koja je pratila cijeli pothvat. Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ odmah je pitao je li za pomoć zatražena potpora Ministarstva prosvjete NR Hrvatske, nakon čega je i sam zatražio očitovanje Zagreba o opravdanosti takva zahtjeva.⁹⁹ Ministarstvo prosvjete potom potvrđuje da se škola nalazi u osnivanju, da radi u promijenjenome obliku od polovine listopada 1947. godine i da se „bori s velikim materijalnim teškoćama”, dok su izgledi za izvanredni kredit od 100.000 dinara ocijenjeni slabima zbog skučenih mogućnosti ministarstva.¹⁰⁰ Tek krajem siječnja 1948. godine Ministarstvo izvješćuje da škola radi kao takva od listopada 1947. godine i da su joj za 1948. godinu osigurana sredstva u sklopu proračuna Oblasnoga NO-a Dalmacije, dok opća uredba o srednjim školama za primijenjene umjetnosti još čeka suglasnost mjerodavnih tijela.¹⁰¹ Ova građa pokazuje da je obrazovna inicijativa, koja se u zapisnicima Podružnice javlja kao izraz strukovne samomobilizacije i kulturne odgovornosti, s vremenom prerasla u širi institucijski projekt. Taj se proces, međutim, odvijao pod stalnim pritiskom oskudnih sredstava, nedovršenih pravnih pretpostavki i složenih odnosa među lokalnom, republičkom i saveznom razinom uprave.

Razmatrana građa pokazuje da je Večernja škola bila jedan od prvih oblika kojima je Podružnica preuzimala odgovornost za oblikovanje lokalne likovne infrastrukture. Pedagoška inicijativa ujedno otkriva širi opseg njezina ranog djelovanja: Podružnica se oblikovala kao organizacijsko središte koje je povezivalo obrazovanje, javne zadatke i kulturnu obnovu grada. U tome se okviru može promatrati i njezino uključivanje u pripreme za prvomajsku proslavu i natjecanja. Zapisnik od 10. ožujka 1946. godine dokumentira kako su kulturni radnici – uključujući likovne umjetnike – izrijekom

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Dopis „Stvaranje škole za primenjenu umetnost u Splitu – materijalna pomoć”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Oblasnome narodnom odboru Dalmacije, Prosvjetnome odjelu u Splitu (bez nadnevka) i dopis „Otvaranje škole za primjenjenu umjetnost u Splitu – materijalna pomoć”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Ministarstvu prosvjete NR Hrvatske, Odjelu za kulturu i umjetnost u Zagrebu 22. studenog 1947., br. 5343, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-11-42 – Likovno obrazovanje, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
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Dopis „Škola za primj. umjetnosti u Splitu – pomoć”, koji Ministarstvo prosvjete NR Hrvatske, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost (u potpisu: pomoćnik ministra Josipa Lukatela) u Zagrebu šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 3. prosinca 1947., br. 77741-VI-4-1947, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-11-42 – Likovno obrazovanje, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
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Dopis „Škola za primijenjene umjetnosti u Splitu – odgovor”, koji Ministarstvo prosvjete NR Hrvatske, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost (u potpisu: pomoćnik ministra Josipa Lukatela) u Zagrebu šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 28. siječnja 1948., br. 4967-VI-4-1948., Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ-314-11-42 – Likovno obrazovanje, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

naglašava da je izaslan kako bi sudjelovao u konstituiranju podružnice prema pravilima koja su trebala biti zajednička ULUH-u i njegovim podružnicama unutar federalne jedinice.¹⁰⁹ Iz te se napomene razabire da se institucijsko oblikovanje dalmatinske podružnice odvijalo u sklopu širega procesa normativnoga usklađivanja i središnje koordinirane organizacije likovnoga života.

U svojemu je izlaganju Baće podsjetio na načela novoga pravilnika, koji predviđa dvorazinsko članstvo – „članove” i „redovite članove” – s ciljem preciznijega vrednovanja umjetničke kvalitete. Iako svi članovi prema vani imaju ista prava, status redovitoga člana dodjeljuje se temeljem umjetničkoga napretka, uz mogućnost njegova gubitka u slučaju pada kvalitete rada. Načela iznesena na toj sjednici 1946. godine dobila su i svoj puniji normativni izraz u novome *Pravilniku ULUH-a*, koji je i službeno potvrđen 14. prosinca 1946. godine *Rješenjem Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Narodne Republike Hrvatske*.¹¹⁰ Njegovim usvajanjem institucijska struktura Udruženja dobila je precizniji normativni okvir kojim su istovremeno uređeni organizacijski ustroj, strukovna podjela i kriteriji pripadnosti umjetničkoj zajednici. *Pravilnik* je predviđao i podjelu članstva po sekcijama – slikarskoj, kiparskoj i sekciji za primijenjenu umjetnost – te time jasnije artikulirao različita područja likovne prakse unutar jedinstvene strukovne organizacije. Podjela po sekcijama upućuje na rastuću unutarnju specijalizaciju likovnoga polja, koje se nastoji urediti prema medijskim i strukovnim razlikama, uz zadržavanje općega

načela pripadnosti umjetničkoj zajednici. Takva unutarnja diferencijacija upućuje na profesionalizaciju Udruženja, ali i na težnju da se umjetničko polje učini preglednijim i administrativno stabilnijim.

Zasebnu važnost pritom ima način na koji je *Pravilnik* definirao same kategorije članstva. U njemu se navodi da se Udruženje sastoji od redovitih članova, članova i počasnih članova:

- a) Redovitim članom može postati onaj likovni umjetnik koji aktivno doprinosi svojim umjetničkim radom unapređenju umjetnosti. b) Članom može postati svaki likovni radnik, koji još ne zadovoljava svim uslovima za prijem u redovito članstvo, a može ih vremenom steći. c) Počasnim članom može postati ono lice, koga Udruženje na prijedlog Upravnog odbora zbog njegovih zasluga za Udruženje odlikuje tim priznanjem.¹¹¹

Ovakva pravilnička formulacija jasno pokazuje da se pripadnost Udruženju temeljila na dinamički shvaćenome odnosu između umjetničke aktivnosti, profesionalnoga razvoja i institucijskoga priznanja. Razlika između „člana” i „redovitoga člana”, najavljena već na izvanrednoj plenarnoj sjednici u travnju 1946. godine, ovdje dobiva i svoj puni normativni izraz; članstvo se oblikuje kao razvojna kategorija, a status unutar Udruženja veže se za kontinuitet rada i doprinos unapređenju umjetnosti. *Pravilnik* je, prema tomu, u isti mah imao integracijsku i evaluacijsku funkciju, odnosno omogućavao je uključivanje širega kruga likovnih radnika, uključujući i one bez pune profesionalne afirmacije, a istodobno je uspostavljao hijerarhiju umjetničke legitimacije unutar same organizacije. Takav model upućuje na nastojanje da se unutar poslijeratnoga institucijskog okvira objedine strukovna reprezentacija i sustav unutarnjega vrednovanja, s umjetničkom kvalitetom kao predmetom organiziranoga i trajnoga praćenja. U skladu s time, status redovitoga člana nije bio trajno zajamčen, s obzirom na to da se mogao izgubiti u slučaju pada kvalitete rada, što dodatno potvrđuje da je članstvo bilo shvaćeno kao aktivan i obvezujući odnos prema vlastitoj umjetničkoj praksi.

Takvo razumijevanje članstva potvrđuju i druge odredbe Pravilnika.¹¹² Tako se navodi da nitko, osim počasnoga člana, nije mogao istodobno biti članom sličnoga udruženja u nekoj drugoj narodnoj republici, što pokazuje težnju prema administrativnoj jasnoći i preciznijemu definiranju profesionalne pripadnosti unutar republički ustrojenoga kulturnog sustava. Jednako su indikativne i odredbe o mogućemu isključenju iz Udruženja, među kojima se, osim povrede pravilničkih obveza, navodi i profesionalna

Udruženju, koje je sporo izradilo i potvrdilo pravila. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 18. ožujka 1946.,” Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971. Potom, na sjednici od 1. travnja 1946. Živko Kljaković izvijestio je da su se prilike u splitskome privremenom udruženju poboljšale, ali je ocijenio korisnim da netko iz središnjice dođe s Pravilima. Ujedno je naglasio da je splitsko udruženje privremenoga karaktera, u očekivanju zagrebačkih Pravila, te da ima 44 člana različite umjetničke kvalitete. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 1. travnja 1946.,” Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

109 Tajnik Podružnice Živko Kljaković izvijestio je već na sjednici Upravnoga odbora održanoj 11. travnja 1946. godine o razgovorima koje je vodio s članovima uprave Udruženja u Zagrebu te o uspostavljanju kontakata Podružnice sa središnjom upravom. Tom je prilikom naveo i da je iz Zagreba donio sve potrebne tiskalice i pečate koje je Udruženje pripremito za Podružnicu, a ujedno je najavio i dolazak delegata iz Zagreba na predstojeći plenarni sastanak. Vidjeti: „Sjednica Upravnog odbora održana 11. travnja 1946.,” knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

110 Vidjeti: *Rješenje Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Narodne Republike Hrvatske* (broj: 59723-II-1946.), u Zagrebu, dne 14. prosinca 1946., Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 38: Pravila i statuti 1945. – 1977. U obrazloženju rješenja stoji: „Odlukom od 25. XI. 1945. broj 6941/45. odobreno je bilo osnivanje i rad udruženja likovnih umjetnika, a u granicama, istom odlukom odobrenih pravila. Pošto su pravila, koja su odobrena dana 25. XI. 1945. sačinjena odmah nakon oslobođenja i u tom momentu nisu bili poznati svi problemi rada Udruženja i organizacione forme, što se novim pravilima predviđa, to je trebalo donijeti rješenje kao u dispozitivu.”

111 Vidjeti: *Pravilnik Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske*, 14. prosinca 1946., Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 38: Pravila i statuti 1945. – 1977.

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predviđeni su za objavu u dnevnome tisku te za dostavu središnjici u Zagrebu. I nakon formalnoga konstituiranja, odnos Podružnice i središnjice ostao je obilježen praktičnim administrativnim teškoćama: Parać je u srpnju 1946. godine tražio brže slanje dopisa, natječaja i obavijesti o izložbama, a tarife i Pravila još su ovisili o postupku potvrđivanja.¹²¹

Između stvaralačkih ambicija i organizacijskih izazova: rekapitulacija prve godine djelovanja Podružnice

Godina 1946. jasno pokazuje koliko je oblikovanje splitske podružnice bilo obilježeno istodobnim naporima institucijske izgradnje i svakodnevnim organizacijskim teškoćama. Taj se proces može pratiti od privremenoga ustroja Podružnice krajem 1945. godine do konstituiranja Uprave u travnju 1946. godine, kada se splitska inicijativa postupno usklađuje s pravilima zagrebačke središnjice. U tome se rasponu već naziru dva trajna obilježja njezina ranog djelovanja: nastojanje da se umjetnička praksa uklopi u društveno-političke okvire poraća i stalna borba s organizacijskim, materijalnim i kadrovskim ograničenjima. Takva dinamika odgovara širem obrascu poslijeratne institucionalizacije kulturnoga života u Jugoslaviji, u kojemu su lokalne umjetničke inicijative postupno uključivane u centralizirani sustav strukovnih organizacija.

Te je godine Podružnica bila angažirana u nizu izložbenih i primijenjenih aktivnosti – od *Prvomajske izložbe*, sudjelovanja u izradi karikatura i plakata, preko doprinosa kulturnim manifestacijama mornarice i sindikata, sve do važne revijalne izložbe u Zagrebu. Ipak, unatoč kvantitativno bogatome programu, već tijekom godine pojavljuju se zabrinjavajuće konstante: nedostatan angažman većine članova, izostanak redovitoga plaćanja članarine i postotka od prodaje radova u režiji udruženja te slab odaziv na pozive na sastanke. Osobito je indikativna kritika umjetničke kvalitete javno prezentiranih radova jer dovodi u pitanje razinu profesionalnosti i legitimitet same institucije kao reprezentativnoga tijela.

Ovi problemi kulminiraju na Glavnoj godišnjoj skupštini održanoj 26. siječnja 1947. godine, koja se može promatrati kao ključni trenutak samoprovjere Podružnice.¹²² U

¹²¹ Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 17. srpnja 1946. godine Vjekoslav Parać izvijestio je o stanju Podružnice u Splitu. Zamolio je da se dopisi, natječaji i obavijesti o izložbama šalju pravodobnije. U vezi sa slikarskom školom istaknuo je da još nije riješeno pitanje njezina financiranja, odnosno treba li biti državna ili oblasna, a središnjica je odgovorila da će tarife i Pravila poslati nakon potvrđivanja. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 17. srpnja 1946.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

¹²² „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

obraćanju predsjednika Vjekoslava Paraća okupljenima sadržana je svojevrsna bilanca djelovanja u prethodnoj godini, ali i signal za nužnu preorijentaciju u skladu s općim političkim i ideološkim zahtjevima vremena.¹²³ Paraćev govor, premda umirenoga i kolegijalnoga tona, nedvojbeno se uklapa u širi diskurs socijalističke kulturne politike koja je umjetnicima dodijelila ulogu kulturnih radnika čiji je temeljni zadatak bio doprinijeti izgradnji novoga društva. Već u uvodnim rečenicama Parać donosi pozitivnu ocjenu samoga postojanja Udruženja, što je u to vrijeme bilo od posebne važnosti; formiranje radnoga kolektiva, kako naglašava, predstavlja vrijednost po sebi jer stvara prostor za razvijanje „osjećaja uzajamnosti, socijalnog osjećaja drugarstva”.¹²⁴ Takvo isticanje kolektivne kohezije i drugarstva odražava ideološki okvir u kojemu umjetnost poprima obilježja strukturiranoga oblika društvenoga angažmana, dok se predodžba o njoj kao neutralnoj domeni osobnoga izraza postupno potiskuje. Time se umjetnička praksa postupno premješta iz sfere individualnoga stvaralaštva u prostor društveno organiziranoga kulturnog rada, što je bila jedna od ključnih premisa socijalističke kulturne politike u prvim poratnim godinama.

U tome duhu Parać podsjeća na djelovanje članova Podružnice „u interesu opće narodne stvari”, konkretno u domeni primijenjene umjetnosti – plakatske produkcije, agitacijskih sredstava, dekoracija i suradnje s društvenim organizacijama. No, njegov se ton ubrzo mijenja kada govori o onome što vidi kao temeljni problem – „zastoj” u kreativnome, likovno-umjetničkome radu. Ova formulacija implicitno otkriva napetost između očekivanja politički angažiranoga kulturnog rada i zahtjeva za održavanjem profesionalnih standarda likovne umjetnosti. Samokritika je ovdje eksplicitna: splitski umjetnici, prema Paraćevu sudu, nisu odgovorili na očekivanja naroda ni ideala revolucije, što dodatno potvrđuju skromni rezultati recentnih izložbi i kritičkih tonova koji su se artikulirali u novinskim tekstovima. Taj „zastoj” prelazi razinu tehničke ili organizacijske poteškoće te, prema Paraću, otvara opasnost da se borba naroda i „radni elan narodnih masa” ne utisnu u umjetnički izraz. Umjetnost, dakle, mora biti zrcalo novoga društvenog poretka, a umjetnik dužan pronaći načine kako se vlastita praksa može uskladiti s povijesnim zadatkom.

Nadalje, Parać poziva na moralno-političku introspekciju članstva, odnosno naglašava potrebu za „izgradnjom sebe samih”, drugarskim rješavanjem problema unutar kolektiva te disciplinom prema zadatcima i kolegama. Ova retorika samopregleda i kolektivnoga morala zapravo podsjeća na obrasce partijskoga govora iz istoga razdoblja, gdje se „unutarnji razvitak” uvijek reflektira kroz prizmu kolektiva i političke ispravnosti.

¹²³ Isto.

¹²⁴ Isto.

U završnim se rečenicama Parać ponovno okreće ulozi vlasti. Eksplicitno izražava vjeru u to da će „narodna vlast” i institucije stvoriti preduvjete za „ozbiljan i koncentriran umjetnički rad”.¹²⁵ Ta izjava dodatno potvrđuje da je, u skladu s duhom vremena, profesionalna autonomija umjetnika ovisila o njegovoj integraciji u politički projekt države.

Paraćev govor dobro odražava prijelazni karakter toga trenutka: još prisutnu svijest o vrijednosti umjetničke autonomije, dijelom baštinjenu iz predratnoga razdoblja, i rastući pritisak ideološke instrumentalizacije. U Paraćevu se govoru još prepoznaje nastojanje da se očuva umjetnost kao duhovni i estetski čin, a njezina se društvena zadaća sve jasnije veže za „opće narodne interese” i „uzdizanje novog čovjeka”. Njegova formulacija poziva na „discipliniranje” i „konstruktivni rad” svjedoči o tome koliko je kulturno djelovanje bilo prožeto moralno-političkom odgovornošću. Ukratko, predsjednikov govor bio je poticaj za reorganizaciju i propitivanje unutar same Podružnice.

Posebno vrijedan analitički uvid pruža godišnji izvještaj tajnika Živka Kljakovića.¹²⁶ Zahvaljujući opsežnosti i jasnoći izričaja, taj dokument omogućuje rekonstrukciju ranih institucijskih praksi splitske podružnice, ali i razumijevanje načina na koji se umjetnička proizvodnja u poslijeratnoj Dalmaciji vrednovala između društvene korisnosti, profesionalne odgovornosti i unutarnje organizacijske discipline. Kljaković pritom jasno diferencira dvije ključne faze osnutka Podružnice: najprije privremeno utemeljenje 25. studenoga 1945. godine, koje je zamišljeno kao prijelazna struktura do uspostave zagrebačke središnjice („Takva forma postavljena je za to, jer se je predvidjela mogućnost veze sa Udruženjem lik. umjetnika u Zagrebu...”), a potom i institucijsko preustrojstvo krajem travnja 1946. godine, kada su primijenjena pravila središnjega tijela.¹²⁷ Time se povlači jasna administrativna linija između spontane inicijative i formalnoga uklapanja u centralizirani model kulturnoga upravljanja.

U nastavku izvještaja Kljaković prikazuje rad Podružnice 1946. godine kao dominantno usmjeren prema zadacima „primijenjene” umjetnosti, čiji su zahtjevi bili stalni i urgentni: od karikatura i plakata do dekoracija, agitacijskoga materijala i izložbenih aktivnosti. Štoviše, prema njegovim riječima, djelovanje članova započinje i prije samoga formalnog ustrojstva udruženja, što potvrđuje implicitnu tezu o organskome karakteru umjetničke angažiranosti u novim društvenim okolnostima. Istovremeno se u tome razdoblju nazire i latentna napetost između tradicionalnoga shvaćanja umjetničkoga rada kao autonomne stvaralačke djelatnosti i novoga modela umjetnika kao društveno angažiranoga kulturnog radnika.

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126 Isto.
127 Isto.

Ističe se, nadalje, izložba priređena u povodu dalmatinskoga festivala, izvedba dekoracija za ples sindikata u siječnju 1946. godine, sudjelovanje u izradi plakata i znački za sindikate pomorskih radnika te posebno angažman oko izložbe obnove i *Prvomajske izložbe*. Ipak, unatoč širokomu rasponu aktivnosti, izvještaj poprima sve izraženiji kritički ton kako odmiče prema evaluaciji umjetničke produkcije i unutarnje dinamike Podružnice. Kljaković otvoreno priznaje da je doprinos na polju likovne umjetnosti – kao temeljnoj domeni djelovanja Udruženja – bio nezadovoljavajući. Ocjenjujući umjetničku razinu radova na *Prvomajskoj izložbi* i revijalnoj izložbi u Zagrebu, iznosi zaključak da je ukupna bilanca negativna: „U tom smislu mi ne bi mogli opravdati svoj opstanak ni prema sebi samima, ni prema Udruženju, ni prema narodu...”.¹²⁸ Ova retorička trostruka adresacija (institucija – individualna savjest – društvena odgovornost) duboko je u skladu s ideološkim diskursom epohe, ali i svjedoči o internoj napetosti između stvaralačkih aspiracija i institucijsko-administrativne svakodnevice. Takva izjava problematizira profesionalni učinak članstva i dovodi u pitanje samu svrhovitost institucije.

Posebno važna dimenzija izvještaja jest kvantitativna analiza sudjelovanja. Naime, iako podružnica broji 46 članova, stvarni broj aktivnih u zadacima primijenjene umjetnosti svodi se na desetak, a najangažiranijih je tek pet do šest. Takvo kvantificiranje angažmana članstva pokazuje da se umjetničko djelovanje počinje promatrati i kroz prizmu organizacijske discipline, što je karakterističan element ranoga socijalističkog modela kulturnoga upravljanja. Time se dodatno naglašava disproporcija između formalne strukture i stvarne operativne djelotvornosti organizacije. Takva neravnoteža između administrativnoga ustroja i stvarne razine angažmana članstva bila je česta pojava u ranim fazama institucionalizacije kulturnih organizacija u poratnome razdoblju. Ova neusklađenost dodatno se produbljuje kada Kljaković spominje i druge pokazatelje disfunkcionalnosti: neplaćanje članarine, neodazivanje na sastanke te ignoriranje obveze predaje postotka od prodanih radova.

U završnim dijelovima izvještaja tajnik apelira na potrebu uvođenja reda i jasno ističe da je zadaća novoga radnog odbora uspostaviti disciplinu i potaknuti članove na ispunjavanje statutarних dužnosti. Ovakvo inzistiranje na disciplini i odgovornosti članstva odražava širu tendenciju institucijskoga normiranja umjetničkoga rada, u kojemu umjetnička aktivnost postaje dio organiziranoga društvenog projekta. Takvo pozivanje na odgovornost unutar organizacijske hijerarhije, ali i prema „narodu” kao krajnjemu korisniku umjetničkoga rada, još jednom potvrđuje duboku prožetost umjetničke prakse političkim i moralnim imperativima vremena. Kljakovićev izvještaj tako nadilazi tehničku funkciju bilježenja i otvara pitanja uloge umjetnika u društvu, profesionalnih standarda i unutarnje konsolidacije kolektiva. Istodobno pokazuje da je Podružnica u prvim poslijeratnim godinama preuzela ulogu glavnoga institucijskog

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okvira umjetničkoga života u Splitu, objedinjujući obrazovne, produkcijske, izložbene i organizacijske funkcije.

U analitičkome smislu vrijedi istaknuti i doprinos gostiju skupštine, čija su obraćanja dodatno osnažila potrebu za širim povezivanjem.¹²⁹ Profesor Jakša Ravlić, govoreći uime Kulturno-umjetničkoga društva „Ivan Lozica”, apelira na tijesnu suradnju između Udruženja i drugih kulturnih institucija. Cvito Fisković pak pokušava smjestiti aktualni trenutak u širi povijesni kontekst, pozivajući na kontinuitet razvoja od Dubrovačke Republike do suvremenosti. Njihovi govori, iako ceremonijalni, podsjećaju na šire kulturno-ideološke koordinate unutar kojih djeluje splitska podružnica.

Kako god bilo, nakon izlaganja predsjednika Paraća i opsežnoga izvještaja tajnika Kljakovića, otvorena je diskusija koja je razotkrila slojevite tenzije unutar splitske podružnice. Iako formalno nije bilo riječi o izglasavanju nepovjerenja, rasprava se sve više kretala u smjeru suštinskoga propitivanja načina upravljanja i funkcioniranja organizacije. Iznesene su kritike na račun slaboga odaziva članova, nedjelotvornoga rasporeda zadataka i osjećaja neravnopravnosti među članstvom. Napose je zamjetno bilo nezadovoljstvo članova koji su se osjećali isključenima iz odlučivanja, a takvo stanje dodatno je potencirano Pravilnikom, koji je, prema mišljenju mnogih, bio neadekvatan za konkretne uvjete i potrebe splitske sredine.

Naime, prema pravilima središnjega Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, članstvo je bilo podijeljeno na dvije kategorije – redovite članove (tzv. grupa „A”) i ostale članove (grupa „B”). Budući da je splitska podružnica imala tek deset redovitih članova, a više od četrdeset u grupi „B”, takva je struktura onemogućavala stabilno i funkcionalno upravljanje jer članovi grupe „B” nisu mogli biti birani u upravna tijela. Ova situacija ujedno pokazuje kako je normativni model organizacije, oblikovan u republičkome središtu, teško mogao biti mehanički primijenjen na regionalne umjetničke sredine čija je profesionalna struktura bila znatno drukčija. Takva podjela – formalno postavljena, a u splitskim okolnostima teško održiva – dovela je do zastoja u radu, gubitka motivacije i osjećaja besperspektivnosti koji se odrazio i na ukupnu umjetničku produkciju. Ujedno otkriva napetost između kriterija umjetničke kvalitete, institucijske hijerarhije i stvarnoga profesionalnog sastava lokalne sredine.

U takvim okolnostima odlučeno je da se stara uprava raspušta, ali da se nova neće formirati sve dok se ne razjasni pitanje eventualnih izmjena Pravilnika u središnjici u Zagrebu. Naknadni uvid u zapisnike zagrebačke središnjice pokazuje da je taj splitski zaključak vrlo brzo dobio i administrativni odgovor iz Zagreba. Upravni odbor ULUH-a na sjednici od 10. ožujka 1947. godine raspravljao je o recentnome dopisu Podružnice te

odlučio da se godišnja skupština održana 26. siječnja 1947. godine ne prizna, uz zaključak da u Split trebaju otputovati Marijan Detoni kao predstavnik ULUH-a i Franjo Mraz kao predstavnik Kulturno-umjetničkoga odbora (KUO-a).¹³⁰ Umjesto nove uprave imenovan je Radni odbor, kojem je povjerena privremena odgovornost vođenja Podružnice, kao i zadaća da uputi Zagrebu prijedlog za izmjene Pravilnika, kako bi se uskladio s realnim potrebama i organizacijskim kapacitetima splitske sredine. Takav razvoj događaja pokazuje da je proces institucionalizacije umjetničkoga života u Splitu bio istodobno uvjetovan centralnim modelima kulturnoga upravljanja i konkretnim organizacijskim mogućnostima lokalne umjetničke zajednice.

Za članove Radnoga odbora izabrani su Ivan Mirković, kipar, Joko Knežević, slikar, Ante Franičević, slikar, Ante Zupa, slikar, Ljubomir Nakić, slikar (u funkciji zapisničara).¹³¹ Sastav Radnoga odbora pokazuje i postupni prijenos organizacijskih odgovornosti na mlađu generaciju umjetnika, koja je u novim društvenim okolnostima preuzimala sve aktivniju ulogu u oblikovanju institucijskoga života. Ipak, zagrebačka središnjica taj privremeni radni okvir nije prihvatila kao legitimno izabranu upravnu strukturu, što potvrđuje zapisnik od 7. travnja 1947. godine, u kojemu se dopis iz Splita pripisuje „samozvanom radnom odboru”, uz istodobnu odluku da se nakon reorganizacije Podružnici pruži financijska pomoć i da joj članarina ostane na raspolaganju.¹³² Ovim se donekle ublažava jednostrana slika središnjice kao isključivo represivne. Središnjica

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- U zapisniku sjednice Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 10. ožujka 1947. navodi se da je primljen dopis splitske Podružnice br. 3/47 od 4. ožujka 1947., u kojemu se izvještava o godišnjoj skupštini održanoj 26. siječnja. Splitska je Podružnica upozorila da u Dalmaciji postoji malen broj redovitih članova, odnosno deset članova skupine A, dok većinu čine ostali članovi, njih četrdeset i dvoje, označeni kao skupina B. U dopisu se ističe da je takva podjela nedemokratska te da je uzrokovala nesuglasice, gubitak volje za rad i malodušnost na likovnim manifestacijama i izložbama. U raspravi Upravnoga odbora Vanja Radauš skupštinu je ocijenio nepravilnom, Detoni je upozorio na nered o kojemu je ranije govorio Živko Kljaković, uključujući neplaćanje članarine i postotka od prodaje na izložbama, a zaključeno je da se splitska skupština ne prizna. Odlučeno je da u Split otputuju Marijan Detoni kao predstavnik ULUH-a i Franjo Mraz kao predstavnik Kulturno-umjetničkoga odsjeka Agitpropa. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 10. ožujka 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.
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- „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
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- Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 7. travnja 1947. Detoni je pročitao dopis iz Splita koji je, prema zapisniku, uputio „samozvani radni odbor podružnice”, a odnosio se na produljenje natječaja „Palim boricima za Velu Luku”. Raspravljalo se o potrebi žurnoga odlaska u Split te je predloženo da se na sastanak pismeno pozove trinaest redovitih članova koje središnjica priznaje. Istodobno je Tiljak upozorio da treba voditi računa o siromaštvu Podružnice, pa je odlučeno da se, nakon reorganizacije, financijski pomogne splitska Podružnica i da članarina ostane u cijelosti na raspolaganju Podružnici. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 7. travnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

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istodobno osporava legitimnost Radnoga odbora, ali prepoznaje materijalnu slabost Podružnice i najavljuje joj financijsku pomoć.

Podružnica ULUH-a za Dalmaciju u Splitu 1947. godine: formiranje, organizacijski problemi i institucijsko pozicioniranje

Godina 1947. predstavlja ključnu prekretnicu u procesu konstituiranja i stabilizacije ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju sa sjedištem u Splitu. Iz sačuvanih zapisnika razvidno je da se radi o razdoblju intenzivnoga organizacijskog rada, ali i izraženih napetosti koje su pratile pokušaje usklađivanja lokalne umjetničke scene s pravilima i očekivanjima središnjice ULUH-a u Zagrebu. Podružnica se tada postupno učvršćuje kao organizacijsko središte dalmatinskih umjetnika, a *Prvomajska izložba* u Salonu Galić postaje jedan od glavnih povoda njezina javnoga i institucijskoga potvrđivanja. Ta je izložba ujedno postala mjesto provjere upravljačkih modela, kriterija umjetničke legitimacije i sposobnosti Podružnice da se u poslijeratnim uvjetima potvrdi kao stabilan akter kulturne politike. Već početkom ožujka 1947. godine Radni odbor Podružnice djeluje kao operativno tijelo koje nastoji aktivirati što širi krug članstva. Na sjednici održanoj 2. ožujka Antun Zupa – u svojstvu člana Radnoga odbora – apelira na članove da se u što većemu broju odazovu sudjelovanju na *II. Prvomajskoj izložbi* u Salonu Galić, koja je zamišljena kao reprezentativan nastup dalmatinskih likovnih umjetnika.¹³³ Već taj apel upućuje na ključnu napetost, i to između simboličke ambicije reprezentacije (pokazati relevantno umjetničko polje regije) i stvarnih ograničenja umjetničkoga rada, koji je uvelike uvjetovan zaposlenjima, rasporedima i obvezama prema drugim institucijama. Tada se jasno definiraju i organizacijski parametri izložbe kao što su, primjerice, ograničenje broja radova po autoru, obveza uokvirivanja, podjela odgovornosti oko troškova transporta te preuzimanje obveze Podružnice da snosi troškove povrata neotkupljenih ili neprimljenih radova. Takva razrada tehničkih pravila nadilazi okvir puke administracije te postaje indikator rane profesionalizacije. Naime, u tome procesu Podružnica gradi elementarnu izložbenu infrastrukturu, uvodi disciplinu produkcije i isporuke radova te ustrojava odgovornost između autora i institucije. Posebno je indikativan zaključak da Radni odbor mora intervenirati kod različitih državnih i vojnih institucija kako bi se umjetnicima omogućilo privremeno rasterećenje od profesionalnih obveza u ožujku i travnju, što svjedoči o realnim teškoćama usklađivanja umjetničkoga rada s poslijeratnim institucijskim angažmanima.¹³⁴ Ovaj detalj stoga prelazi razinu anegdotalnoga i otvara važnu interpretativnu liniju jer umjetničko djelovanje u ovome

kontekstu poprima obilježja javno relevantnoga rada koji zahtijeva institucijsko priznanje u raspodjeli vremena, obveza i radnih uvjeta. Drugim riječima, Podružnica nastoji izboriti status umjetničkoga rada kao društveno korisnoga rada. Sredinom ožujka dolazi do pokušaja dodatne profesionalizacije izložbenoga nastupa. Na sjednici Radnoga odbora 17. ožujka član Odbora Zupa predlaže tiskanje ilustriranoga kataloga *II. Prvomajske izložbe*, s reprodukcijama radova, uz jasno definirane financijske obveze izlagača i autorska prava u korist priređivačkoga odbora.¹³⁵ Katalog se pritom shvaća kao trajniji zapis izložbe i važan oblik javne vidljivosti Podružnice. Reprodukcijske radova, regulacija autorskih prava i upravljanje utrškom od prodaje kataloga upućuju na pokušaj da se izložba prevede u trajni dokument, odnosno u medij javne vidljivosti i profesionalnoga zapisa umjetničke scene. Za urednike kataloga imenovani su Ante Franičević i Nikola Ignjatović. Ovaj pokušaj, međutim, ubrzo će se pokazati teško izvedivim zbog tehničkih i financijskih ograničenja, što dodatno svjedoči o skromnim materijalnim uvjetima u kojima Podružnica djeluje. Time se jasno pokazuje razlika između ambicije da se izložba predstavi na višoj profesionalnoj razini i stvarnih mogućnosti poslijeratne kulturne sredine.

Pitanje samoga ustroja Podružnice dolazi u središte rasprave sredinom travnja, posebice tijekom sjednice održane 12. travnja, kojoj prisustvuju delegati ULUH-a iz Zagreba, Marijan Detoni i Franjo Mraz.¹³⁶ Detonijevo izlaganje rekonstruira genezu osnutka ULUH-a nakon oslobođenja te razloge zbog kojih su revidirana pravila članstva. Poseban naglasak stavlja se na diferencijaciju između redovitih članova i članova, koja se opravdava potrebom očuvanja kvalitete umjetničke produkcije i sprečavanja „nadglasavanja” unutar Udruženja. U teorijskome smislu ovdje se vidi kako se „demokratičnost” članstva definira kroz napet odnos inkluzije i kvalitativne kontrole: pravila se predstavljaju kao otvorena (mogućnost napredovanja iz članstva u redovite), ali istodobno uspostavljaju hijerarhiju odgovornosti i legitimiteta u odlučivanju. U tome se kontekstu otvoreno problematizira broj od čak 52 prijavljena člana splitske podružnice, uz sumnju u njihovu stvarnu aktivnost i sposobnost da ozbiljno odgovore na zadatke koje postavlja nova kulturna politika, uključujući tako, primjerice, i rad u okviru omladinskih akcija.¹³⁷ Detoni u tome kontekstu povezuje pitanje opsega članstva s konkretnim oblicima društvenoga angažmana i državnih ulaganja u umjetnost. U zapisniku se navodi da su narodne vlasti za likovnu umjetnost izdvojile iznos od 9.000.000 dinara, pri čemu se od organiziranih umjetnika očekuje da na takva ulaganja odgovore „radom na umjetničkom polju”, shvaćenim kao javna obveza i oblik društvenoga uzvrata.¹³⁸ U tome

133 „Zapisnik sjednice održane na poziv Radnoga odbora dana 2. ožujka 1947”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

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135 „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. ožujka 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

136 „Zapisnik sjednice održane 12. travnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

137 Isto.

138 Isto.

se svjetlu postavlja i retoričko, ali indikativno pitanje bi li sva 52 prijavljena člana splitske podružnice doista bila u stanju sudjelovati u omladinskim radnim akcijama – primjerice na izgradnji pruga – te iz takvih angažmana proizvesti makar po dva rada dostatne kvalitete za izložbenu prezentaciju. Time se jasno pokazuje da problem broja članova nadilazi administrativnu razinu te otvara pitanje njihove stvarne radne, produkcijske i ideološke mobilizacije. Kriterij umjetničke relevantnosti ovdje se, stoga, isprepliće s kriterijem društvene uporabljivosti. Ozbiljnost u radu, naime, podrazumijeva spremnost na kolektivni napor, terenski angažman i sposobnost da se umjetnička produkcija veže za konkretne projekte socijalističke izgradnje. Upravo iz tih razloga Detoni zaključuje da Podružnica mora „ozbiljnije pristupiti radu”, što podrazumijeva redukciju pasivnoga članstva i afirmaciju manje, ali operativno učinkovite jezgre umjetnika. Podružnica time, uz reprezentacijsku, dobiva i naglašenu proizvodnu funkciju. Od umjetnika se očekuje mobilnost, disciplina i doprinos radom, pa se kvaliteta promatra estetski, ali i kroz prizmu radne etike, društvene funkcije i sposobnosti sudjelovanja u kolektivnim zadacima. Franjo Mraz dodatno naglašava širi društveni kontekst, odnosno potrebu borbe protiv kiča i podizanje vizualne kulture naroda organiziranim i discipliniranim umjetničkim radom. Time se pokazuje da se umjetnost u poslijeratnome prostoru artikulira kao svojevrsna pedagogija javnosti, jer izložba i Podružnica funkcioniraju kao instrumenti kulturne modernizacije, a kriterij „protiv kiča” djeluje kao moralno-estetski filtar koji legitimira potrebu selekcije i kontrole. Sljedećega dana, na plenarnoj sjednici 13. travnja, rasprava se dodatno zaoštava. Predsjednik Podružnice Vjekoslav Parać obavještava članstvo da predstavka splitske podružnice sa zahtjevima za izmjenu Pravilnika nije prihvaćena, nakon čega Marijan Detoni iscrpno obrazlaže razloge odbijanja.¹³⁹ Posebno se naglašava da je Ministarstvo prosvjete odobrilo Pravilnik i da ga se zasad ne može mijenjati, kao i da pravo upravljanja Udruženjem i njegovim podružnicama pripada redovitim članovima. Time se jasno uspostavlja vertikalna legitimacije; Pravilnik se uspostavlja kao normativni okvir koji je potvrdila država pa rasprava o članstvu postaje i rasprava o odnosu profesionalne autonomije i državne kulturne administracije. Ipak, ostavlja se mogućnost uključivanja pojedinih članova u administrativne funkcije iz nužde. Ključni zaključak te sjednice odnosi se na prijedlog da se tijekom *II. Prvomajske izložbe* formira žiri sastavljen od redovitih članova, koji će na temelju kvalitete izloženih radova kategorizirati članstvo i eventualno neke isključiti – prijedlog koji je jednoglasno prihvaćen.¹⁴⁰ U praksi, izložba se time transformira u mehanizam institucijske verifikacije gdje javni nastup postaje ispit članstva, a estetska prosudba preuzima funkciju upravljačkoga alata kojim se uređuje struktura organizacije. Valja ovdje napomenuti kako izvještaj Marijana Detonija podnesen Upravnome odboru ULUH-a 14. travnja 1947. godine dodatno potvrđuje da je travanjska intervencija

139 „Zapisnik plenarne sjednice održane 13. travnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

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središnjice imala dvostruku funkciju: smirivanje organizacijskih napetosti i uspostavu novoga mehanizma stručne provjere članstva.¹⁴¹ Detoni i Mraz održali su u Splitu dva sastanka, najprije s redovitim članovima, a zatim sa širim krugom članstva, pri čemu je potvrđeno da Podružnica zapravo i nema točan popis članova i da su nesporednosti povezani i s različitim stupnjem sudjelovanja u frontovskim slikarskim poslovima. U tome je okviru odlučeno da se *II. Prvomajska izložba* iskoristi kao prigoda za preispitivanje statusa redovitih članova i ostaloga članstva, čime izložba dobiva ulogu izložbene smotre i instrumenta institucijske revizije.

U tome se kontekstu kristalizira jezgra Podružnice. Trinaest redovitih članova koji se u zapisniku eksplicitno označavaju kao okosnica splitske podružnice – Emanuel Vidović, Vjekoslav Parać, Antun Zupa, Ivan Mirković, Ante Kaštelančić, Živko Kljaković, Vinko Foretić, Joko Knežević, Rudolf Bunk, Milan Tolić, Antun Gojak, Branko Kovačević i Marin Studin – preuzimaju odgovornost da među sobom izaberu uži operativni krug od pet članova koji će do saziva glavne godišnje skupštine obavljati funkciju Uprave, a istovremeno i provoditi žiriranje radova za *II. Prvomajsku izložbu* „podjednako za sve članove bez razlike” te u suradnji s novoizabranom Upravom predložiti središnjici ULUH-a razvrstavanje na redovite članove, članove i eventualno isključene.¹⁴² U tome prvom prijedlogu na peteročlanom popisu navode se Vidović, Parać, Zupa, Bunk i Krstulović, no zapisnik odmah pokazuje da se taj inicijalni sastav mora prilagoditi realnim okolnostima premještaja i potrebe uravnoteženoga stručnog prosuđivanja: Kukoč predlaže da Zupu, zbog premještaja u Zagreb, zamijeni Joko Knežević, a radi „boljeg ishoda žiriranja kiparskih radova” uz Krstulovića se predlaže uključivanje Ivana Mirkovića. Glasanje zatim registrira i nijansiranu dinamiku slaganja i suzdržanosti (Knežević: 13 za, 2 suzdržana, 2 protiv; Mirković: 13 za, 3 suzdržana, 1 protiv), dok se na prijedlog Bučana u žiri dodatno prima Milan Tolić (15 za, 2 protiv), čime se operativno tijelo oblikuje konkretnim korekcijama koje nastoje osigurati funkcionalnost i

141 Prema zapisniku sjednice Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 14. travnja 1947., Detoni je izvijestio da je u Split otputovao s Franjom Mrazom radi sređivanja prilika u Podružnici. Premda je prvotno bilo odlučeno da se u Split putuje 28. travnja, odlazak je ubrzan na zahtjev Komiteta za umjetnost i kulturu pri Oblasnome narodnom odboru. Detoni i Mraz održali su 12. travnja sastanak s redovitim članovima, a 13. travnja sastanak sa svim članovima. Na prvome je sastanku konstatirano da Podružnica nema točan popis članova i da se redoviti članovi nalaze u nezgodnome položaju, dijelom i zbog manjega sudjelovanja u frontovskim slikarskim radovima. Na drugome je sastanku Detoni izložio plan i dužnosti organizacije te pitanje dvojnoga članstva. Sudionici su povukli svoja pravila i priznali ih kao pogrešku. Odlučeno je da se za Prvi maj priredi izložba nakon koje će se preispitati status redovitih članova i članova. U žiri su izabrani Emanuel Vidović, Vjekoslav Parać, Antun Zupa, Joko Knežević, Rudolf Bunk, Milan Tolić i Ivan Mirković. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 14. travnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

142 „Zapisnik između 13 redovitih članova Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnica u Splitu”, bez naznačenoga datuma (vjerojatno 14. travnja 1947.), knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

legitimnost prosudbenoga procesa, a ne samo načelnim odlukama.¹⁴³ Sama činjenica da se okosnica definira imenovanjem redovitih članova pokazuje kako Podružnica gradi unutarnju strukturu autoriteta utemeljenu na formalnoj funkciji, ali i na pretpostavljenoj profesionalnoj reputaciji te ranijoj „poznatosti” rada središnjici, dok se istodobno uspostavlja proceduralni okvir u kojemu žiriranje izložbe postaje instrument institucijske samoregulacije. Time se, nizom glasanja, prijedloga i korekcija uvjetovanih realnim okolnostima (premještaji, zdravstveni razlozi, strukovna ravnoteža), postupno oblikuje operativno tijelo koje preuzima ključne funkcije vođenja izložbe i žiriranja, potvrđujući praksu u kojoj se institucijska struktura uspostavlja procesom prilagodbe i funkcionalne provjere, a ne deklarativno. Taj je proces zaključen krajem lipnja 1947. godine, kada je Upravni odbor ULUH-a, nakon usporedbe izvještaja zagrebačkih delegata Kršinića i Mujadžića s izvještajem splitskoga žirija, potvrdio novu strukturu redovitih članova i članova Podružnice.¹⁴⁴

Organizacija same *II. Prvomajske izložbe* otkriva niz praktičnih problema: od financijske nediscipline članstva (neplaćene članarine i upisnine) do nejasno reguliranih odnosa oko prodaje radova.¹⁴⁵ Ovi elementi upućuju na to da Podružnica istovremeno uspostavlja i moralnu ekonomiju članstva. Članarina i upisnina, uz financijsku funkciju, djeluju i kao znak pripadnosti i odgovornosti, dok se prodaja radova pojavljuje kao osjetljivo područje u kojemu se mora zaštititi institucijski interes i spriječiti privatiziranje zajedničke platforme. Radni odbor mora uvesti stroge mjere kontrole prodaje i naplate, a Ante Franičević preuzima privremenu blagajničku funkciju. Konačno se odustaje od ilustriranoga kataloga te se tiskaju samo popisi izlagača i radova. Taj prijelaz s ambicioznoga na minimalni katalog pritom se može čitati i kao izraz prilagodbe strategije. Podružnica prioritizira samu realizaciju izložbe i njezinu javnu funkciju, čak i kada reprezentacijski format mora biti reduciran.

Kao što joj i naziv kazuje, izložba se otvara 1. svibnja 1947. godine, a žiriranje radova odvija se krajem travnja. Zanimljivo je uključivanje delegata iz Dubrovnika, Branka Kovačevića,

koji sudjeluje u žiriranju dubrovačkih autora, uz inzistiranje na strogoj selekciji kako bi se osigurala visoka umjetnička razina izložbe.¹⁴⁶ Ovdje se uočava i regionalna dinamika unutar dalmatinskoga polja pa uključivanje dubrovačkoga delegata pokazuje nastojanje da se izbjegne percepcija splitske dominacije, ali i da se selekcija legitimira kao zajednički standard, a ne lokalna preferencija. Žiri se vodi isključivo kriterijem likovne kvalitete, a aranžman izložbe također preuzima ulogu žirija. Time se pojam kvalitete proširuje s odluke o prihvaćanju ili odbijanju i na način izlaganja, pri čemu izložbeni postav postaje produžetak prosudbe, odnosno dodatni sloj institucijskoga vrednovanja.

Nakon zatvaranja *II. Prvomajske izložbe* slijede dodatni zaključci o kvaliteti radova u odnosu na status članstva, kao i odluka da se izložba u cijelosti prenese u Dubrovnik (potom i u Zadar) – što se tumači kao znak emancipacije manifestacije od isključivo prvomajskoga konteksta i potvrda njezine samostalne umjetničke vrijednosti.¹⁴⁷ Premještanje izložbe pritom je, dakle, moguće čitati i kao pomak od ritualne funkcije (dio prvomajskoga kalendara) prema autonomnijemu izložbenom životu, odnosno prema ideji da se likovna produkcija legitimira i izvan simboličkoga okvira državne svečanosti.

Međutim, posebno dugotrajno i višeslojno pitanje predstavlja odnos Podružnice s Ivanom Galićem, vlasnikom Umjetničkoga salona Galić, oko uvjeta korištenja izložbenoga prostora.¹⁴⁸ Iako je Salon Galić formalno privatna galerija, u poslijeratnome Splitu on funkcionira kao istaknuto i strukturno važno mjesto javnoga izlaganja, čime nužno postaje ključni partner Podružnice i u realizaciji *II. Prvomajske izložbe*. Tijekom više sjednica Radnoga odbora razmatrani su različiti modeli isplate, uključujući dnevni najam, fiksni iznos za trajanje izložbe te sudjelovanje vlasnika prostora u prihodima od prodaje radova i ulaznica.¹⁴⁹ Iz zapisnika proizlazi da je Galić svoja očekivanja temeljio na praksi prema kojoj se kontinuirano namjenski izložbeni prostor, za koji vlasnik tijekom cijele godine snosi troškove održavanja i plaćanja daća, održava upravo

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144 Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 30. lipnja 1947. odlučeno je da se „sredi podružnica Split” te su, nakon usporedbe izvještaja delegata Frana Kršinića i Omera Mujadžića s izvještajem splitskoga žirija za Prvomajsku izložbu, potvrđeni redoviti članovi i članovi. Kao redoviti članovi potvrđeni su Rudolf Bunk, Vinko Foretić, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Ivan Mirković, Andrija Krstulović, Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović i Ante Zupa. Kao članovi potvrđeni su Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Antun Masle, Ljubomir Nakić, Ante Petričić, Bartul Petrić i Ivan Sikavica. Na istoj je sjednici zabilježeno da je Antun Zupa podnio razrješnicu splitske Podružnice i zatražio prijelaz u zagrebačko članstvo. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 30. lipnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.

145 „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 15. travnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

146 „Zapisnik jurya ‘Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnice za Dalmaciju’ koji se sastao u ‘Salonu Galić’ 27. – 28. travnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

147 „Zapisnik sjednice jurya održane 19. svibnja 1947. nakon zaključenja *II. Prvomajske izložbe*”; „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 21. svibnja 1947.”; „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. lipnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

148 O povijesti Umjetničkoga salona Galić, njegovoj izložbenoj funkciji i ulozi Ivana Galića u oblikovanju splitskoga likovnog života vidjeti izložbu *Sto godina Salona Galić* (Salon Galić, Split, 7. svibnja – 1. lipnja 2024.), kustosica Jasminka Babić i Sandi Bulimbašić te prateći katalog izložbe. Najcjelovitiju noviju obradu donosi monografija *Salon Galić 1924. – 2024.*, ur. Sandi Bulimbašić, Split: HULU – Split i Galerija umjetnina, 2025.

149 „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 21. svibnja 1947.”; „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. lipnja 1947.”; „Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 30. lipnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

participacijom u financijskome učinku manifestacija, osobito postotnim udjelom u prodaji radova i prihodima od ulaznica. Takvo shvaćanje upućuje na ranije izložbene modele u kojima vlasnik prostora sudjeluje u ekonomiji izložbe kao njezin stalni dionik, a ne tek kao pasivni iznajmljivač prostora. Suprotno tome, institucijska logika Podružnice oslanja se na pravilima propisan udio u prodaji radova kao temeljni izvor vlastitoga samofinanciranja, pri čemu se nastoji izbjeći dodatno opterećivanje izlagača i očuvati financijska održivost organizacije. Rasprave o modelu isplate, koje se kreću od Galićeva zahtjeva za isplatom 10 % od prodanih radova, preko prijedloga fiksnoga dnevnog najma do pokušaja podjele prihoda i od prodaje ulaznica, nadilaze pitanje visine naknade i otvaraju dublje pitanje raspodjele ekonomskoga, ali i simboličkoga učinka javne izložbene manifestacije. Odbijanje Radnoga odbora da prihvati izvorni Galićev model valja ponajprije razumjeti kao pokušaj zaštite institucijske pozicije Podružnice i sprečavanja erozije njezinih ograničenih, ali jasno definiranih prihoda, više nego kao osporavanje legitimnosti privatnoga interesa. Činjenica da se konačno rješenje postiže tek kompromisnim iznosom od 15 000 dinara za dvadesetodnevno korištenje prostora, dogovorenim krajem lipnja, jasno pokazuje koliko je odnos između Podružnice i vlasnika Salona bio strukturno osjetljiv. Salon Galić pritom ostaje ključna prostorna pretpostavka javne umjetničke manifestacije, ali ne i neutralan okvir njezina odvijanja. Upravo u ovim pregovorima postaje vidljivo da se institucionalizacija umjetničkoga polja u Splitu odvija složenim pregovaranjima između naslijeđenih privatnih modela izložbenoga poslovanja i novih kolektivnih, strukovnih oblika organizacije, a ne njihovim jednostavnim potiskivanjem ili međusobnim isključivanjem.

Iz svega navedenoga jasno proizlazi da je Podružnica ULUH-a za Dalmaciju u Splitu 1947. godine, osim kao administrativni produžetak središnjice, funkcionirala i kao aktivno polje u kojemu se pregovaralo o značenjima umjetničkoga rada, kriterijima profesionalnosti i odnosu između lokalne scene i državne kulturne politike. *Prvomajska izložba* u Salonu Galić pritom se pokazuje kao presudan instrument konsolidacije: istovremeno izložbeni događaj, mehanizam selekcije članstva i platforma javne legitimacije likovne umjetnosti u poratnome društvu. Upravo zato zapisnici nisu tek suhoparna evidencija jer dokumentiraju proces u kojemu se umjetničko polje institucijski oblikuje u trima međusobno vezanim registrima: estetskome (kriterij kvalitete i žiriranje), organizacijskome (ustroj uprave, disciplina članstva) i infrastrukturno-ekonomskome (katalog, prodaja, najam prostora). Podružnica se tako pojavljuje kao mjesto u kojemu se istovremeno proizvodi umjetnička javnost, uspostavlja profesionalni standard i pregovara o granici između autonomije struke i kulturno-političke funkcije umjetnosti. U tome smislu ULUH-ova Podružnica za Dalmaciju u Splitu 1947. godine može se razumjeti kao rani oblik regionalne kulturne infrastrukture koja služi promociji i distribuciji umjetničkih radova, ali i proizvodnji normi: normi profesionalnosti, normi javne prezentacije i normi kulturne relevantnosti u poratnome društvu. Napetostima oko članstva, žiriranja, financijske discipline i pristupa izložbenomu prostoru postaje vidljivo da se ovdje uspostavlja lokalna organizacija, ali i operativni model umjetničkoga polja,

model u kojemu se estetska prosudba, institucijsko upravljanje i društveno-politički horizont kulture međusobno uvjetuju i stabiliziraju. Slijed odluka od ožujka do lipnja 1947. godine pokazuje da *II. Prvomajska izložba* nije bila samo godišnja smotra likovne produkcije. Ona je u institucijskome smislu postala provjerna točka za reorganizaciju splitske podružnice. Izložbeni nastup, žiriranje i prosudba kvalitete poslužili su kao osnova za novu kategorizaciju članstva. Time se izložbena praksa izravno povezala s upravljačkim mehanizmima ULUH-a, a umjetnička kvaliteta dobila i administrativnu težinu u oblikovanju strukture Podružnice.

Podružnica ULUH-a za Dalmaciju u Splitu 1948.: žiriranje, institucijska kriza i redefinicija položaja (uz osvrt početkom 1949.)

Godina 1948. u djelovanju Podružnice ULUH-a za Dalmaciju u Splitu pokazuje se izrazito dinamičnom, ali i strukturno napetom. Intenzivan rad na organizaciji *III. Prvomajske izložbe* odvijao se usporedno s otvorenom krizom legitimacije i institucijskoga statusa Podružnice, uključujući prijedloge njezina raspuštanja te pokušaje preustroja prema novim pravilima Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije. Već ta dvostruka dinamika upućuje na istovremeno preklapanje profesionalnoga, administrativnoga i političkoga registra djelovanja. U središtu te dinamike nalaze se, u užemu operativnom smislu, pitanja organizacije izložbe i žiriranja radova, a u širem političko-institucijskom smislu pitanje reputacije, administrativne djelotvornosti i „pravilnosti” rada Podružnice u odnosu na središnjicu i novouspostavljeni saveznički okvir.¹⁵⁰

Priprema *III. Prvomajske izložbe* strukturirana je rano i razmjerno precizno podjelom poslova unutar Podružnice. Na sjednici 3. travnja 1948. godine izložba je postavljena kao glavna točka dnevnoga reda, a rad oko nje raspoređen je na više članova s jasno definiranim zaduženjima: Ivan Mirković imenovan je za izradu plakata, Ljubomir Nakić i Ante Kaštelančić preuzeli su pozivnice i pitanja prostora, a Vjekoslav Parać i Ante Franičević zaduženi su za katalog i naljepnice.¹⁵¹ Istom se odlukom normira i okvir sudjelovanja: članove Podružnice trebalo je obavijestiti i pozvati da sudjeluju s ograničenim brojem radova (do 4 ulja, 4 akvarela ili 4 grafike), uz obvezu predaje radova u Salon Galić do zaključno 20. travnja te s planiranim trajanjem izložbe od 1. do 15. svibnja.¹⁵² Već se na toj razini vidi da Podružnica izložbu tretira kao disciplinirani organizacijski projekt koji pretpostavlja koordinaciju produkcije, logistike i javne prezentacije, pri čemu se izložba ponovno pojavljuje kao ključni instrument

150 „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

151 „Zapisnik sjednice održane 3. travnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

152 Isto.

samopotvrđivanja strukovne sposobnosti Podružnice. Da je *III. Prvomajska izložba* imala i neposrednu institucijsku težinu, potvrđuje zapisnik Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 13. travnja 1948. godine, iz kojega proizlazi da je središnjica odluku o ukidanju splitske Podružnice privremeno odgodila upravo zbog predstojeće izložbe.¹⁵³

Usljed organizacijskoga ustroja izložbe pitanje žiriranja dobiva iznimno naglašenu težinu kao tehnički postupak selekcije i kao postupak proizvodnje institucijske legitimnosti. Žiriranje se pritom uspostavlja kao mjesto u kojemu se susreću estetski kriteriji, procedura i međusobni odnosi unutar kolektiva. Na sjednici 22. travnja 1948. godine Parać predlaže model žirija u kojem bi se među pet članova ždrijebom izabrala tri člana, što je i prihvaćeno.¹⁵⁴ Ovaj izborni mehanizam sugerira nastojanje da se osigura dojam proceduralne nepristranosti i smanji mogućnost prigovora na dogovoreni sastav, osobito u situacijama kada bi odluke mogle pogoditi istaknutije članove. Zapisnik pritom bilježi više razina žirija ili barem više funkcionalnih sastava: za slikare su ždrijebom izabrani Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić i Ante Kaštelančić; za kipare Ivan Mirković, Andrija Krstulović i Emanuel Vidović; za aranžman izložbe određen je sastav Branko Kovačević, Rudolf Bunk i Emanuel Vidović.¹⁵⁵ Takva struktura upućuje na shvaćanje izložbe kao složenoga, višedimenzionalnog procesa u kojemu likovna vrijednost uključuje i prezentacijski kontekst.

Kriza se, međutim, koncentrira upravo na žiriranje rada Branka Kovačevića, istaknutoga člana, i to slike naslovljene *Proboj trećeg obruča pete ofenzive*. U zapisniku od 25. travnja 1948. godine uži žiri navodi da ne može donijeti odluku o izlaganju te slike, uz obrazloženje da slika „daje dojam starinsko-muzejske slike” u tolikoj mjeri da se „lični izraz autora i umjetnička interpretacija” čine „osjetljivo potisnuti”.¹⁵⁶ Upravo formulacija o „starinsko-muzejskom” dojmu otkriva implicitni estetsko-ideološki kriterij koji se ovdje aktivira. Ne dovodi se u pitanje tema (štoviše, riječ je o motivu iz recentnoga revolucionarnoga ratnog iskustva), nego način likovne artikulacije teme, koja se

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- ¹⁵³ U zapisniku sjednice Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 13. travnja 1948. navodi se da je razmatran dopis splitske podružnice o odgađanju ukidanja Podružnice zbog *III. Prvomajske izložbe*. Upravni odbor odlučio je izaći ususret toj molbi, uz napomenu da se Podružnica nakon izložbe ukine i da se grupa poveže s ostalim kulturno-umjetničkim društvima u Splitu. Taj podatak pokazuje da je pitanje ukidanja Podružnice bilo otvoreno prije Glavne godišnje skupštine od 9. svibnja 1948., kao i da je *III. Prvomajska izložba* djelovala kao privremeni razlog za odgodu institucijske odluke. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 13. travnja 1948.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.
- ¹⁵⁴ „Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. travnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- ¹⁵⁵ Isto.
- ¹⁵⁶ „Zapisnik jurya *III. Prvomajske izložbe* od 25. travnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

procjenjuje kao regresivna ili nedovoljno „autorska”, odnosno kao da reducira umjetničku interpretaciju na ilustrativnu, već kodificiranu shemu. Kako bi izbjegao odluku koja bi mogla izgledati kao uska, personalizirana ili proceduralno nedovoljno legitimna, žiri predlaže da mišljenje daju i „ostala 4 redovna člana podružnice koji se nalaze u Splitu” te da odluka bude prepuštena širem žiriju.¹⁵⁷ Taj prijenos odluke na širi krug može se čitati kao strategija disperzije odgovornosti i jačanja institucijske težine odluke upravo zbog toga što se radi o radu prominentnoga člana.

Širi se žiri doista i sastaje 27. travnja 1948. godine u Umjetničkome salonu Galić. Zapisnik bilježi da se okupio od „redovitih članova slikara ove podružnice a koji se nalaze u Splitu”, uz iznimku Emanuela Vidovića, koji svoje mišljenje dostavlja posredno, i to preko Milana Tolića.¹⁵⁸ Nakon diskusije širi žiri većinom glasova (pet prema jedan) prihvaća primjedbe užega žirija i zaključuje da se slika ne izloži.¹⁵⁹ Zanimljivo je da se u potpisu navode Parać, Tolić i Kaštelančić,¹⁶⁰ što sugerira da je dokumentiranje odluke i nadalje zadržano u rukama članova užega žirija, ali s osloncem na proširenu raspravu i glasanje. Tako se u samome postupku žirija 1948. godine jasno vidi kako Podružnica pokušava uravnotežiti autoritet istaknutih članova, proceduralnu korektnost i sposobnost donošenja konfliktnoga zaključka koji može imati reperkusije na međuljudske odnose i reputacijski kapital Podružnice.

Neposredno nakon izložbenih pitanja Podružnica ulazi u otvorenu institucijsku krizu. Na Glavnoj godišnjoj skupštini 9. svibnja 1948. godine, koju otvara predsjednik Radnoga odbora, Vjekoslav Parać, prisutan je i Đuro Tiljak kao izaslanik ULUH-a.¹⁶¹ Tiljkova intervencija uvodi novu razinu pritiska jer konstatira da Podružnica nije dovoljno obaviještena o najnovijim zaključcima i pravilima Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije te da te materijale još nije primila.¹⁶² Ta se situacija može preciznije razumjeti u kontekstu normativnoga prijelaza ULUH-a prema novome saveznom okviru, s obzirom na to da je središnje Udruženje u travnju 1948. godine pokrenulo postupak promjene Pravila radi njihova usklađivanja sa Statutom Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika FNRJ.¹⁶³ Već se ovdje administrativni deficit Podružnice postavlja kao strukturni

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- ¹⁵⁷ Isto.
- ¹⁵⁸ „Zapisnik jurya od 27. travnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- ¹⁵⁹ Isto.
- ¹⁶⁰ Isto.
- ¹⁶¹ „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- ¹⁶² Isto.
- ¹⁶³ Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske uputilo je 20. travnja 1948. Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova NRH, Odjelu opće uprave u Zagrebu, molbu za odobrenje promjene Pravila Udruženja. U dopisu se navodi da je godišnja skupština ULUH-a, održana 22. ožujka 1948., u vezi sa stupanjem u Savez likovnih umjetnika FNR Jugoslavije zaključila da se Pravilnik iz 1946. uskladi sa Statutom Saveza. Vidjeti dopis

problem. Nedostatak informiranosti i slaba administrativna djelatnost u Splitu otežavaju reviziju članstva koja se, prema novome okviru, morala provesti u roku od tri mjeseca, pri čemu Tiljak upozorava da su greške moguće osobito u splitskome slučaju jer Upravni odbor nije dovoljno informiran o radu i podacima pojedinih članova.¹⁶⁴ Da se pitanje članstva ubrzo počelo rješavati pojedinačnim odlukama središnjice, potvrđuje zapisnik Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 25. svibnja 1948. godine, u kojemu se razmatra dopis iz Splita o prijedlozima za prijam pojedinih umjetnika.¹⁶⁵

No, ključna je Tiljkova procjena „reputacije”. Naime, izričito navodi da je zaključeno kako Podružnica „nije uživala neku reputaciju” te da su se događale stvari koje su se kosile s pravilima i zbog kojih bi se „morala raspustiti”.¹⁶⁶ Iako zapisnik ne navodi nijednu konkretnu „stvar”, sama formulacija sugerira da se splitsko djelovanje promatra kroz prizmu institucijske pouzdanosti i političko-organizacijske „urednosti”, pri čemu reputacija postaje argument za moguću sankciju. Tiljak ipak uvodi i element fleksibilnosti pa tako napominje kako ne treba sve gledati „striktno i ukočeno” te ako plenum smatra da je nužno da Podružnica ostane, treba o tome izvijestiti središnjicu ULUH-a.¹⁶⁷ Međutim, njegova je preporuka jasna: svrsishodno bi bilo da se Podružnica raspusti, a članstvo da pristupi kao grupa nekomu kulturno-umjetničkom društvu, konkretno „KUD-u ‹Ivan Lozica›”, dok bi grupa imenovala jednoga ili dva delegata za izravnu vezu s ULUH-om.¹⁶⁸ Time se nudi model deinstitucionalizacije Podružnice i

	„Promjena Pravila Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – molba za odobrenje” koji Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Zagrebu (u potpisu: predsjednik Đuro Tiljak i tajnik Zlatko Prica) šalje Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova NRH, Odjelu opće uprave u Zagrebu 20. travnja 1948., broj 278/48, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 38: Pravila i statuti 1945. – 1977. Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova NRH odobrilo je nova Pravila rješenjem br. 17984-IV-1948 od 14. svibnja 1948., uz napomenu da tim rješenjem prestaju vrijediti Pravila Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske odobrena rješenjem istog Ministarstva br. 59723/46 od 14. prosinca 1946. Vidjeti dopis „Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, izmjena pravila” koji Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova NRH u Zagrebu (u potpisu: pomoćnih ministra Josip Gržetić) šalje Udruženju likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Zagrebu 14. svibnja 1948., broj 17984-IV-1948, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 38: Pravila i statuti 1945. – 1977.
164	„Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
165	Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 25. svibnja 1948. razmatran je dopis iz Splita u kojemu se izvještava o zaključku skupštine i traži da se pojedini umjetnici, prema umjetničkome radu, kvaliteti i životu, uvrste u članstvo. Zaključeno je da se u članstvo prime Milan Tolić i Ante Gojak, a za Ljubomira Nakića i Antu Petričića navodi se da trebaju podnijeti radove na idućoj izložbi. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 25. svibnja 1948”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.
166	„Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
167	Isto.
168	Isto.

njezina pretvaranja u grupu unutar šire društvene organizacije, što istovremeno smanjuje autonomiju strukovne instance i pojačava kontrolu društvenim poretkom.

U istome se izlaganju dodatno eksplicira normativna matrica novoga Saveza: dužnost članova Saveza, „u prvom redu”, jest čuvanje ugleda udruženja, kvalitativna doraslost i politička izgrađenost, uz zadatak „likovnog podizanja Dalmacije” kao djelokruga Podružnice.¹⁶⁹ Drugim riječima, pitanje opstanka Podružnice veže se za dvostruki kriterij – kvalitativni i politički – a organizacijski oblik (podružnica ili grupa u kulturno-umjetničkom društvu) predlaže se kao sredstvo discipliniranja i „izdizanja” članstva.

Nakon Tiljkova izlaganja prisutni članovi biraju institucijsko odgađanje kao oblik odgovora. Naime, zaključuje se da se Glavna godišnja skupština odgodi na neodređeno vrijeme, uz nastavak rada Radnoga odbora s istim članovima „kao do sada”.¹⁷⁰ Ovaj potez pokazuje da kriza ulazi u fazu privremenoga zamrzavanja, a Podružnica prelazi u stanje čekanja i pregovaranja sa središnjicom.

Kriza se reaktivira i formalno razrješava na Glavnoj godišnjoj skupštini 7. srpnja 1948. godine, koju Parać predstavlja kao nastavak prekinute skupštine iz svibnja.¹⁷¹ Parać izvještava prisutne o sugestijama dobivenima u Zagrebu u pogledu raspuštanja Podružnice, nakon čega se vodi duža diskusija u kojoj sudjeluju svi prisutni članovi.¹⁷² Ishod je jasan: zaključuje se da se Podružnica ne raspusti te da nastavi djelovati kao podružnica.¹⁷³ Time se, barem na razini lokalnoga kolektiva, potvrđuje volja za institucijskim kontinuitetom i otpor prema modelu reduciranja na grupu u okviru Kulturno-umjetničkoga društva „Ivan Lozica”. Odmah potom slijedi izbor nove uprave, što sugerira da je odluka o opstanku shvaćena kao potreba za obnovom legitimacije i operativne strukture. Glasanjem je izabrana Uprava u sastavu: predsjednik Vjekoslav Parać; I. tajnik Ante Kaštelančić; II. tajnik Joko Knežević; blagajnik Ante Franičević; odbornici Rudolf Bunk i Andrija Krstulović.¹⁷⁴ Ovi podatci važni su jer razotkrivaju tko preuzima institucijsku odgovornost u trenutku kada je opstanak same Podružnice doveden u pitanje.

Isti zapisnik bilježi i važan ekonomsko-organizacijski horizont: Parać priopćava o dopisu o formiranju Zadruge „Likum”, naglašava važnost njezina djelovanja za umjetnike te preporučuje članovima da se upišu; Franičević se imenuje predstavnikom Podružnice

169	Isto.
170	Isto.
171	„Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
172	Isto.
173	Isto.
174	Isto.

pri zadruzi.¹⁷⁵ Jednoglasno se prihvaća i prijedlog da se Ivanu Galiću preporuči članstvo u Zadruzi „Likum”.¹⁷⁶ Ovaj element pokazuje da Podružnica, paralelno s institucijskom krizom, aktivno gradi infrastrukturu materijalne podrške i profesionalnoga posredovanja (zadruga, nabava materijala, mreže), što je u poslijeratnim uvjetima očito percipirano kao ključna pretpostavka održivosti umjetničkoga rada. U istu se problematiku profesionalnoga posredovanja i kontrole kvalitete uklapa i zapisnik Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 24. kolovoza 1948. godine, u kojemu se raspravlja o radovima dvojice neimenovanih splitskih članova za Komandu Mornarice, tada u postupku reprodukcije u Nakladnome zavodu Hrvatske. Budući da su radovi ocijenjeni kao kvalitativno neodgovarajući, središnjica zaključuje da se preko splitske podružnice odnosnim članovima dostavi stav Udruženja, a da se Komitet za umjetnost zamoli da svim komandama, nadležstvima i ustanovama preporuči upućivanje likovnih narudžbi preko ULUH-a. Time se pitanje umjetničke kvalitete izravno povezuje sa staleškom odgovornošću i institucijskom kontrolom javnih narudžbi.¹⁷⁷

Konačno, bilježi se i da je *III. Prvomajska izložba* prenesena u Dubrovnik,¹⁷⁸ što potvrđuje kontinuitet prakse putujuće izložbe i regionalnoga dometa, ali istovremeno i potrebu Podružnice da svoju legitimaciju učvršćuje izvan Splita, u širemu dalmatinskom prostoru.

Na sjednici 12. listopada 1948. godine čita se Statut Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije te se komentiraju pojedine stavke.¹⁷⁹ Ovaj podatak pokazuje da se nova normativna razina Saveza internalizira kolektivnim čitanjem i tumačenjem, što sugerira i određenu razinu pedagoškoga rada Podružnice nad vlastitim članstvom. Istodobno, tema nabave materijala za predstojeće izložbe – revijalnu u Zagrebu i *Prvomajsku* – stavlja se u zaduženje Franičeviću kao predstavniku Podružnice kod „Likuma”, kako bi izvidio mogućnosti nabave slikarskoga materijala.¹⁸⁰ Time se ponovno potvrđuje da se

- Isto.
- Isto.
- U zapisniku sjednice Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 24. kolovoza 1948. navodi se dopis tajnika Frane Baće o radovima dvojice članova iz Splita za Komandu Mornarice, koji su se reproducirali u Nakladnome zavodu Hrvatske u Zagrebu, a nisu odgovarali potrebnoj kvaliteti. Nakon rasprave zaključeno je da se, radi sprečavanja sličnih povreda staleške odgovornosti, preko splitske podružnice odnosnim članovima dostavi stav Udruženja o kvaliteti njihovih naručenih radova. Ujedno je odlučeno da se Komitet za umjetnost posebnom predstavkom zamoli da svim komandama, nadležstvima i ustanovama uputi apel da buduće narudžbe likovnih umjetnina upućuju preko ULUH-a. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 24. kolovoza 1948.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.
- „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- „Zapisnik sjednice održane 12. listopada 1948.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- Isto.

institucijsko preživljavanje Podružnice uvelike veže za logistiku i ekonomiju produkcije, odnosno za dostupnost materijala i organizirane kanale opskrbe.

Zapisnik sjednice 22. siječnja 1949. godine funkcionira kao svojevrsni rezime i nastavak 1948. godine. Predsjednik izvještava da je na skupštini 7. srpnja 1948. godine većinom glasova odlučeno da Podružnica nastavi djelovati te da je ULUH poslao dopis kako će plenum ULUH-a donijeti zaključak, što dotada nije učinjeno.¹⁸¹ No, istovremeno, prema usmenim informacijama tajnika ULUH-a Frane Baće, Podružnica ili grupa u praksi može nastaviti rad bez obzira na naziv, uz napomenu da službeni predstavnik/povjerenik prema ULUH-u treba biti jedan član (u ovome slučaju predsjednik).¹⁸² Ova je formulacija ključna jer upućuje na kompromisnu logiku središnjice – formalni je status odgođen ili neodlučen, ali se dopušta praktični kontinuitet rada, uz minimalnu vertikalnu reprezentaciju prema centrali.

Zapisnik nadalje precizira i financijski režim. Podružnica može imati vlastiti fond za potrebe djelovanja, ali mjesečna članarina svih članova mora se dostavljati blagajni ULUH-a; odlučuje se da se ULUH-u dostavi članarina i upisnina za 1948. godinu (100 dinara upisnina, 20 dinara članarina po članu), dok za Podružnicu i dalje iznosi 30 dinara, pri čemu u blagajni Podružnice ostaje 10 dinara mjesečno po članu za nepredviđene izdatke.¹⁸³ Time se institucijska autonomija uspostavlja u vrlo konkretnome smislu, kao fiskalna i logistička mogućnost da Podružnica pokrije operativne troškove, uz obveznu financijsku vezu sa središnjicom.

Posebno je važan segment o otkupima radova za adaptiranje Vile Dalmacija. Predsjednik navodi da je posredstvom Uprave Podružnice otkupljeno radova u iznosu od 313 000 dinara, pri čemu je Uprava zadržala 5 % umjesto uobičajenih 10 % jer radovi nisu otkupljeni na izložbi. Procjenu je izvršilo povjerenstvo sastavljeno od Kaštelančića, Fiskovića, Prijatelja, Radovičića i arhitekta Vesanovića.¹⁸⁴ Ovaj podatak donosi dva uvida: prvo, da Podružnica ulazi u posredničku ulogu u javnim narudžbama/otkupima i time materijalno stabilizira članstvo; drugo, da legitimaciju vrijednosti radova provodi imenovano povjerenstvo, što upućuje na institucionalizaciju prosudbenih mehanizama izvan same izložbene situacije. Zapisnik potom bilježi niz aktivnosti članova koje se interpretiraju kao dokaz „aktivnosti” i rada „preko redovitih radnih satova”: primjerice, Rudolf Bunk aranžira pozornicu prigodom Lenjinove komemoracije, Kaštelančić i Tolić sudjeluju u izložbama AFŽ-a i „50 godina sporta u Splitu”, i tako redom.¹⁸⁵ Ova

- „Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. siječnja 1949.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- Isto.
- Isto.
- Isto.
- Isto.

enumeracija funkcionira kao argument protiv implicitnih prigovora iz 1948. godine o slaboj reputaciji ili nedovoljnoj političkoj i radnoj doraslosti pa Podružnica dokumentira svoj doprinos javnim i društvenim manifestacijama.

Istovremeno, zapisnik otvara novu problemsku liniju: zaštitu autorskih prava i marginalizaciju Podružnice u javnim radovima. Ante Kaštelančić primjećuje da su članovi ULUH-a zaštićeni autorskim pravom, „a što u ovoj podružnici nije slučaj”, te predlaže poduzimanje koraka; bilježi se i da vlasti mimoilaze Podružnicu i njezine članove kod javnih radova slikarskoga ili kiparskoga karaktera, uz konkretan primjer dekoracija foajea Narodnoga kazališta koje su izveli soboslikari bojadisarske zadruge „Obnova”, iako bi to „po svim pravilima” trebao napraviti slikar.¹⁸⁶ Također se navodi da se postavljaju spomenici i spomen-ploče bez konzultiranja s Upravom Podružnice, i da nerijetko dolazi do nesporazuma oko isplate jer Podružnica nema cjenik, a pojedini član nije upućen.¹⁸⁷ Ova kritika pojedinačne slučajeve povezuje sa strukturalnim problemom institucijske reprezentacije: Podružnica traži da bude prepoznata kao strukovno „najkompetentnija” instanca za procjenu, standardizaciju i posredovanje u javnim narudžbama. Kao odgovor, zaključuje se da se u vezi s autorskim pravima uputi dopis Oblasnome kulturno-prosvjetnom odjeljenju i društvu „Ivan Lozica” te se ovlašćuju Tolić i Bunk da koncipiraju dopis o dekoracijama u foajeu kazališta i „uopće radova značajnijeg karaktera”, koji će biti proslijeđen Oblasnome odboru za kulturu i umjetnost i Gradskom NO-u.¹⁸⁸ Istovremeno se imenuje povjerenstvo u sastavu Franičević, Kaštelančić i Knežević za davanje stručnoga mišljenja o kvaliteti rada i procjenu u potrebnim slučajevima te se odlučuje zamoliti ustanove koje žele ukrašavati prostorije umjetničkim djelima da se obrate Podružnici.¹⁸⁹ Ovi zaključci pokazuju pokušaj Podružnice da iz stanja reaktivne marginalizacije prijeđe u položaj prepoznatljive strukovne adrese, tj. da se etablira kao nužan sugovornik javnih institucija.

Konačno, isti zapisnik širi horizont djelovanja pa se odlučuje da se svake godine, osim *Prvomajske izložbe*, u prvoj polovini prosinca održi i izložba grafika.¹⁹⁰ Parać referira i o IV. izložbi ULUH-a u Zagrebu održanoj u čast II. kongresa KPJ-a, s naglaskom na suvremene likovno-umjetničke probleme, presjek nastojanja i diskusije o socijalističkome realizmu i „raščišćavanju elemenata formalizma”; bilježi se i prisustvo Branka Šotre, sekretara Saveza udruženja likovnih umjetnika Jugoslavije te Kneževićev prijedlog da se o toj diskusiji održi poseban sastanak.¹⁹¹ Time zapisnik iz siječnja 1949. godine potvrđuje da Podružnica 1948. godinu ne zaključuje samo administrativnim preživljavanjem nego

186	Isto.
187	Isto.
188	Isto.
189	Isto.
190	Isto.
191	Isto.

i uključivanjem u širi idejno-estetski režim Saveza i središnjice, odnosno u rasprave o kriterijima „idejnosti” i formalnih postupaka u suvremenoj umjetnosti.

Ako se 1947. mogla opisati kao godina u kojoj se Podružnica institucijski gradi kroz izložbu i rješavanje temeljnih organizacijskih pitanja, 1948. se pojavljuje kao godina u kojoj se njezin legitimitet izravno dovodi u pitanje i u kojoj se nizom proceduralnih i političko-organizacijskih epizoda pokušava redefinirati status Podružnice. Slučaj žiriranja Kovačevićeve slike pokazuje kako je estetska prosudba u poslijeratnome kontekstu poprimala obilježja institucijski osjetljivoga postupka, koji je morao biti proceduralno osiguran zbog položaja aktera i mogućih reperkusija.¹⁹² Tiljkov prijedlog raspuštanja Podružnice te upućivanje na Kulturno-umjetničko društvo „Ivan Lozica” otvara pitanje reputacije, administracije i političko-kvalitativnih normi koje Savez i središnjica očekuju od regionalnih struktura,¹⁹³ a odluka o neraspuštanju i izbor nove Uprave u srpnju pokazuju lokalnu volju za kontinuitetom i obnovom institucijske odgovornosti.¹⁹⁴ Napokon, zapisnik iz siječnja 1949. godine razotkriva „praktični kompromis” središnjice i potvrđuje da Podružnica nastavlja djelovati, uz fiskalno i reprezentacijsko vezivanje prema ULUH-u, te da pokušava proširiti vlastitu društvenu funkciju otkupima radova, zaštitom autorskih prava, standardizacijom javnih narudžbi i uključivanjem u šire idejne rasprave o socijalističkome realizmu i formalizmu.¹⁹⁵

Kultura u obnovi: likovni umjetnici između struke i administracije 1949. godine

Godine 1949. djelovanje Podružnice sve se jasnije oblikuje na sjecištu strukovnih potreba i lokalne upravne strukture. Prisutnost predstavnika gradskih odjeljenja na sjednicama pokazuje da se interes za likovnu djelatnost artikulirao i unutar administrativnoga okvira poratne kulturne politike.

Već sjednica održana 2. ožujka 1949. godine u prizemnim prostorijama Galerije umjetnina otvara pitanje materijalne oskudice u kojoj umjetnici rade. Javno istaknuta zahvalnica braći Splivalo za pošiljku slikarskih boja iz Amerike, objavljena i u dnevniku *Slobodna Dalmacija* (13. veljače 1949.), upućuje na činjenicu da je nabava osnovnoga slikarskog

192	„Zapisnik jurya <i>III. Prvomajske izložbe</i> od 25. travnja 1948.”; „Zapisnik jurya od 27. travnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
193	„Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
194	„Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
195	„Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. siječnja 1949.”, knjiga <i>Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split</i> , Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

materijala predstavljala pitanje od egzistencijalne važnosti.¹⁹⁶ Uobičajena distribucija materijala preko „Likuma” pokazuje kako je opskrba bila centralizirana i ponešto limitirana pa svaka izravna donacija poprima karakter iznimke unutar sustava planske raspodjele. Da problem nije bio samo lokalne naravi, potvrđuje i raniji dopis Ministarstva prosvjete NRH Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost u Beogradu, u kojemu se nestašica slikarskoga materijala opisuje kao prijetnja samome kontinuitetu likovne djelatnosti.¹⁹⁷ Ovakvi navodi otkrivaju krhku ekonomiju umjetničkoga rada, u kojoj boja, platno ili okvir postaju osnovni preduvjeti opstanka struke. Isti zapisnik, međutim, pokazuje da se uz svakodnevne brige paralelno razvija ambiciozan program javnih aktivnosti. Predviđena je izložba grafika u Salonu Galić (zaduženi: Kaštelančić, Bunk i Nakić), potom stručno vodstvo i diskusija kroz zbirke Galerije umjetnina za prosvjetne i kulturne radnike (Parać), predavanje o značenju umjetničke škole u suvremenoj društvenoj stvarnosti (Kljaković), kao i vođenja kroz Meštrovićevu zbirku uz tehnička objašnjenja kiparskih radova (Krstulović, Ružić, Kukoč, Ivanišević). U sklopu *Prvomajske izložbe* planirano je i tumačenje izložbe organiziranim grupama (Joko Knežević).¹⁹⁸ Program upućuje na jasno shvaćanje umjetnosti kao sastavnoga dijela prosvjetne i kulturne infrastrukture grada. Dakle, riječ je ovdje o sustavnome nastojanju da se formira upućena publika i da se likovna kultura ucijepi u širi društveni korpus, po uzoru na tada važeće prosvjetiteljske ideale, a ne o pukom izlaganju umjetničke produkcije.

Sjednica održana 23. ožujka 1949. godine dodatno rasvjetljava institucijski okvir djelovanja Podružnice. Na njoj su, uz članove, nazočni i predstavnici gradskoga Prosvjetnog odjeljenja te gradskoga NO odjela za agitaciju i propagandu.¹⁹⁹ Podružnica ih izravno upoznaje sa svojim aktivnostima i problemima, čime se umjetnički rad smješta u administrativni i politički vidokrug. Ova nazočnost nije puke ceremonijalne naravi i svjedoči o uzajamnome interesu, ali i o potrebi legitimiranja umjetničke prakse unutar novouspostavljenoga društvenog poretka. Među najvažnijim pitanjima ističe se problem ateljea. Razvijena je konkretna inicijativa da članovi prijavljuju moguće

- ¹⁹⁶ „Zapisnik sjednice održane 2. ožujka 1949.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
- ¹⁹⁷ U dopisu Ministarstva prosvjete NRH, Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost, upućenom Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost u Beogradu pod predmetom „Pomanjkanje slikarskog materijala”, upozorava se da se u Hrvatskoj osjećaju posljedice nestašice slikarskoga materijala te da bi, bez uvoza ili proizvodnih zadataka domaćoj kemijskoj industriji, rad u toj grani umjetničke djelatnosti mogao biti „potpuno zaustavljen”. Vidjeti dopis „Pomanjkanje slikarskog materijala”, koji Ministarstvo prosvjete NRH, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost u Zagrebu (u potpisu: načelnik Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost Grgo Gamulin) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 31. svibnja 1946., br. 39625-V-4-1946, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. A.J-314-11-41 – Likovne umetnosti, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
- ¹⁹⁸ Isto.
- ¹⁹⁹ „Zapisnik sjednice održane 23. ožujka 1949.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

prostore za adaptaciju, a onda bi Uprava, u suglasju s vlastima, poduzela potrebne korake; razmatrana je i mogućnost prenamjene potkrovlja nekadašnje Biskupove palače u ateljerski prostor. Delegati su pritom obećali potporu.²⁰⁰ Istovremeno se konstatira da mnogobrojni slikari predviđeni za *Prvomajsku izložbu* nemaju ni slijepe ramove ni okvire, a prethodne intervencije kod vlasti ostale su bez rezultata. Riječ je o elementarnim tehničkim pretpostavkama izlaganja, što jasno govori o infrastrukturnoj krhkosti umjetničkoga sustava u tome trenutku.²⁰¹ Takvi zapisi razotkrivaju stanovitu svakodnevnu borbu za radni prostor i osnovna sredstva rada, što umjetničku djelatnost smješta u sferu strpljive akvizicije i pregovora, a ne u sferu samozadane autonomije. Zanimljiv je i zaključak o održavanju sastanka s narodnim vlastima i predstavnicima masovnih organizacija prije otvorenja izložbe radi otkupa umjetnina, čime se anticipira model institucijske akvizicije i organiziranoga predstavljanja radova potencijalnim kupcima iz javnoga sektora. Ovdje se naslućuje embrionalni oblik kulturne politike otkupa, koji izložbu pretvara u poligon susreta umjetničke produkcije i državnoga patronata.

Zapisnik od 6. travnja 1949. godine potvrđuje kontinuiranu uključenost predstavnika prosvjetnoga i oblasnoga Narodnog odbora.²⁰² U njemu se detaljno reguliraju organizacijski i financijski aspekti *Prvomajske izložbe* u Salonu Galić. Utvrđena je najamnina prostora u iznosu od 12 000 dinara, povjereno je uređenje izložbenih prostorija (Nakić), osiguravanje drveta za slijepe ramove i okvire (Franičević), nabava stakla (Tolić), briga o propagandnim aktivnostima (Joko Knežević), tisak kataloga u nakladi od 1 500 primjeraka (Franičević i Knežević), izrada plakata u 200 primjeraka (Kaštelančić), kao i tiskanje 200 pozivnica (Tolić i Petrić). Žiri je trebao odrediti aranžere postava. Odluka da se radovi ne prodaju prije službenoga zaključenja izložbe svjedoči o nastojanju da se očuva institucijska struktura prezentacije i kontrolira dinamika prodaje. Precizno navođenje količina – 1 500 kataloga, 200 plakata, 200 pozivnica – upućuje na ambiciju dosega koji nadilazi uski krug struke te pretendira na širu javnu recepciju; u tim brojkama iščitava se težnja k reprezentativnosti i javnoj vidljivosti. Katalog, plakat i pozivnica zadobivaju tako status paratekstualnih aktera izložbe, dijela njezine simboličke ekonomije i komunikacijskoga ustroja.

U cijelosti promatrani, ovi zapisnici nude višeslojnu sliku stvarnosti likovnih umjetnika u Splitu u prvim poslijeratnim godinama. Materijalna oskudica, manjak ateljea i osnovne opreme, ovisnost o distribucijskim kanalima i administrativnim odlukama stoje usporedo s energičnim organiziranjem izložbi, predavanja i stručnih vodstava. Prisutnost

- ²⁰⁰ Isto.
- ²⁰¹ Isto.
- ²⁰² „Zapisnik sjednice održane 6. travnja 1949.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

predstavnik gradskih i oblasnih tijela na sjednicama označava artikulirani interes države za likovnu produkciju kao sastavni dio kulturne politike. Podružnica ULUH-a pritom se profilira kao posredničko tijelo koje u realnim, često otežanim uvjetima istodobno zastupa profesionalne interese umjetnika i sudjeluje u oblikovanju javnoga prostora umjetnosti u poratnome Splitu. U tome suodnosu struke i administracije razabire se zametak trajne napetosti, ali i plodotvorne suradnje, koja će u narednim godinama bitno odrediti likovni život grada. Upravo će se na godišnjim prvomajskim izložbama najjasnije vidjeti kako se ti organizacijski, strukovni i ideološki problemi prevode u javnu izložbenu praksu Podružnice.

4 PRVOMAJSKE IZLOŽBE I OBLIKOVANJE IZLAGAČKOGA MODELA PODRUŽNICE (1946. – 1952.)

Prvomajske izložbe

Ovaj dio knjige usmjeren je na analizu prvomajske izložbe kao ključnoga izložbenog projekta ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju od 1946. do 1952. godine. Upravo se tim izložbenim formatom najjasnije može pratiti stabilizacija izlagačke djelatnosti Podružnice, kao i način na koji se u prvim poslijeratnim godinama oblikovao odnos između lokalne likovne scene, institucijske organizacije umjetničkoga života i šire kulturne politike. U tome se okviru prvomajske izložbe mogu razumjeti i kao mjesto na kojemu se istovremeno učvršćuju organizacijski kapaciteti Podružnice i definiraju modeli javne vidljivosti umjetničke produkcije. Prvomajske izložbe predstavljale su prvi kontinuirani i prepoznatljivo strukturiran izložbeni okvir Podružnice. Kao revijalne smotre aktualne produkcije Splita i Dalmacije, pružale su uvid u stanje lokalne umjetničke scene, ali su ujedno odražavale i dominantne društvene i ideološke koordinate vremena, obilježene obnovom države, kolektivitetom, društvenom nadgradnjom i angažiranošću. Na taj su način djelovale i kao prostor u kojemu se lokalna umjetnička praksa uključivala u šire obrasce poslijeratne kulturne reprezentacije. Premda su u početku bile usko povezane s prvomajskim svečanostima i njihovom reprezentativnom funkcijom u širem društveno-političkom kalendaru, s vremenom su razvile samostaliju izložbenu fizionomiju te prerasle u važan mehanizam javne prezentacije, valorizacije i institucijske potvrde likovne proizvodnje.²⁰³ Njihovu važnost dodatno potvrđuje i praksa otkupa umjetnina, kojom su se iz tih izložbi popunjavali fundusi splitskih muzeja i drugih javnih ustanova, osobito Galerije umjetnina u Splitu.²⁰⁴

203 Za širi okvir političkih rituala ranoga socijalističkog razdoblja vidjeti: Reana Senjković, „Politički rituali”, u: *Refleksije vremena 1945.–1955.*, ur. Jasmina Bavoljak, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2012., str. 202–227.

204 Dokumentacija Galerije umjetnina u Splitu pokazuje da je nekoliko umjetničkih radova s prvomajskih izložbi priređenih u Umjetničkome salonu Galić ušlo u njezin fundus: Rudolf Gerhart Bunk, *Djevojka na prozoru*, 1947. (ulje na platnu, 79 x 67,5 cm, inv. br. 909; otkup prosvjetnoga odjela NO-a za Galeriju umjetnina s druge *Prvomajske izložbe* ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju), Ante Kaštelančić, *Na radilištu*, 1947. (tuš na papiru, 36 x 57 cm, inv. br. 126; otkupljeno od umjetnika s druge *Prvomajske*

Od 1951. godine taj se otkup može pratiti i u okviru jasnije normiranoga republičkog sustava, nakon donošenja *Uputstava o kupovanju radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti* u siječnju iste godine, koja su usmjerila postupke odabira, procjene i raspodjele sredstava.

I. Prvomajska izložba

Umjetnički salon Galić, 1. – 15. svibnja 1946.

Izlagači: Ljubo Bašić, Ante Bučan, Rudolf Bunk, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Ivanišević, Joko Knežević, Andrija Krstulović, Krešo Mateljan, Ante Masle, Milan Minić, Ivan Mirković, Ljubo Nakić, Mirko Ostoja, Vjekoslav Parać, Bartul Petrić, Ante Petričić, Ivan Sikavica, Jovanka Strajnić, Marin Studin, Ante Šitić, Milan Tolić, Ljubomir Videka, Emanuel Vidović, Elsa Vučetić i Ante Zupa.

Godine 1946. u Umjetničkome salonu Galić započelo je održavanje te važne manifestacije u organizaciji ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju. *Prvomajska izložba* odvijala se u sklopu svečane proslave Prvoga maja, odnosno masovnih prvomajskih natjecanja s ciljem okupljanja i isticanja jedinstva kulturnih radnika te radnika i namještenika u raznim drugim poduzećima. Time je izložba već od samoga početka nadilazila usko strukovni okvir i zadobivala šire društveno, reprezentativno i simboličko značenje, povezujući umjetničku produkciju s kolektivnim ritualima poratne obnove i socijalističke legitimacije. U tome je smislu *I. Prvomajska izložba* funkcionirala i kao kulturni prilog novome društvenom poretku, u kojemu se od umjetnosti očekivala sposobnost uključivanja u šire procese javne reprezentacije, političke afirmacije i kolektivne identifikacije, a ne samo i isključivo estetska vrijednost.

Da se izložbi pridavala osobita važnost, vidljivo je i iz zapisnika rada Podružnice.²⁰⁵ Već se krajem travnja na dnevnome redu nalazi *I. Prvomajska izložba* u Umjetničkome

izložbe ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju), Vjekoslav Parać, Rad na Omladinskoj pruzi, 1947. ili 1948. (ulje na kartonu, 104 x 89 cm, inv. br. 46; otkup Narodne oblasti Split s treće Prvomajske izložbe – dar Galeriji umjetnina 1952.), Ante Franičević, Povratak partizana (ulje na platnu, 68 x 81 cm, inv. br. 2091; otkup Narodne oblasti Split s četvrte Prvomajske izložbe ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju – dar Galeriji umjetnina 1952.), Ivan Joko Knežević, Kamenari, 1949. (ulje na platnu, 104 x 82 cm, inv. br. 133; otkup Narodne oblasti Split za Galeriju umjetnina s četvrte Prvomajske izložbe ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju); Ante Kaštelančić, Slikar i motiv, do 1949. (ulje na platnu, 69,5 x 54 cm, inv. br. 1126 s četvrte Prvomajske izložbe – dar Općine Split), Vjekoslav Parać, Na gradilištu, do 1949. (ulje na kartonu, 130 x 89 cm, inv. br. 45; otkup Narodne oblasti Split za Galeriju umjetnina s četvrte Prvomajske izložbe ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju). Podatke o otkupima i ulasku slika u fundus Galerije umjetnina ljubazno je ustupila Jasminka Babić.

²⁰⁵ „Zapisnik izvanrednog sastanka članova održanog 24. travnja 1946.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

salonu Galić, pri čemu se raspravlja i o sasvim konkretnim organizacijskim pitanjima: koliko će pojedini članovi moći dati radova za izložbu, na koji će se način urediti izložbeni prostor te kako osigurati tehničke preduvjete za postav. U tome je smislu predloženo da se zamoli Gradska fronta kako bi omogućila bojenje izložbenih prostorija Salona Galić, kao i da Gradski narodni odbor odobri određeni broj stakala za slike. Već iz tih zahtjeva razabire se da je realizacija izložbe ovisila i o neposrednoj logističkoj i materijalnoj potpori lokalnih vlasti, što dodatno potvrđuje upućenost izložbene djelatnosti na širi institucijski okvir poratne obnove. Zaključeno je također da se radovi moraju donijeti u Salon Galić najkasnije do nedjelje 28. travnja u 12 sati, a predloženo je i da izložbeni žiri čine tri člana, odnosno jedan kipar i dva slikara. Za aranžiranje izložbe naposljetku su određeni Zupa, Parać, Kaštelančić, Studin i Mirković, čime je priprema i vizualna artikulacija postava bila povjerena užemu krugu istaknutih članova Podružnice. Unaprijed određen sastav žirija i rok za dopremu radova upućuju na nastojanje Podružnice da uspostavi elementarne mehanizme profesionalne izložbene procedure, odnosno standarde koji će izložbenoj djelatnosti dati institucijsku ozbiljnost.

Kako bi na izložbi sudjelovao što veći broj umjetnika, ULUH-ova je Podružnica svim umjetnicima Dalmacije poslala otvoreni poziv tiskan u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji*.²⁰⁶ Taj podatak svjedoči o nastojanju da se izložba oblikuje kao što obuhvatnija smotra likovnoga stvaralaštva u Dalmaciji. U tome se smislu *I. Prvomajska izložba* može promatrati i kao pokušaj okupljanja različitih generacija, poetika i iskustava unutar zajedničkoga institucijskog okvira. Ipak, među 26 izlagača nalazile su se samo dvije umjetnice, što je također indikativno za rodnu strukturu tadašnje likovne scene. Na svečanome otvorenju izložbe uz same umjetnike i ljubitelje umjetnosti nazočili su i predstavnici narodne vlasti, vojske i mornarice, sindikata i antifašističkih organizacija. Bio je to, dakle, događaj od nemale važnosti. Izložba je bila prodajne naravi i cijena umjetničkih radova mogla se dobiti na upit, a ulaz se naplaćivao pet dinara.²⁰⁷ Taj spoj ceremonijalne važnosti, javne reprezentacije i tržišne funkcije upućuje na izložbu kao kulturni događaj, politički relevantnu manifestaciju i mjesto moguće materijalne afirmacije umjetnika. Drugim riječima, izložbeni prostor ovdje se pojavljuje kao mjesto presijecanja kulturne politike, javnoga prestiža i ekonomskih interesa, što je napose važno u okolnostima poratne oskudice i obnove.

Izložbu je otvorio predsjednik ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju, slikar Vjekoslav Parać. Stavljajući naglasak na potrebu participacije umjetnika u svim segmentima javnoga života i obnove, Parać navodi *I. Prvomajsku izložbu* kao susretište starijih i mlađih umjetnika. Ipak, potpuno svjestan različitosti umjetničkih poetika koje su

^[206] „Poziv likovnim umjetnicima Dalmacije”, Slobodna Dalmacija, 12. travnja 1946., str. 3.

^[207] „Izložbe”, Slobodna Dalmacija, 15. svibnja 1946., str. 4.

na izložbi zastupljene i velikoga broja umjetničkih djela koja nisu preslika aktualnog vremena i njegovih zahtjeva, suptilno upozorava:

Neka vas ne začudi što većina radova ne nose u sebi dinamiku naših dana. Većina izloženih radova starijeg su datuma, to su likovne realizacije ranijih umjetničkih emocija, likovno izživljavanje u formi i boji, ponekad i znatnog umjetničkog nivoa. Novi utisci i nove emocije već se nagoviještaju i na putu su da nađu svoj snažan likovni izraz. Ali tu treba biti strpljiv. U svakom pravom umjetniku stvara se i neprestano razvija umjetničko djelo. Rodit će se zrelo i snažno kad bude moralo da se rodi. Novi zamah, novi utisci i emocije tek su u bilježnicama skicama umjetnika. Za likovno realiziranje toga potrebno je mnogo vremena, mnogo rada a i materijalnih sredstava. Neka vas ne začudi što u manjkavosti tih preduslova i sredstava u izloženim radovima ne nalazite još otisak teške drame i divovske borbe tek minulih dana, što ne nalazite dovoljno dinamike savremenog zamaha, pa čak ni raspjevane radosti današnjeg dana. U tom smislu ova izložba ima više simbolički značaj kao datum, što ga je Udruženje izabralo da od sada svake godine priređuje prvomajsku izložbu umjetničkih radova. Nadamo se da će buduće izložbe biti sve bolje, da će biti sve potpuniji izraz naših narodnih, općeljudskih osjećaja i naprednih težnja. Uvjereni, da će se u slobodi umjetnosti slobodno razvijati, nadamo se da će naše vrijeme, burno u događajima, veliko u zamašitosti novih ideja i veliko u dramatičnosti ljudskih osjećaja, naći snažan izraz u likovnoj umjetnosti.²⁰⁸

Paraćev govor pri otvorenju upisuje u izložbu stanovitu napetost između simboličke funkcije manifestacije i stvarnoga stanja izloženoga materijala. S jedne strane, izložba se afirmira kao novi godišnji datum i kao mjesto susreta umjetnika različitih naraštaja, a s druge se jasno daje do znanja kako velik dio izloženih radova još ne odgovara u potpunosti zahtjevima novoga vremena. Takva formulacija istovremeno ublažava moguće kritike izložbe i uspostavlja programski okvir unutar kojega se od umjetnosti očekuje postupno usklađivanje s poratnom društvenom stvarnošću. Parać pritom zatečeno stanje, premda ga ne odbacuje, tumači kao prijelazno: izložena djela pripadaju različitim vremenskim i iskustvenim slojevima, a nova se umjetnička osjetljivost tek oblikuje. Upravo je u toj svijesti o prijelaznosti sadržana važna dimenzija izložbe jer se kroz nju razabire da se kulturna politika novoga poretka još nije do kraja stabilizirala u likovnoj praksi. Sličnu će ocjenu, s vremenskim odmakom, iznijeti i tajnik podružnice Živko Kljaković u godišnjemu izvještaju iz siječnja 1947. godine.²⁰⁹ *I. Prvomajska izložba*

208 „Svečano otvorenje izložbe likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3. svibnja 1946., str. 4.
209 „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

ondje se navodi kao rezultat organizacijskoga napora i kao manifestacija koja je ostvarila relativan javni i materijalni uspjeh, ali se istovremeno ističe da nije „odisala svježinom današnjeg vremena”. Taj naknadni sud potvrđuje da je napetost između simboličke važnosti izložbe i nedostatne usklađenosti izloženih radova s aktualnim društvenim očekivanjima bila i dio unutarnje samoprocjene same Podružnice, a ne samo novinska kritička ocjena.

Kao i na prošlogodišnjoj skupnoj likovnoj izložbi, novinske recenzije bilježile su i neposrednije kritičke tonove jer zapravo nijedna izložba nije u potpunosti pratila standarde *Izložbe umjetnika partizana*, u kojoj su oni izrazili „svoju saživljenost s narodnim zbivanjima, dajući vrijedne dokumente o stradanju, borbi i herojstvu naših slobodoljubivih masa.”²¹⁰ Izložba, dakle, nije ispunila sva očekivanja i vladao je dojam kao da opisuje i predstavlja neku drugu zbilju koja je izvan suvremenoga trenutka, zadržana u kakvome proteklom vremenu. Iz takve se recepcije razabire da se od umjetnosti sredinom četrdesetih godina očekivalo više od formalne kvalitete ili individualne ekspresije: tražila se tematska, svjetonazorska i društvena relevantnost. Upravo je to mjerilo – sposobnost da umjetničko djelo bude u doticaju s „našom velikom epohom” – postajalo jednim od ključnih kriterija javne valorizacije. To se vrlo jasno formulira i u kritičkome osvrtu:

U prvim izložbama po oslobođenju, u Izložbi umjetnika partizana, u kojoj su sudjelovali mnogi od ovih izlagača slikara i kipara, izrazili su svoju saživljenost s narodnim zbivanjem, dajući vrijedne dokumente o stradanju, borbi i herojstvu naših slobodoljubivih masa. Veličina iskustva, doživljaja i motiva nametala im se kao isključiva tematika i izgledalo je da ne će moći izbjeći u svojem stvaralačkom djelovanju, jer je prožela našu svijest krvavom tragikom i dramatičnom ljepotom. Ova nam činjenica naročito iskače, ako je promotrimo u odnosu prema ovoj prvomajskoj izložbi (izuzimajući onu izložbu za vrijeme Dalmatinskog festivala, koja je prerano održana i na kojoj su prema tome mogli biti izloženi uglavnom stariji radovi), jer ova izložba ne ispunjava naša očekivanja u onoj mjeri kojoj smo se nadali, jedno – obzirom na aktivnost ovih likovnih umjetnika u narodnom životu, a drugo – u odnosu prema prvoj izložbi. Na prvomajskoj izložbi prevladava mrtva priroda i jednostran krajolik, dok je tek nekoliko radova iz suvremene zbilje, tek nekoliko radova nose obilježja naše velike epohe, i to uglavnom od onih likovnih umjetnika, koji su već dali pokušaje u tome pravcu na izložbi partizana. (...) Povezivanje sa narodnim životom daje u općenitom smislu umjetnicima bogata iskustva, obogaćuje njihov svijet doživljavanja, oploduje njihovu stvaralačku moć i postavlja se kao bitni uslov i osnovica za zdravo umjetničko djelovanje; ono im jedino omogućuje pravilan razvoj, pravilno usmjeravanje stvaralačkih snaga, ispravno gledanje na stvari i način izražavanja. Ova činjenica je osnova cjelokupna

210 A.(ugustin) Stipčević, „Prvomajska likovna izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. svibnja 1946., str. 3.

umjetnička nastojanja i ona je našla svoje umjetničko obrazloženje dosta obimno, ponavljam, na izložbi umjetnika partizana, dok na ovoj izložbi u jako nedovoljnoj mjeri. I, upravo iz ovih razloga, čudno nam izgleda, da su na ovoj prvomajskoj izložbi u većini izložene mrtve prirode i pejzaži. Ako već danas ne možemo dati gotove kompozicije, čudno je da nema ni crteža koji bi značili barem pokušaj, zaokupljavanje, traženja novog u izražavanju naše stvarnosti, premda i crteži mogu biti zrele umjetnine. Izgleda kao da mnogi nisu pročistili sobom kao likovnim umjetnikom u novom vremenu, da se teško odriču starih formata i da krivo shvaćaju to odricanje kao uopće zabacivanje našeg umjetničkog uspona u prošlosti. (...) ovo ujedno ne znači, da krajolik ili mrtva priroda ne mogu biti predmet likovne obradbe, ali ne bi trebali postati isključivi sadržaj po sebi i jedini svijet likovne obrade, jer nas može lako odvesti u praznu jednostranost i pri tom sigurno u čisti formalizam, već ovaj sadržaj mora biti povezan sa društvenom stvarnošću, sa čovjekom u njemu. Evo, ovdje nameće se kao bitno pitanje gledanja na stvari, na društveni život, koji ujedno određuje i naše umjetničko gledanje i shvaćanje, koji određuje smisao umjetnosti, a i svrhu izložbe. (...) Ova izložba, koja u ovom prvom maju ima samo da simbolizira jedinstvenost stvaralačke i radne svijesti našega naroda, može nas uvjeriti po snagama naših starijih i mlađih likovnih talenata, koji su ovdje okupljeni, da će na idućoj prvomajskoj izložbi doći do izražaja sve pozitivne osobine, koje će ovim kolektivnim izložbama dati karakter radnog umjetničkog duha našeg naroda.²¹¹

Unutar toga evaluacijskog okvira Stipčević osobito izdvaja Joku Kneževića, Nikolu Ignjatovića, Antu Franičevića i Vjekoslava Paraća, prepoznajući u njihovim radovima najjasniji odjek suvremene problematike i najveću bliskost zahtjevima novoga društvenog trenutka. Nasuprot tim autorima, Stipčević pozornost posvećuje i Rudolfu Bunku, ali u izrazito kritičkome ključu. Ako se kod većine autora zadržao na pitanju tematske neusmjerenosti i prevlasti mrtve prirode ili krajolika, u Bunkovu slučaju njegov se prigovor produbljuje i na razinu samoga likovnog postupka. Uz odabir motiva, spornim postaje i način njihove obrade, koji Stipčević prepoznaje kao modernistički, formalistički i u konačnici neusklađen s društvenim i estetskim zahtjevima vremena. To jasno proizlazi iz mjesta na kojemu piše:

Oprečno svim radovima na izložbi stoje akvareli i crteži Rudolfa Bunka, oprečni po modernističkom likovnom izlaganju, tako da slika „Ožalošćena” čak je prebačena u kubističku skrajnost. Ovaj slikar jakih likovnih sposobnosti svojim shvaćanjem je zastranio u prazni formalizam, u stilizaciju zbog stilizacije. Može se stilizirati predmet predodžbe, ali ona treba da stoji u prirodnom odnosu prema objektu, prema njegovim oblicima i stvarnom izgledu. Međutim, uzeti stilizaciju kao cilj

za likovni efekt, dakle sredstvo za sredstvo, sasvim je isprazno, a da ne govorimo za njegovu kubistički zasnovanu sliku „Ožalošćena”. Ovaj njegov modernizam je zastarjela eksperimentacija, prvo: u odnosu prema našem bivšem modernizmu, a pogotovo evropskom, a drugo ne samo da je zastarjelo već je sasvim deplasirano u odnosu prema našem vremenu. Treba da jednom prekine ovim modernizmom i da svoja koloristička osjećanja prenese u drugi plan i ovaj život, naročito s razloga što u svojem „Aktu” pokazuje kakovim likovnim sposobnostima raspolaže.²¹²

Taj navod razotkriva da se u Stipčevićevu vrednovanju izložbe pitanje „suvremenosti” ne iscrpljuje isključivo na razini ikonografije ili teme. Ono obuhvaća i sam oblikovni izraz. Bunkovi radovi za njega su „oprečni” ostalim izloščima upravo zato što u njima vidi estetsku izdvojenost, ali – što je važno naglasiti – i izraz likovnoga shvaćanja koje smatra povijesno prevladanim i društveno neprimjerenim. Modernizam u toj perspektivi poprima obilježja anakrone zastarjele eksperimentacije, odnosno formalnoga postupka koji je izgubio i estetsku i društvenu legitimnost.

Napose je znakovito što Stipčević Bunku ne poriče talent; naprotiv, priznaje mu „jake likovne sposobnosti” i upućuje na izloženi *Akt* kao dokaz njegovih stvarnih mogućnosti. Time njegova kritika postaje još oštrija, jer proizlazi iz uvjerenja da autor posjeduje likovni potencijal, ali ga usmjerava u pogrešnome smjeru. Problem se, prema tome, nalazi u izboru poetike, a ne u nedostatku dara. Bunka se tako ne odbacuje zbog manjka umjetničke snage, nego zbog toga što je, prema kritičarevu sudu, ostao vezan za formalistički model izraza koji novo vrijeme više ne može prihvatiti kao relevantan. U širem smislu, Stipčevićev osvrt na Bunka razotkriva jednu od temeljnih napetosti prisutnih na *I. Prvomajskoj izložbi*, a to je sukob između modernističke autonomije likovnoga jezika i zahtjeva da umjetnost bude u neposrednijemu odnosu prema društvenoj stvarnosti, čovjeku i povijesnome trenutku. Upravo zato Bunkov slučaj nadilazi razinu pojedinačnoga kritičkog suda i postaje simptom šire promjene vrijednosnoga horizonta u poslijeratnoj likovnoj kritici.

Takvi kritički tonovi korespondiraju i s onim što je zabilježeno u internim raspravama ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju. Osobito je važan plenarni sastanak održan 10. lipnja 1946. godine, na kojemu se otvoreno navodi kako se želi da se u „drugarskoj diskusiji raščiste suprotnosti” koje su izbile povodom *I. Prvomajske izložbe*.²¹³ Sama ta formulacija pokazuje da je izložba proizvela javni odjek i istovremeno otvorila napetosti među članovima, pa njezin učinak nije ostao ograničen na izlagačku razinu. Naprotiv, pokazalo se da je riječ o događaju koji je otvorio šira pitanja profesionalnih odnosa, hijerarhije,

211 Isto.

212 Isto.
213 „Zapisnik plenarnog sastanka održanog 10. lipnja 1946.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

kriterija prosudbe i same svrhe umjetničkoga djelovanja u novome društvenom okviru. Iz zapisnika se može razabrati i na koji su način umjetnici naknadno promišljali cjelokupan događaj. Nakon izložbe javlja se nezadovoljstvo načinom na koji su pojedini članovi govorili o radu drugih umjetnika; tajnik Podružnice Živko Kljaković upozorava da se neki drugovi „neumjesno izražavaju o ostalim članovima udruženja u pogledu njihova likovnog rada” i traži da se primjedbe ubuduće iznose na sjednici.²¹⁴ Taj je navod posebno indikativan jer upućuje na to da se rasprava o izložbi nastavila i izvan službenih okvira, u neformalnim razgovorima, međusobnim komentarima i zamjerkama. Premda sadržaj tih razmjena nije detaljnije zabilježen, jasno je da su prijepori povezani s izložbom ostavili posljedice na međuljudske odnose među umjetnicima. Zapisnik tako otvara važan uvid u društvenu dimenziju umjetničkoga života, pokazujući da se recepcija izložbe oblikovala u javnosti i institucijama, ali i unutar same zajednice koja ju je proizvela. Upravo su takvi fragmenti dragocjeni jer omogućuju rekonstrukciju službene povijesti izložbe, kao i njezina neformalnoga, afektivnoga i interpersonalnoga života.

Nadalje, umjetnici su nakon izložbe komentirali i njezin programski karakter. Kljaković bilježi da mnogi kupci nisu htjeli otkupiti radove s izložbe jer „isti nisu savremeni po temi”.²¹⁵ Taj podatak upućuje na jednu od ključnih zamjerki izložbi i izloženim radovima, jer je problem, uz likovnu kvalitetu u užemu smislu, obuhvaćao i idejno usmjerenje, odnosno očekivanje da umjetnička produkcija odgovori na aktualni društveni i politički trenutak. U tome je smislu moguće govoriti o napetosti između individualnih umjetničkih poetika i zahtjeva koji su se u poratnome razdoblju postavljali pred javno izlaganu umjetnost. Iz toga proizlazi da je dio umjetnika, kao i dio potencijalnih kupaca ili naručitelja, osjećao raskorak između onoga što se od poslijeratne umjetnosti očekivalo i onoga što je na izložbi doista bilo predstavljeno.

S druge, pak, strane, u zapisniku se spominje i pozitivan odjek izložbe u javnosti. Kljaković zahvaljuje Živku Jeličiću i Augustinu Stipčeviću jer su svojim zauzimanjem mnogo pomogli oko obavještavanja javnosti o izložbi i oko prodaje radova.²¹⁶ Taj podatak indicira da je izložba posjedovala određenu vidljivost u javnome prostoru te da je imala i konkretnu prodajnu dimenziju. Uspjeh izložbe, prema tome, mjerio se i njezinom sposobnošću da osigura plasman radova i uspostavi odnos s publikom. Time se dodatno potvrđuje da su poslijeratne izložbe istovremeno bile mjesta simboličke reprezentacije, kulturne legitimacije i donekle materijalne egzistencije umjetnika.

Vrlo zanimljiv sloj rasprave odnosi se na pravilnost žiriranja i izložbene procedure, što se nameće kao jedan od glavnih uzroka naknadnih sukoba. Ante Bučan upozorava

da su se prigodom *I. Prvomajske izložbe* donosili radovi nakon žiriranja i da su bili primljeni.²¹⁷ Parać mu na to odgovara da slučaj treba pripisati krivnji Ivana Galića, jer neki radovi nisu bili predani na žiriranje premda su mu bili dostavljeni mnogo ranije.²¹⁸ Ova razmjena svjedoči o tome da je dio članova smatrao kako procedura nije bila jednaka za sve, dok su drugi problem tumačili kao posljedicu organizacijskoga propusta. U obama slučajevima riječ je o narušavanju povjerenja u regularnost postupka, što je za strukovno udruženje od osobite važnosti. Nezadovoljstvo se dodatno produbljuje u primjedbama Milana Tolića, koji drži da žiri nije potpuno objektivno žirirao s obzirom na primljene i odbijene radove.²¹⁹ Posebno navodi da su nekim autorima od tri rada bila odbijena dva, dok je članovima žirija bilo primljeno po desetak radova.²²⁰ Ovdje jasno dolazi do izražaja percepcija neravnopravnosti unutar umjetničke zajednice, kao i sumnja da su ugled i položaj pojedinih autora mogli utjecati na ishod selekcije. Parać taj problem tumači stavom da članovi žirija, kao stariji i poznatiji umjetnici, obično mogu imati ponešto i bolje radove.²²¹ Takvo obrazloženje otvara pitanje hijerarhije unutar Podružnice, ali i pitanje legitimnosti autoriteta starijih i etabliranijih članova. U pozadini se razabire šire pitanje odnosa između iskustva, ugleda i prava na prosudbu u okviru profesionalne zajednice, a ne samo spor oko konkretnih radova. Na sastanku se pojavljuje i pokušaj da se iz cijeloga slučaja izvuče pouka za budućnost. Studin tako predlaže da bi ubuduće trebalo osnovati odbor pred kojim bi autor sa žirijem diskutirao o svojem umjetničkom predmetu.²²² Taj prijedlog pokazuje da su nakon *I. Prvomajske izložbe* članovi osjećali potrebu za transparentnijim i dijaloški oblikovanim postupkom odlučivanja. Važnost toga prijedloga leži u činjenici da pretpostavlja mogućnost obrazlaganja odluka i uspostavljanja institucijskoga prostora za raspravu, što upućuje na nastojanje da se sukobi ubuduće rješavaju u jasnije definiranome proceduralnom okviru, a ne neformalnim prijemorima. Takav prijedlog ujedno potvrđuje da se unutar Podružnice razvijala svijest o potrebi formaliziranja mehanizama stručne evaluacije.

U zapisniku se bilježi i jedan konkretan incident: konstatira se da je s izložbe odnesen rad kipara Mirka Ostoje te da se takav postupak smatra neopravdanim.²²³ I taj detalj svjedoči

²¹⁴ Isto.

²¹⁵ Isto.

²¹⁶ Isto.

²¹⁷ Isto.

²¹⁸ Isto.

²¹⁹ Isto.

²²⁰ Isto.

²²¹ Isto.

²²² Isto.

²²³ Isto. Prema katalogu izložbe pod rednim brojem 32 navodi se sadrena skulptura *Djevojčica koja čita* Mirka Ostoje. Ipak, Augustin Stipčević u osvrtu na *I. Prvomajsku izložbu* bilježi: „Međutim griješkom jury-a nije zastupan Ostoja, iako je naznačen kao izlagač u katalogu. Ako se već izložilo i slabe mrtve prirode, nedvojbeno je da se moralo ustupiti više mjesta ovom našem mladom talentiranom kiparu, koji je svojim dosadašnjim radovima dao dokaza o ozbiljnosti kojom ulazi u likovno stvaranje.” („Prvomajska likovna izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. svibnja 1946., str. 3.). Na temelju dostupnih podataka nije

o napetostima koje su pratile događaj i njegovu neposrednu recepciju. Premda je riječ o kratkoj bilješci, važna je jer daje uvid u raspon problema koji su sezali od estetskih i proceduralnih nesuglasica do elementarnih pitanja odgovornosti prema izloženim radovima i pravilima izložbenoga ponašanja.

Sagledaju li se svi navedeni fragmenti zajedno, proizlazi da je *I. Prvomajska izložba* bila puno više od obične izložbene priredbe. Artikulira se kao mjesto presijecanja organizacijskih napora Podružnice, očekivanja nove kulturne politike, pitanja suvremenosti likovnoga izraza, tržišne sudbine radova i osjetljivih odnosa među samim umjetnicima. S jedne strane, bila je to javno istaknuta i svečano koncipirana manifestacija uključena u širi prvomajski ceremonijal, s jasnim nastojanjem da okupi dalmatinske umjetnike i učvrsti njihovu društvenu vidljivost. S druge strane, i javne i interne reakcije pokazale su da je riječ o manifestaciji koja je razotkrila niz otvorenih pitanja: od tematske suvremenosti umjetničkih djela i njihove društvene funkcije do legitimnosti žiriranja, autoriteta starijih umjetnika i granica prihvatljivoga govora unutar strukovne zajednice. Izložba se, prema tome, može razumjeti i kao kondenzirano mjesto susreta različitih razina poslijeratnoga kulturnog života: institucijske, estetske, ideološke, generacijske i interpersonalne.

Naknadne rasprave pokazuju da su umjetnici taj događaj doživjeli ambivalentno, i to kao važnu javnu manifestaciju koja je zahtijevala zajednički angažman, ali i kao povod za prijepore o selekciji, kriterijima, međusobnome uvažavanju i pravu na javnu riječ o tuđemu radu. U tome smislu izložba poprima značenje svojevrsnoga simptomatskog mjesta na kojemu se mogu pratiti unutarnje napetosti poslijeratne umjetničke scene. Posebice je znakovit dio u kojemu članovi jedni o drugima govore „neumjesno”, jer otkriva emocionalni i društveni život izložbe nakon njezina zatvaranja. Upravo se tu razabire da je izložba nakon fizičkoga zatvaranja nastavila živjeti u interpretacijama, nezadovoljstvima i osobnim odnosima svojih sudionika. Iz toga se, također, može zaključiti da je *I. Prvomajska izložba* ostavila snažan trag među umjetnicima otvarajući pitanje tko ima pravo prosuđivati kvalitetu, pod kojim uvjetima radovi ulaze na izložbu, u kojoj mjeri tema mora biti usklađena sa suvremenim trenutkom te kako se unutar jedne profesionalne zajednice uspostavlja granica između legitimne kritike i ogovaranja.

posve razjašnjeno zbog čega je rad uklonjen iz postava, premda zapisnik daje naslutiti da ga je sam autor odnio, što se pritom ocjenjuje kao neodgovarajući postupak. U svakome slučaju, razvidno je da Stipčević u trenutku pripreme novinskoga osvrta Ostojin rad više nije zatekao u izlagačkome prostoru te da odgovornost za taj propust pripisuje žiriju, oslanjajući se pritom vjerojatno i na informacije dobivene od samoga umjetnika, čiji rad očito poznaje i prati.

II. Prvomajska izložba

Umjetnički salon Galić, 1. – 15. svibnja 1947. (produljena)²²⁴

Izlagači: Rudolf Bunk, Ante Bučan, Vinko Foretić, Ante Franičević, Antun Gojak, Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Krstulović, Antun Masle, Milan Minić, Ivan Mirković, Ljubomir Nakić, Vjekoslav Parać, Ante Petričić, Alfred Petričić, Bartul Petrić, Gabro Rajčević (19. II. 1943.), Miše Račić, Ivan Sikavica, Jovanka Strajnić, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, Elsa Vučetić i Ante Zupa.

Ni na *II. Prvomajskoj izložbi* ne dolazi do znatnije promjene u odnosu na prijepore koji su obilježili prethodnu godinu. I ovdje se, naime, razabire da se rasprava o likovnoj umjetnosti vodi oko širega problema društvene funkcije umjetnosti, odnosa prema suvremenosti i legitimnosti modernističkoga naslijeđa u novim političkim i kulturnim okolnostima, pri čemu pojedinačne umjetničke kvalitete ostaju tek jedan od elemenata znatno obuhvatnijega vrijednosnog i idejnoga spora. U tome se smislu *II. Prvomajska izložba* može promatrati kao nastavak procesa u kojemu izložbeni prostor postaje mjestom artikulacije općih kulturnih očekivanja, a likovna kritika važnim posrednikom u njihovu formuliranju i normiranju. Uz javnu recepciju u tisku, *II. Prvomajska izložba* imala je i izrazitu internu institucijsku funkciju. Delegati zagrebačke središnjice pregledali su izložbu upravo zato što je ona trebala poslužiti kao osnova za novo razvrstavanje članstva. Kršinićev izvještaj Upravnome odboru ULUH-a od 26. svibnja 1947. godine pritom je izložbu ocijenio kao postav „na priličnoj visini”, ali je njezin najvažniji učinak bio u tome što je omogućila konkretno razvrstavanje izlagača na redovite članove, obične članove, sporne slučajeve i one koji otpadaju do sljedeće izložbe.²²⁵

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| 224 | Izgleda da je produljenje izložbe bilo povezano s namjerom zagrebačke središnjice da njezini delegati pregledaju postav. Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 12. svibnja 1947. konstatirano je da je obavijest iz Splita o trajanju izložbe poslana kasno, pa je odlučeno da se Podružnici uputi brzojav: „Produžite izložbu ili ako je zatvorite nemojte je demontirati čekajte delegate ULUH a koji stižu najkasnije 20. ov. mj.” Vidjeti „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 12. svibnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971. Nadalje, na sjednici od 19. svibnja, kojoj je prisustvovao i Antun Zupa, raspravljalo se o članovima Podružnice koji izlažu na splitskoj Prvomajskoj izložbi te je odlučeno da u Split otputuju Frano Kršinić i Omer Mujadžić, kako bi pregledali izložbu i podnijeli izvještaj. Vidjeti: „Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 19. svibnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971. |
| 225 | Na sjednici Upravnoga odbora ULUH-a od 26. svibnja 1947. Frano Kršinić podnio je izvještaj o izložbi u Splitu, ocijenivši da je bila „na priličnoj visini”. U istome su izvještaju predloženi statusi pojedinih izlagača: Rudolf Bunk, Vinko Foretić, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Ivan Mirković, Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović i Antun Zupa predloženi su za redovite članove, a Ante Franičević, Antun Masle, Ljubomir Nakić, Ante Petričić, Bartul Petrić i Ivan Sikavica predloženi su za obične članove. Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Bučan i Elsa Vučetić označeni su kao sporni |

Svoja viđenja o izložbi i analizu u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* donosi Šime Vučetić i taj se tekst može čitati kao pokušaj tipologizacije tadašnje likovne scene, odnosno kao nastojanje da se unutar suvremene umjetničke proizvodnje prepoznaju temeljne idejne i poetičke tendencije.²²⁶ Očigledno dobro upućen u tekstove Grge Gamulina,²²⁷ Vučetić zapravo razlikuje tri orijentacije u suvremenoj likovnoj praksi. Njih sagledava u opreci modernističke linije koja započinje s Vjekoslavom Karasom pa dolazi sve do Josipa Račića, Miroslava Kraljevića te Emanuela Vidovića i novijih likovnih i društveno osviještenih tendencija koje na tragu likovne prakse grupe „Zemlja” i *Izložbe umjetnika partizana* teže biti „historijski određenije, bliže narodnoj sudbini i sudbonosnim događajima”.²²⁸ Time Vučetić oblikuje pregled stilskih mogućnosti, a istovremeno uspostavlja i vrijednosni horizont unutar kojega se suvremena umjetnost procjenjuje prema stupnju svoje povijesne aktualnosti i društvene osjetljivosti. Ta podjela ujedno pokazuje da se u tadašnjoj kritici povijest moderne umjetnosti ne odbacuje u cijelosti, ali da se podvrgava novome hijerarhiziranju, u kojemu prednost zadobivaju oni oblici izraza koji se mogu dovesti u čvršću vezu s kolektivnim iskustvom i društvenom zbiljom. Takvo hijerarhiziranje govori o estetskim preferencijama pojedinoga kritičara, ali i o – što je podjednako važno – promjeni kriterija prema kojima se uopće odlučuje što u poslijeratnome trenutku može biti prihvaćeno kao relevantna suvremena umjetnost. Nova stvarnost, nova publika, novi ljudi traže nove teme, naglašava Vučetić, napominjući da su radovi i osvrti Grge Gamulina najbolji „stilizirani zahtjev i ukus novog vremena,

- slučajevi, a Milan Minić, Miše Račić i Jovanka Strajnić brisani su. Za Ružića, Kukoča, Franka, Sikića, Razmilovića, Ivaniševića i Skelina navedeno je da otpadaju do sljedeće izložbe. Radauš je predložio da se usvoji prijedlog delegata Kršinića i Mujadžića, što je prihvaćeno. Vidjeti „Zapisnik Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 26. svibnja 1947.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 52: Upravni odbor 1945. – 1971.
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Š.(ime) Vučetić, „Uz Drugu prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11. svibnja 1947., str. 5.
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Među najistaknutijim protagonistima likovne kritike toga razdoblja posebno mjesto zauzima povjesničar umjetnosti Grgo Gamulin, tada pročelnik kulturno-umjetničkoga odjela u Ministarstvu prosvjete NRH. Njegovi rani poslijeratni tekstovi imali su važnu ulogu u oblikovanju kritičkoga jezika kojim se nastojalo odrediti mjesto umjetnosti u novome društvenom poretku. U tekstu „Uz idolatriju Cézannizma”, objavljenom u *Republici* 1946. godine, Gamulin polemizira s modernističkom tradicijom koja se u poratnome socrealističkom diskursu mogla čitati kao izraz formalističke autonomije slike. Sličan se problemski horizont može pratiti i u tekstu „Umjetnost na zaokretu”, objavljenom 1947. godine, gdje se dodatno artikulira potreba za novim odnosom između umjetnosti, stvarnosti i društvenih zadataka poratnoga vremena. U tome je smislu Gamulinova kritička praksa važna kao izraz aktualne socrealističke retorike i kao simptom šire transformacije hrvatske likovne kritike. Za širi uvid u hrvatsku likovnu kritiku sredinom dvadesetoga stoljeća, osobito u njezin prijelaz od poratne ideološke preskriptivnosti prema problemskim raspravama pedesetih godina, korisni su izbor tekstova koji je uredila Ljiljana Kolečnik te sinteza Jasne Galjer o povijesti hrvatske likovne kritike do 1951. godine. Vidjeti: Ljiljana Kolečnik (ur.), *Hrvatska likovna kritika 50-ih. Izabrani tekstovi*, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1999.; Jasna Galjer, *Likovna kritika u Hrvatskoj 1868. – 1951.*, Meandar, Zagreb, 2000.
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Š.(ime) Vučetić, „Uz Drugu prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11. svibnja 1947., str. 5.

njegovi članci o likovnoj umjetnosti i likovnim umjetnicima su novo mišljenje izrečeno s mnogo znanja, s mnogo taktike kritičkog pera ali i potrebne oštine koju nameće sama stvarnost.”²²⁹ Takva formulacija potvrđuje da kritika zadobiva ulogu aktivnoga korektiva i instrumenta usmjeravanja same likovne proizvodnje, prelazeći granice rubnoga komentara umjetničkoga života. Kritičarski diskurs tako se pojavljuje kao jedan od važnih mehanizama oblikovanja poželjnoga horizonta umjetničkoga djelovanja.

Vučetić distingvira tri linije u likovnoj jugoslavenskoj praksi. Prva je ona načinjena od umjetnika koji čuju glas nove publike i „članke Grge Gamulina uzimlju kao ozbiljnu opomenu, put i pomoć u svom snalaženju, odabiranju i likovnom traženju”.²³⁰ Kako figurativno ističe, oni imaju ambiciju postati barem „prvo slovo jedne nove likovne abecede”.²³¹ Svoje teme i likovne metode teže uskladiti s temama koje postavlja suvremeno društvo. U toj se skupini, dakle, nalaze oni autori koji prihvaćaju potrebu preobrazbe umjetničkoga jezika u skladu s novim društvenim iskustvom i koji u poslijeratnome trenutku prepoznaju zahtjev za drukčijom tematskom i idejnom orijentacijom. Njihova je ambicija oblikovati novi vizualni idiom primjeren epohi, pri čemu se umjetnička inovacija ogleda u nastojanjima da se uspostavi čvršći odnos između likovnoga djela i kolektivne stvarnosti. Stoga se u toj liniji najjasnije prepoznaje težnja prema tome da se estetska modernizacija i društvena aktualnost dovedu u međusoban sklad. Zanimljiv je način na koji Vučetić oprezno opisuje drugu liniju kako svojom kritikom – koja i dalje ostaje britka i direktna – ne bi umjetnike prometnuo u neprijatelje narodnih težnji pa taj dio valja citirati:

Uz drugu liniju idu oni umjetnici koji slušaju što se traži, koji su prijatelji narodnih težnja, iskreno se zanose u uspjesima na izgradnji zemlje, ali smatraju „literaturom” razgovore i pisanje o novim temama; sve im to „smeta” u nastojanjima u ateljeru, i treba govoriti samo likovno bez obzira na motiv, jer drugo je sve, ponavljaju stalno, literatura. Oni smatraju u svojoj autonomnosti da je to lavež, a oni su karavana koja sigurno ide k svojem cilju na grbama izdržljivih likovnih deva, koje istina, danas prolaze kroz pustinju, ali će naić na oazu a i fatamorgana nije isključena pojava u takvim prilikama. Tu se čuju prigovori, koji kažu da je svako vrijeme imalo svoje krilatice, a današnja krilatica „socialistički realizam”, samo je nova smetnja autonomiji likovne umjetnosti.²³²

Ovaj odlomak precizno razotkriva da je tadašnja rasprava zahvaćala vrijednost pojedinih djela, ali i sam koncept autonomije umjetnosti. Vučetić pritom drugu liniju određuje kao

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skupinu umjetnika koja načelno prihvaća promjene, ali se opire zahtjevu da tematska i idejna usmjerenost djela postanu predmetom eksplicitne kritičke artikulacije, pri čemu je ne označava otvoreno neprijateljskome novome društvenom poretku. Upravo je u tome sadržana jedna od ključnih napetosti poslijeratne likovne scene: pitanje može li umjetnost ostati autonomna u modernističkome smislu, a istovremeno odgovoriti na zahtjeve epohe koja od nje očekuje jasniju društvenu funkciju. Drugim riječima, Vučetićev opis druge linije razotkriva prijelom između naslijeđenoga poimanja umjetničke samosvojnosti i novoga modela kulturne proizvodnje u kojemu se motiv, poruka i društveni kontekst više ne mogu lako odvojiti od same likovne vrijednosti. Na toj se točki jasno očituje kako je rasprava o umjetnosti u isto vrijeme bila i rasprava o dosegu autonomije, granicama modernizma i legitimnim oblicima kulturnoga sudjelovanja u društvenoj obnovi. Usto, Vučetićeva formulacija sugerira da je i među umjetnicima sklonima očuvanju autonomije postojao stanovit stupanj ideološke prilagodbe, što dodatno komplicira svako pojednostavljeno razvrstavanje tadašnje scene.

Treća linija umjetnika, pak, načinjena je od eklektika koji ujedinjuju elemente prve i druge linije i u svojem stvaralaštvu bitno osciliraju: „oni su i za motiv iz pete ofanzive ali i za pejzaž, mrtvu prirodu.”²³³ U toj trećoj skupini Vučetić prepoznaje stanovitu kolebljivost i nedosljednost, odnosno nemogućnost da se zauzme jasna pozicija u odnosu na estetske i idejne zahtjeve vremena. Takvi umjetnici pokušavaju u isti mah odgovoriti na očekivanja nove društvene stvarnosti i zadržati starije tematske i oblikovne obrasce, pa njihova praksa djeluje kao kompromis, ali i kao simptom prijelaznosti same epohe. Ta treća linija razotkriva da se prijelaz iz jednoga vrijednosnog sustava u drugi odvijao oscilacijama, prilagodbama i nedovršenim pomacima. Upravo u toj nestabilnosti i mješovitosti sadržana je njezina dokumentarna vrijednost: svjedoči o vremenu u kojemu novi kriteriji još nisu posve učvršćeni, a stariji modeli izraza još nisu sasvim napušteni. Eklektičnost se tako manje očituje kao individualna slabost pojedinih autora, a više kao znak šire prijelazne konfiguracije poslijeratne umjetničke scene. Iz tih razloga Vučetićeva treća skupina možda i najvjernije odražava stvarno stanje na izložbi, s obzirom na to da se velik dio produkcije kreće između programatskoga zahtjeva za novinom i ustrajnosti već usvojenih slikarskih navika.

Slična razmišljanja, ali u formalno drukčije razvedenome obliku, iznosi i Andro Vid Mihičić, koji u tri uzastopna broja *Slobodne Dalmacije* objavljuje podugačak kritički esej „Umjetnost na novim putovima (Osvrt na II. Prvomajsku izložbu Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – podružnice za Dalmaciju)”.²³⁴ Za razliku od Vučetića,

koji teži preglednoj tipologizaciji općih orijentacija, Mihičić se znatno više zadržava na pojedinačnim radovima i autorima, nastojeći pokazati u kojoj se mjeri oni doista odmiču od naslijeđenoga „cezanističkog” i modernističkoga repertoara. Premda i sam polazi od općih mjesta poslijeratne kritike o novoj funkciji umjetničkoga djela, njegov je tekst zanimljiv jer se ta načelna stajališta neprestance prelamaju u formalnoj analizi, u komentarima boje, crteža, kompozicije i odnosa figure i pozadine. Drugim riječima, i onda kada zagovara novu društvenu orijentaciju umjetnosti, Mihičić se ne odriče jezika tradicionalne likovne kritike. U tome se zapravo i sastoji posebnost njegova teksta: programatski zahtjevi novoga vremena u njemu su spojeni s vrlo detaljnim, gdje gdje gotovo pedantnim vrednovanjem formalnih svojstava izloženih radova.

U uvodnome dijelu eseja Mihičić jasno uspostavlja normativni okvir vlastitoga vrednovanja, vraćajući se partizanskoj izložbi kao prijelomnomu trenutku poslijeratne umjetnosti:

Partizanska izložba obilježila je datum naše likovne prekretnice. Ma koliko bila u materijalu skromna, ona je dokazala da i život može da pruži podlogu umjetničkom djelu. Tiljak, Herman, Postružnik, Šimaga i drugi dokazali su svojim upečatljivim crtačkim realizacijama iz života boraca i zbjegova da se može stvarati likovno dobro i bez francuskog predloška. Dokazali su također, da se i iz realnog života dade crpsti siže, boja, krv, misao, duh, ritam, oblik, melodija i sadržaj umjetničkog djela. Uvjet je samo jedan: saživjeti se sa realnošću i biti umjetnik. Nisu li raniji „Zemljaši” uspjeli, razlog je bio taj, što su pristupili životu vođeni idejom idealističkog deformizma.²³⁵

Time se i kod Mihičića potvrđuje isto osnovno polazište koje susrećemo kod drugih kritičara, a to je da se stvarna vrijednost suvremenoga djela mjeri njegovom sposobnošću da izravno zahvati život, povijesni trenutak i društvenu realnost, bez posredovanja zastarjelih formalnih modela. Pritom je napose znakovito što se negativni horizont i ovdje iznova pronalazi u „francuskome predlošku”, odnosno u onome tipu modernističke orijentacije koji se doživljava kao estetski importiran i nedovoljno ukorijenjen u lokalnu i povijesnu zbilju. Iz te perspektive tumači i dvije prvomajske izložbe. Prva mu se nadaje kao prostor nedostatne promjene, a u drugoj prepoznaje određeni pomak, premda još uvijek neujednačen i parcijalan:

Izgleda, međutim, da su naši umjetnici, naročito ovi naši s područja Dalmacije, smatrali da će se ipak naći neki kompromis između stare prakse i novih zahtjeva, i na prvoj svojoj Prvomajskoj izložbi, prošle godine, predstavili su nam se s nepromijenjenim repertoarom starog tehničkog i tematskog, već akademiziranog, cezanizma. Nova stvarnost nije se odražavala skoro ni u čemu. Druga Prvomajska

²³³ Isto.

²³⁴ Andro Vid Mihičić, „Umjetnost na novim putovima (Osvrt na II. Prvomajsku izložbu Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – podružnice za Dalmaciju)”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18. srpnja 1947., str. 5 (1. dio), 19. srpnja 1947., str. 5 (2. dio), 20. srpnja 1947., str. 5 (3. dio).

²³⁵ Isto (1. dio).

izložba predstavila nam je naše umjetnike na novim putevima. Radosni napori našeg naroda da raščisti s prošlošću, da obnovi domove, pridigne ognjišta, na zgarištima sela podigne gradove, u kolibe unese svjetlost, u život radost, a u društvo pravdu, odrazili su se i u djelima naših umjetnika. Ali, na žalost, ne u svima i ne kod svih. Kod nekih s razloga što ih život napušta i oko im bježi preko životnog horizonta, kod drugih, jer su umjetnički slijepi.²³⁶

Ovaj je ulomak važan jer jasno pokazuje da Mihičić *II. Prvomajsku izložbu* vidi kao znak stanovita pomaka, ali i kao događaj koji još uvijek nosi snažne tragove starijih slikarskih navika. Time njegova ocjena postaje nijansiranija nego što bi se na prvi pogled moglo očekivati. Preciznije rečeno, i ondje gdje prepoznaje pomak prema „novim putovima”, Mihičić govori o procesu koji je još uvijek opterećen kompromisima i unutarnjim neujednačenostima.

U nastavku eseja Mihičić pristupa pojedinim autorima, pri čemu se jasno vidi da od umjetnika očekuje usklađivanje likovnoga jezika s novim tematskim i društvenim horizontom. Emanuel Vidović tako ostaje priznat kao majstor, ali i kao slikar koji vlastitu iznimnu slikarsku osjetljivost ne usmjerava prema zahtjevima vremena. „Nestalo je stare sutonske atmosfere i teških čađavih neba, koja su nas godinama zbunjivala.”²³⁷ Mihičić pritom osobito naglašava raskorak između Vidovićeve majstorstva i odabira motiva:

U svim izloženim radovima Vidović je uočljiv kao majstor, u „Konjiću” kao veliki majstor. Šteta što taj stari ljubitelj životnih radosti ne zahvati jednom i u život u kome se kreće i s kojim se saživljuje. Onaj koji je sposoban da ispuni životom jednu drvenu igračku i da od jedne stare dječje lutke stvori jedno od najčišćih i najemotivnijih djela naše i evropske suvremene likovne umjetnosti, sigurno bi jednako uspio kad bi pokušao da bojom plazmira i čovječju figuru koja mu se nameće većim bogatstvom i nutarnjeg i vanjskog sadržaja.²³⁸

Takav je sud tipičan za poslijeratni kritički horizont: slikarska vještina sama po sebi nije dovoljna ako ne nalazi odgovarajući predmet u suvremenome životu. Vidović je stoga za Mihičića paradigmatiski primjer umjetnika čija tehnička superiornost ne nalazi adekvatnu potvrdu na razini tematskoga izbora pa upravo zbog toga ostaje djelomično izvan glavne struje očekivane suvremenosti.

Slično je i s Milanom Tolićem, kojega Mihičić opisuje kao autora „pun[og] htijenja, stremljenja i nesređenosti”, dodajući da „svaki njegov rad otkriva estetu, nijedan

umjetnika koji je pronašao sebe”.²³⁹ Prigovor ovdje zahvaća temu, nedovoljnu unutarnju konsolidaciju rukopisa, nesigurnost likovnoga identiteta i oslanjanje na uzore iz prošlosti. Ni Parać, unatoč tome što se okreće figuralnoj i suvremenoj problematici, po Mihičićevu sudu ne ostvaruje puni uspjeh: „Vjekoslav Parać istupio je novom tematikom, pretežno figuralnom i suvremenom. Na njegovim platnima pojavio se je čovjek dana – radnik, ali ne više kao dekor ili zamjena idiličkih mljekarica, nego kao težište slikarskog idejnog i kompozicijskog interesa. Problem nov i zahvalan, ali težak. Parać nije uspio da ga svlada.”²⁴⁰ Pritom je posebno znakovita kritičareva napomena da „radnik, tvorac dana i graditelj sutrašnjice, nije samo optičko-likovni problem”, jer ona vrlo sažeto formulira zahtjev epohe: prikaz suvremenoga čovjeka traži više od puke kompozicijske ili kolorističke kompetencije.²⁴¹

U drugome dijelu eseja Mihičić osobito oštro kritizira Rudolfa Bunka, nastavljajući ondje gdje su drugi kritičari već problematizirali njegov odnos prema modernističkim modelima. Njegovi komentari na pojedina djela – od *Ceste uz more* do *Djevojke na prozoru* – kulminiraju u širemu odbacivanju konstruktivističko-kubističkoga naslijeđa kao anakronoga i društveno deplasiranoga izraza:

Bunk je zastao na preživjelom dekorativnom konstruktivizmu, naime na čisto cerebralnoj problematici, i u tome nije njegov plus. Kubizam je prošlost. Picasso više nije predvodnik. Slijediti ga ne znači umjetnički iživljavati se s danom, nego ponavljati jednu zastarjelu kurioznu lekciju, kojom se i sam Picasso znao ne jedamput nasmijati. Razgovarajući jednom sa našim slikarom Reinom, rekao mu je: „Ne zaboravite, ja nisam umjetnik, ja sam filozof...” Picasso je ipak veliki umjetnik, ali u prvom redu i iznad svega revolucionar. Kao takav unio je u umjetnost svoga vremena malo zraka, svijetla i vrenja. Danas spava na lovorima koji venu. On je zastao na revolucionarnoj konstataciji, a mi smo u revolucionarnom aktu. I dok je pred nama život, pred njim je, u najboljem slučaju, muzealna nekropola. Čemu dakle s njim? Stvarati znači živjeti, a živjeti se može samo u sadašnjosti i u budućnosti. Da oko „Djevojke na prozoru” nije obasjano svijetlom života, a usne crvenilom krvi, ona bi bila drveni mannequin: ovako je život.²⁴²

Ovaj je citat zanimljiv jer uz kritiku jednoga autora obuhvaća i radikalno odbacivanje čitava niza modernističkih uporišta koja su se još donedavno smatrala legitimnim znakovima slikarske suvremenosti. Prema tome, Mihičićev odnos prema Bunku nadilazi

236 Isto.
237 Isto.
238 Isto.

239 Isto.
240 Isto.
241 Isto.
242 Isto (2. dio).

razinu pojedinačne prosudbe i prerasta u simptomatično mjesto sukoba između ranijega modernističkog legitimiteta i novih kriterija društvene upotrebljivosti umjetnosti.

I u drugim ocjenama Mihičić ostaje krajnje zahtjevan. Kod Branka Kovačevića, primjerice, prepoznaje visoko tehničko umijeće, ali i crtačke nedostatke; Anti Kaštelančiću zamjera tretman boje i crteža; Antunu Gojaku spočitava gotovo apstraktan koloristički pristup i „nekritično obožavanje svega onoga što se naziva ‹naprednim› francuskim slikarstvom”.²⁴³ U tome je smislu njegov tekst izrazito polemičan, mjestimice čak pamfletski intoniran, no upravo zato dragocjen kao dokument o razini napetosti koja se oko pitanja umjetničkoga smjera tada proizvodila u javnome prostoru.

U trećemu, završnom nastavku Mihičić znatno povoljnije piše o kiparima Ivanu Mirkoviću i Andriji Krstuloviću, zasebice ističući Krstulovićev odnos prema prirodi kao „probni kamen umjetnika, jer dok majstora neumjetnika priroda zbunjuje, umjetnika uzbuđuje i otkriva”.²⁴⁴ Završnica eseja, međutim, ponovno napušta razinu pojedinačnih analiza i prelazi u programatski, gotovo egzaltiran ton, u kojemu se nova društvena stvarnost prikazuje kao prostor dosada nezabilježenih mogućnosti za razvoj umjetnosti:

Još smo u počecima obnove, a već su putevi novoj umjetnosti prokrčeni široki i svijetli, svjetliji nego ikada. Obećanja, koja su još pred godinu dana izazivala skeptički podsmijeh, danas su stvarnost. Umjetnina se bogato plaća. Otkupi sa Prvomajske izložbe u Splitu prelaze svotu od pola milijuna. Narodne vlasti, predvođene od Oblasnog narodnog odbora i njegovih kulturnih predstavnika, bile su glavni kupac. I prodalo se mnogo, čak i previše. Umjetnina se traži! Dakako, zdrava umjetnina. U budućnosti tražit će se još i više, jer konzument i uživnik nije više mali broj kulturnih naduvanih i hirovitih buržujskih mecenčića, nego narod. Kolektiv! Kolektiv radnog naroda stekao je konačno pravo na život; on traži i pravo na ljepotu. Na umjetniku je da mu je pruži. To je pače njegova nacionalna dužnost – ali ne više u lascivnom aktiću za golicanje pokvarene mašte, niti u marsovski dezertiranom pejsažu i mrtvoj prirodi u tehnici i tematici ludničkog somnambulizma. Umjetnina, koju traži narod, mora da bude lijepa, jasna i zdrava, crpljena iz života, građena na životu i stvarana za život. Nova Jugoslavija pruža našim umjetnicima iste mogućnosti koje su pružale renesansnim majstorima talijanske komune, Fidiji Periklova Atena, sredovječnim gotičkim maestrancama gradovi i kapitoli. Pruža im sve, pružat će im još i više. Od njih traži amo jedno: da budu umjetnici. Eksperimenti su im dozvoljeni, tehnika isto tako, a solipsizmu više nema mjesta.²⁴⁵

243 Isto.
244 Isto (3. dio).
245 Isto.

U tome se završnom naglasku jasno prepoznaje snažno idealizirana slika novoga položaja umjetnika u socijalističkome društvu. Ona je više izraz normativne želje i programatske projekcije negoli vjeran odraz stvarnoga stanja, ali je upravo zbog toga važna: pokazuje do koje je mjere kritika umjetnosti u tome trenutku bila prožeta vjerom u mogućnost potpunoga preoblikovanja umjetničkoga polja, njegovih funkcija, publike i sustava vrijednosti. Mihičićev esej stoga dvostruko dopunjuje Vučetićev tekst: s jedne strane potvrđuje iste temeljne zahtjeve upućene suvremenoj umjetnosti, a s druge ih razrađuje mnogo konkretnijom i formalno preciznijom analizom pojedinih autora i djela.

Arhivsko gradivo iz Arhiva Jugoslavije otvara dodatnu perspektivu na *II. Prvomajsku izložbu*, jer omogućuje uvid u oblikovanje vrijednosnih sudova o izloženim radovima kritičkim osvrtima, novinama, javnim polemikama i konkretnim postupcima institucijskoga otkupa. Iz dopisa Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ-a u Beogradu vidi se da je izložba bila opažena kao događaj šire kulturne važnosti. U zahvali upućenoj ULUH-ovoj Podružnici za Dalmaciju Komitet ističe da želi otkupiti „izvesne bolje radove sa vaše izložbe” kako bi pomogao „pojedinačnom i opštem likovnom napretku na terenu vaše podružnice”.²⁴⁶ Odmah sljedećega dana zatraženo je od Gradskoga narodnog odbora u Splitu da, uz pomoć stručnjaka Gradskoga muzeja i drugih upućenih osoba, sastavi prijedlog radova s popisom djela i cijenama.²⁴⁷ Time postaje jasno da je izložba od samoga početka bila promatrana i kao mjesto kulturne politike, u kojemu se estetska procjena neposredno povezivala s materijalnom potporom umjetnicima i s oblikovanjem poželjnoga likovnog horizonta.

Još je znakovitiji dopis Oblasnoga narodnog odbora Dalmacije od 16. lipnja 1947. godine, u kojemu se naglašava da je ovogodišnja izložba bila uspjelija od prethodne te da radovi „i po umjetničkom kvalitetu i po obrađenoj tematici, pretstavljaju ozbiljan pokušaj naših likovnih umjetnika da u svom radu krenu definitivno pravcem socijalističkog realizma.”²⁴⁸ U istome se dopisu tvrdi i da je „prilično strogim i objektivnim kriterijem

246 Dopis „Zahvalnica na pozivu za izložbu”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje ULUH-ovoj Podružnici za Dalmaciju u Splitu 18. svibnja 1947., br. 2635, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
247 Dopis „Otkup radova sa izložbe Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnica za Dalmaciju”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Gradskom narodnom odboru, Prosvjetnom odjelu u Splitu 19. svibnja 1947., br. 2635, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
248 Dopis „Otkup radova s ‘II. Prvomajske izložbe’ dalmatinskih umjetnika”, koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Mladen Koritnik) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 16. lipnja 1947., br. 5816/47, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

žiri-a provedena selekcija”, pa su izabrani radovi u cjelini i pojedinačno predstavljali vrijednost.²⁴⁹ Na temelju takve procjene rezervirana su tri djela za federalni otkup: *Zbjeg* Andrije Krstulovića za 60 000 dinara, *Na nasipu* Ante Kaštelančića za 18 000 dinara i *Telegrafski radnik* Vjekoslava Paraća za 16 000 dinara, što ukupno iznosi 94 000 dinara.²⁵⁰ Taj je podatak napose važan kada se stavi uz odgovor Komiteta iz Beograda, u kojemu stoji da za otkup radova s *II. Prvomajske izložbe* raspolaže kreditom od svega 30 000 dinara.²⁵¹ Drugim riječima, prvotno predloženi izbor premašivao je raspoloživi iznos za 64 000 dinara, dakle za više od trostrukoga iznosa predviđenoga za kupnju. Sam Krstulovićev *Zbjeg* bio je dvostruko skuplji od ukupnoga kredita kojim je Komitet raspolagao. Upravo taj nerazmjer jasno pokazuje da je pitanje otkupa obuhvaćalo estetsku procjenu, idejnu prikladnost i financijski kapacitet države da vlastite kulturne prioritete provede u praksi.

Jednako je važan i način na koji Komitet reagira na prijedlog dalmatinske komisije koju su sačinjavali Mladen Koritnik, povjerenik Prosvjetnoga odjela u Splitu, Cvito Fisković, konzervator i Vid Mihičić, kustos Galerije umjetnina u Splitu. U dopisu od 26. lipnja 1947. godine navodi se da su cijene predloženih radova „na svaki način previsoke”, a zatim slijedi i precizna uputa da se pri izboru komisija mora ravnati i likovnom kvalitetom te da za otkup dolaze u obzir isključivo „najbolja djela”.²⁵² Taj je dopis napose dragocjen jer iz administrativne perspektive potvrđuje jednu od ključnih napetosti koju razabiremo i u tadašnjoj likovnoj kritici: ni u okviru snažno ideologiziranoga kulturnog polja tematska prikladnost nije bila dovoljna sama po sebi jer se inzistiralo i na likovnoj kvaliteti kao zasebnome kriteriju prosudbe. Time arhivski materijal izravno dopunjuje Vučetićeve i Mihičićeve tekstove: ono što se u kritikama javlja kao teorijski i polemički problem, u službenoj se prepisci pojavljuje kao praktično pitanje izbora, cijene i opravdanosti kupnje. Kratki telegram Gradskoga narodnog odbora Split dodatno pojačava dojam žurnosti i važnosti čitava postupka: „Izvršili otkup Krstulovićev Zbjeg Kaštelančićev Na nasipu i Paračev Telegrafista. Pismo objašnjenje slijedi.”²⁵³

Posebice je zanimljiv dubrovački dopis kojim se Komitet moli da otkupi Kovačevićev *Portret historičara K. S.*²⁵⁴ Tu se rad preporučuje kao „vanredno dobar portret”, a ujedno i kao „jedan od prvih ozbiljnih realizacija likovne preorijentacije ka socijalnom realizmu iz te oblasti.”²⁵⁵ Obrazloženje je višestruko indikativno: portret se vrednuje i kao kvalitetno ostvarenje i kao primjer poželjnoga smjera, kao poticaj drugim umjetnicima da se posvete „realističkom i humanom promatranju i oblikovanju”, a otkup se pritom zamišlja i kao potpora samome umjetniku i kao doprinos novoosnovanoj Umjetničkoj galeriji u Dubrovniku.²⁵⁶ Komitet taj prijedlog na kraju odbija uz obrazloženje da su sredstva za otkup „skućena”²⁵⁷, što ponovno pokazuje da je mreža otkupa bila važan instrument kulturne politike, ali i da je stalno djelovala unutar vrlo jasnih financijskih granica. U cjelini uzevši, ova građa omogućuje da se *II. Prvomajska izložba* sagleda i kao prostor u kojemu su se normativni zahtjevi novoga poretka provjeravali sasvim konkretnim odlukama o kupnji, cijeni, reprezentativnosti i institucijskoj legitimaciji pojedinih djela.

Bilo kako bilo, izložbu je, kako javljaju mediji, posjetilo dvije tisuće posjetitelja i zabilježeno je ukupno osamnaest kolektivnih posjeta.²⁵⁸ Takav odaziv publike svjedoči o širem društvenom dosegu *II. Prvomajske izložbe*, koja je očito privukla pozornost izvan uskoga kruga stručnjaka i umjetnika. Broj posjetitelja i organiziranih dolazaka upućuje na činjenicu da je izložba bila shvaćena kao relevantan javni događaj, namijenjen široj društvenoj recepciji, a ne samo užemu profesionalnom krugu. Zbog velikoga interesa izložba je bila produljena nekoliko dana.²⁵⁹ Sve to sugerira da je *II. Prvomajska izložba*, unatoč trajnim estetskim i idejnim prijedorima, funkcionirala kao relevantan javni događaj i kao važno mjesto pregovaranja o tome kakva bi umjetnost u novome društvenom poretku trebala biti. Drukčije rečeno, premda nije razriješila temeljne prijepore oko društvene uloge umjetnosti, *II. Prvomajska izložba* učinila ih je jasnije vidljivima i artikuliranima u javnome prostoru.

249 Isto.

250 Isto.

251 Dopis koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Gradskome narodnom odboru, Prosvjetnome odjelu u Splitu 26. lipnja 1947., br. 3271, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

252 Isto.

253 Telegram koji Gradski narodni odbor, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 12. lipnja 1947., Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

254 Riječ je o Kosti Strajniću.

255 Dopis „Moli se da se odkupi slika sa izložbe”, koji Gradski narodni odbor, Prosvjetni odjel u Dubrovniku (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Baro Kriletić) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 11. lipnja 1947., br. 18672/47, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

256 Isto.

257 Dopis „Otkup slika”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Gradskome narodnom odboru, Prosvjetnome odjelu u Dubrovniku 26. lipnja 1947., br. 3186, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

258 „Posjete Izložbi likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 14. svibnja 1947., str. 7.

259 „Produženje Izložbe likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. svibnja 1947., str. 7.

III. Prvomajska izložba

Umjetnički salon Galić, 1. – 15. svibnja 1948.

Izlagači: Ante Bučan (gost izlagač), Rudolf Bunk, Ivo Dulčić (gost izlagač), Ante Franičević, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Krstulović, Ljubomir Nakić, Antun Masle, Krešo Mateljan (gost izlagač), Ivan Mirković, Vjekoslav Parać, Bartul Petrić, Petar Ružić (gost izlagač), Ivan Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, Ivan Žmire (kipar samouk, gost) i Petar Zrinski (gost izlagač).²⁶⁰

III. Prvomajska izložba slijedi sličan zadatak zahtjeva za umjetničkom participacijom u novoj realnosti obnove i daljnjega prosperiteta, kao i novodonesenoga Petogodišnjeg plana, ali se pritom čini da se u javnoj recepciji takvo usmjerenje sada doživljava uvjerljivije i stabilnije nego prethodnih godina. Jednostavnije rečeno, ono što je na prethodnim izložbama još djelovalo kao zahtjev, očekivanje ili programska projekcija, na *III. Prvomajskoj izložbi* sve se češće prikazuje kao već vidljiv i prepoznatljiv pomak u samoj umjetničkoj produkciji. Tako i tisak evidentira više radova koji prikazuju radne napore kao što je gradnja Omladinske pruge, tvornice cementa, luke i ostaloga te time jasno sugerira da se vrijednost izloženih djela sve više mjeri njihovom sposobnošću da zahvate prizore rada, izgradnje i kolektivnoga napora. Važno je pritom uočiti da se ovdje, uz općenitu bliskost sa suvremenim životom, naglašava i vrlo konkretna upućenost na prepoznatljive lokalne i državne projekte obnove, čime izložba dobiva snažniju dokumentarnu dimenziju.

U novinskim se prikazima takvo tematsko usmjeravanje tumači kao rezultat svjesnoga približavanja umjetnika novim društvenim zadaćama. U tome je smislu osobito znakovit napis objavljen uz otvorenje izložbe, u kojemu se naglašava da su „Omladinska pruga, brodogradnja i kamenolomi Dalmacije, tvornice, luke i oranice – to su teme iz kojih su crpili inspiraciju likovni umjetnici Dalmacije i koje daju pečat ovogodišnjoj Prvomajskoj izložbi njihovih radova”.²⁶¹ Takav popis motiva svjedoči o usmjerenosti umjetničke imaginacije prema prostorima rada i proizvodnje, odnosno prema onim mjestima na kojima se nova društvena stvarnost smatrala najvidljivijom i najsadržajnijom. Izbor motiva, shodno tome, valja razumjeti kao duboko ideološki i reprezentacijski obilježen, s obzirom na to da je umjetnost trebala potvrditi vidljivost rada kao temeljnoga iskustva poslijeratne zajednice. Još je važnije što se u istome članku naglašava i neposredan kontakt umjetnika s takvim prizorima rada, pa se zapisuje: „Naši su umjetnici shvatili

napore našeg naroda u obnovi i izgradnji zemlje i osjetili potrebu da taj radni polet odraze i da svojom umjetnošću obogate ljepotu našeg materijalnog života. Zato oni odlaze na Omladinsku prugu, prate izgradnju cesta, mostova, škola i domova; prate naše trudbenike u tvornici, u kamenolomu, u luci, u polju i na svim radilištima”.²⁶² Ovaj je ulomak vrijedan jer jasno pokazuje da se od umjetnika očekivala tematska orijentacija prema suvremenosti, ali i svojevrsna fizička i iskustvena uronjenost u ambijente rada. U tome smislu umjetnička se praksa približava modelu promatrača-sudionika, odnosno autora koji djelo oblikuje izravnim dodirom s radnim kolektivom i gradilištem, a ne iz udaljene atelijerske pozicije. Takva je povezanost usto bila stimulirana i širim organizacijskim modelima radnih akcija, u kojima su različita profesionalna i amaterska društva sudjelovala svako u okviru svoje domene, pa se i prisutnost likovnih umjetnika može razumjeti kao dio šire mobilizacije kulturnoga polja.

Pritom je osobito zanimljivo da novinski diskurs, uza sve naglašavanje društvene uloge umjetnosti, ne prešućuje ni otežane uvjete samih umjetnika. U istome se tekstu napominje: „Nažalost naši likovni umjetnici nemaju još potrebite materijalne uvjete za svoj stvaralački rad, oni još nisu samo likovni radnici. Svaki od naših slikara i kipara vrši svakodnevno razne poslove, koji nisu uvijek vezani za unapređivanje likovne umjetnosti. Zato ovaj bilans jednogodišnjeg rada naših umjetnika srdačno pozdravljamo kao njihov doprinos u zajedničkim naporima svih radnih ljudi”.²⁶³ Ta je napomena vrlo važna jer uvodi korektiv u inače afirmativnu sliku izložbe: s jedne strane od umjetnika se očekuje intenzivno uključivanje u obnovu i reprezentaciju novoga društva, a s druge se priznaje da oni djeluju u okolnostima materijalne oskudice i profesionalne raspršenosti. Na taj se način javna slika izložbe gradi i kao potvrda umjetničkoga pregnuća unatoč nepovoljnim uvjetima, što dodatno osnažuje njezin ideološki i moralni kapital. Ujedno je to motiv koji korespondira sa zapisnicima same Podružnice, u kojima se također učestalo ističu različite obveze i opterećenja koja umjetnicima otežavaju kontinuiran stvaralački rad.

III. Prvomajska izložba očito je, kao i njezine prethodnice, bila zamišljena i kao javno važan društveni događaj. U sklopu proslave Prvoga maja izložba je otvorena u Umjetničkome salonu Galić, a otvorila ju je Anuška Kovačević, pročelnica prosvjetnoga odjela Oblasnoga NO-a, nakon što je okupljene uime umjetnika Dalmacije pozdravio Vjekoslav Parać.²⁶⁴ Takav protokol smješta izložbu izvan internoga strukovnog okvira, u širi reprezentativni prostor proslave Praznika rada i javnoga kulturnog života. Nazočnost predstavnika narodnih vlasti i narodnih organizacija dodatno potvrđuje da se umjetnička izložba u ovome trenutku doživljava kao sastavni dio šire simboličke ekonomije nove države. Vrijedi istaknuti i podatak da je već prvi dan izložbu posjetilo više od 800

²⁶⁰ U primjerku kataloga koji se čuva u knjižnici Instituta za povijest umjetnosti u Zagrebu naknadno je dopisano ime Vinka Foretića kao izlagača, uz napomenu da izlaže rad naslovljen *Starac*. U primjerku kataloga iz Arhiva Jugoslavije, uz cijene radova i oznake o otkupu, navodi se i Foretićev rad u ulju *Stari kapetan*, otkupljen za 20 000 dinara. Vidjeti: Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.

²⁶¹ „III. Prvomajska izložba likovne umjetnosti u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1. svibnja 1948., str. 5.

²⁶² Isto.

²⁶³ „III. Prvomajska izložba likovne umjetnosti u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1. svibnja 1948., str. 5.

²⁶⁴ „Otvorenje Prvomajske izložbe likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 4. svibnja 1948., str. 2.

građana, što upućuje na njezinu zamjetnu javnu vidljivost i na činjenicu da je bila uključena u širi prvomajski ceremonijal.²⁶⁵

Arhivsko gradivo otkriva da je *III. Prvomajska izložba* bila važna i kao mjesto na kojemu su se presijekali lokalni kulturni interesi, reprezentativne potrebe nove vlasti i strogo uređeni mehanizmi otkupa umjetnina. U dopisu Oblasnoga narodnog odbora Dalmacije Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost FNRJ-a izložba se prikazuje u izrazito afirmativnome tonu: naglašava se da „treća poslijeratna izložba dalmatinskih slikara i kipara pokazuje da naši likovni umjetnici sve više i čvršće prilaze novom sadržaju umjetničkog oblikovanja”, da je izložba „svježa u boji i tematici” te da je „vrlo dobro primljena od kulturnih radnika i naroda Dalmacije”.²⁶⁶ U istome se dopisu Komitetu šalje katalog s preporukom da i on otkupi poneki rad za Galeriju umjetnina u Zadru, koja se upravo tada otvarala, a osobito je važno i to što se izrijeком navodi da je u otkupu s izložbe sudjelovalo „nekoliko Ministarstava i Predsjedništvo vlade naše republike, kao i narodni odbori i masovne organizacije našeg grada”.²⁶⁷ Taj je podatak znakovit jer otkriva da je izložba od samoga početka bila uključena u mrežu institucijskih interesa i raspodjele kulturnoga prestiža, pri čemu je lokalna razina očito računala na široku potporu različitih tijela vlasti i javnih ustanova.

Upravo na toj točki postaje vidljiva jedna važna napetost koju splitska sredina, čini se, nije do kraja uzela u obzir. U odgovoru Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ-a od 27. svibnja 1948. godine slijedi vrlo oštar prijekor zbog načina na koji je poziv upućen. Komitet podsjeća da je i prethodne godine poziv za otvorenje stigao tek nakon samoga otvorenja izložbe te dodaje da se ponovila ista situacija: „Poziv šaljete 5. maja, mi ga primamo 8. maja, dok je otvorenje izložbe bilo 1. maja.”²⁶⁸ Time problem nije sveden samo na zakašnjelu korespondenciju, jer Komitet odmah zatim upozorava i na činjenicu da je iz kataloga bilo vidljivo kako je „preko polovine radova otkupljeno”.²⁶⁹ Drugim riječima, savezna je instanca stekla dojam da joj je mogućnost izbora ostavljena tek formalno, nakon što je glavnina relevantnih odluka praktično bila donesena na lokalnoj i republičkoj razini.

265	Isto.
266	Dopis „III. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika u Splitu”, koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Povjereništvo za prosvjetu u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Anuška Novaković) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 5. svibnja 1948., br. 3240/48, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
267	Isto.
268	Dopis „III. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umetnika u Splitu”, koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Oblasnom narodnom odboru Dalmacije, Povjereništvo za prosvjetu u Splitu 27. svibnja 1948., br. 3711, Arhiv Jugoslavije u Beogradu, ozn. AJ -314-11-44 – Izložbe, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 11.
269	Isto.

Najvažniji dio toga dopisa sadržan je u izričito formuliranome zahtjevu za priznavanje hijerarhijskoga poretka kulturne uprave. Komitet, naime, navodi da je takav postupak „potpuno netaktičan” te naglašava kako je „Komitet ona ustanova koja ima prioritet otkupa na svim umetničkim izložbama u zemlji i da je red da Komitet bude na vreme pozvan na otvorenje izložbe.”²⁷⁰ Taj iskaz otkriva da se pitanje otkupa otvaralo kao prostor financijske potpore, estetske procjene, mjerodavnosti, reda prednosti i simboličkoga autoriteta. U tome smislu dokument svjedoči o administrativnome nesporazumu, ali i o sudaru dviju perspektiva: lokalna je sredina izložbu očito doživljavala kao uspješno organiziran događaj s razgranatom mrežom kupaca i institucijskih partnera, a savezna je razina u istome postupku prepoznala zaobilaženje vlastitih prerogativa. Posljedica je bila jasna i politički znakovita: „Naslov će shvatiti da nakon ovakvog postupka Komitet ne može da otkupi dela sa vaše izložbe.”²⁷¹ Taj završni sud otkriva koliko je u kulturnome sustavu kasnih četrdesetih godina pravovremeno priznavanje savezne instance bilo važno za legitimaciju same izložbe i za njezin odnos prema državnome mehanizmu otkupa.

U tome javnom okviru i kritički tonovi postaju ponešto blaži nego na prethodnim izložbama, što se može dovesti u vezu i s uvjerenjem da je tematsko preusmjeravanje umjetnika sada vidljivije i uvjerljivije. Tako će se u novinskim osvrtima na slikama evidentirati jaki „impuls naroda”.²⁷² Takva formulacija sugerira da se vrijednost djela ponajprije povezuje sa sposobnošću da se u njima prepozna energija kolektiva, dinamika rada i optimizam društvene izgradnje, dok individualna inventivnost i formalna autonomija ostaju u drugome planu. I drugi su se novinski napisi mahom fokusirali na nužnost realističkoga koncepta umjetničkoga prikazivanja te su izdvajali one radove koji su se tematski neposredno vezali za obnovu zemlje i iz kojih se dao razabrati aktualan impuls naroda pa se tako zapisuje:

Promatrajući ova izložena platna, koja su pretežno rađena na ulju, opaža se razvojni put njihovog novog likovnog stremljenja, u kome susrećemo kako naš radni narod aktivno učestvuje u izgradnji naše slobodne domovine. Život u ovim platnima postaje dinamičniji, svježiji i u njima se osjeća impuls naroda koji je spreman da svoju domovinu učini ljepšom, svijetlijom i bogatijom s naporom i zalaganjem radnog naroda kome na tome putu nije ništa teško. Takav put su dali Vjekoslav Parać u svojoj kompoziciji „Rad na omladinskoj pruzi”, Ante Kaštelančić u sva tri svoja izložena platna, Rudolf Bunk u platnu „Radnik”, Ante Franičević u platnu „Gradnja na Omladinskoj pruzi”, Joko Knežević u sva svoja tri izložena platna i u crtežu s Omladinske pruge, te Milan Tolić u platnima „Obnova”, i „Berba maslina”.²⁷³

270	Isto.
271	Isto.
272	„Kulturni pregled. Uz treću Prvomajsku izložbu u Splitu”, <i>Slobodna Dalmacija</i> , 14. svibnja 1948., str. 3.
273	Isto.

Ovaj je osvrt posebice važan jer donosi i svojevrsnu internu hijerarhiju izložbe, izdvajajući autore i radove u kojima se najjasnije prepoznaje novo tematsko i idejno usmjerenje. Popis izdvojenih imena pokazuje da se afirmacija „novoga likovnog stremljenja” vezuje ponajprije za one radove koji prikazuju radnika, gradnju, obnovu i pejzaž preobražen kolektivnim radom. Istovremeno je indikativno da se i dalje rabi jezik razvoja i stremljenja, što znači da kritika i dalje polazi od pretpostavke kako je riječ o procesu koji traje, a ne o već potpuno oblikovanome i dovršenome modelu. *III. Prvomajska izložba* u tisku se tako pojavljuje kao potvrda zamjetna pomaka, ali ne i kao konačno stabiliziran obrazac poslijeratne likovne proizvodnje.

Tomu valja pridružiti i ekonomsku dimenziju izložbe, koja je važna za razumijevanje njezina javnoga karaktera. U novinskoj obavijesti ističe se da je izložba bila otvorena svakodnevno od 9 do 13 i od 17 do 21 sat. Ulaznica za omladinu stajala je 2 dinara, za odrasle 5 dinara, a katalog 2 dinara.²⁷⁴ Podatak o naplati ulaza i kataloga upućuje na to da je izložba bila oblikovana i kao javno dostupna kulturna ponuda s jasno definiranim režimom posjećivanja i osnovnom ekonomijom recepcije. Time se potvrđuje da je njezina funkcija bila višestruka, odnosno istovremeno edukativna, reprezentativna, propagandna i tržišno-organizacijska.

Sagledana u cjelini, *III. Prvomajska izložba* svjedoči o trenutku u kojemu se u javnome diskursu sve uvjerljivije uspostavlja veza između likovne umjetnosti, rada, obnove i kolektivnoga društvenog projekta. Ako su prethodne dvije izložbe bile obilježene jačim napetostima između naslijeđenih modernističkih poetika i zahtjeva nove epohe, ovdje se čini da tisak naglašenije podupire i legitimira one radove u kojima prepoznaje usklađivanje umjetničkoga izraza s društvenom zbiljom. Upravo zato javna slika *III. Prvomajske izložbe* ima posebnu važnost jer pokazuje kako se umjetnička vrijednost sve izrazitije artikulira u terminima društvene korisnosti, reprezentacije rada i sudjelovanja u simboličkoj izgradnji novoga poretka.

IV. Prvomajska izložba

Umjetnički salon Galić, 1. – 15. svibnja 1949.

Izlagači: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Vinko Foretić – Komiža, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Andrija Krstulović – Split, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Vjekoslav Parać – Split, Bartol Petrić – Split, Ante Petričić – Dubrovnik, Ivan Sikavica – Split, Jovanka Strajnić – Dubrovnik, Milan Tolić – Split, Emanuel Vidović – Split i Elsa Vučetić – Dubrovnik.

^[274] „Prvomajska izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5. svibnja 1948., str. 3.

IV. Prvomajska izložba bila je obilježena tridesetom godišnjicom osnutka Komunističke partije Jugoslavije te je stoga snažnije no prije bila uključena u širi okvir političko-simboličkih manifestacija. Kao godišnja smotra dalmatinskih umjetnika 1949. godine izrijekom je predstavljena i kao prinos proslavi partijskoga jubileja, čime je likovna produkcija dodatno uključena u ceremonijal nove države i njezine legitimacijske obrasce. Izložba je ujedno dobila i prijenosni karakter, jer je, osim u Splitu, bila postavljena i u Zadru, Dubrovniku i Šibeniku, što upućuje na nastojanje da se njezin doseg proširi izvan jednoga gradskog središta i da se javna funkcija izložbe učvrsti na razini čitave Dalmacije.²⁷⁵ Takva putujuća koncepcija pokazuje težnju da izložba kao mobilna kulturna manifestacija poveže umjetničku produkciju s različitim lokalnim sredinama te da svoj doseg proširi izvan uskoga profesionalnog kruga.

Program otvorenja bio je svečano oglašen na naslovnici *Slobodne Dalmacije*, a izložba je otvorena u 11:30.²⁷⁶ Time postaje jasno da je njezino otvorenje bilo uklopljeno u precizno strukturiran prvomajski ceremonijal, unutar kojega je i likovna umjetnost dobila svoje reprezentativno mjesto u javnoj proslavi Praznika rada. Takvo pozicioniranje izložbe unutar rasporeda proslave još jednom upućuje na činjenicu da se umjetnost ovdje razumijevala kao sastavni dio javnoga rituala, a ne kao izdvojena ili autonomna kulturna praksa.

Već novinski poziv na izlaganje upućuje na to da je organizacija *IV. Prvomajske izložbe* bila postavljena razmjerno precizno i proceduralno jasno. U pozivu se navodi da „Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, Podružnica za Dalmaciju svoju Prvomajsku izložbu ove godine priređuje u čast tridesetogodišnjice Komunističke partije Jugoslavije”, a potom se točno propisuje rok predaje radova, broj djela koja pojedini izlagači mogu prijaviti, obvezni podatci na poledini rada, kao i nekoliko pravila o žiriranju, regulaciji cijena, postotku od prodaje i zabrani premještanja radova prije zatvaranja izložbe.²⁷⁷ Takva razrada propozicija važna je jer dokazuje da se izložbena praksa do 1949. godine već znatno institucionalizirala te da su pravila izlaganja postala sastavnim dijelom javnoga predstavljanja same manifestacije. Osobito je znakovito što se u pozivu naglašava da se radovi „podvrgavaju ocjeni žirija”, da je žiri ovlašten regulirati predložene cijene te da se izloženi radovi ne smiju premještati ili oduzimati prije završetka izložbe.²⁷⁸ Sve to upućuje na iskustva stečena na prethodnim izložbama, posebice ondje gdje su se pojavljivale primjedbe na proceduralnu regularnost, selekciju i tretman pojedinih radova. U tome se smislu može pretpostaviti da su javno objavljena pravila imala i preventivnu funkciju, odnosno trebala su unaprijed otkloniti moguće prigovore te svim potencijalnim izlagačima osigurati dojam ravnopravnoga i jasno definiranoga postupka.

^[275] „Izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije u čast 30.-god. KP Jugoslavije”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 28. travnja 1949., str. 1.

^[276] „Raspored parade 1. Maja u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30. travnja 1949., str. 1.

^[277] „IV. Prvomajska izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12. travnja 1949., str. 5.

^[278] Isto.

Ujedno je važna i odredba da na izložbi mogu sudjelovati i nečlanovi ULUH-a koji djeluju na području Dalmacije, jer ona pokazuje da se manifestacija i dalje nastoji legitimirati kao reprezentativna regionalna smotra, a ne tek kao interna prezentacija članstva Podružnice.²⁷⁹ Na taj se način potvrđuje otvorenija koncepcija izložbe, koja joj osigurava širu reprezentativnost u okviru dalmatinske likovne scene.

Za javnu sliku *IV. Prvomajske izložbe* osobito je važan opsežan osvrt Branka Zupe, objavljen krajem lipnja 1949. godine, gdje cijelu izložbu izričito smješta u povijesni i ideološki horizont partijskoga jubileja.²⁸⁰ Već u uvodnome dijelu autor dalmatinske umjetnike povezuje s antifašističkom borbom i kulturnim frontom, čime aktualnu izložbu tumači kao nastavak ratnoga i poratnoga angažmana:

	Zato u danima narodno-oslobodilačke borbe slikari i vajari Dalmacije znali su gdje im je put. Oni su bez premišljanja stali na stranu onih snaga, koje su predvođene našom slavnom Komunističkom partijom na čelu sa drugom Titom vodile borbu za nacionalnu slobodu i socijalistički poredak. Bilo na oslobođenoj teritoriji, bilo među aktivistima na okupiranom području svojom olovkom, kistom ili pak glinom služili su pobjedi narodne stvari. Bili su u kulturnom frontu neodjeljivom od ratnog fronta u jednoj ovakvoj borbi, koja se vodila za spas i budućnost radnih masa Jugoslavije.²⁸¹
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Ovaj je ulomak važan jer ističe da se izložba promatra kao pregled recentne produkcije i istovremeno kao potvrda političkoga kontinuiteta između ratnoga angažmana i poratne kulturne izgradnje. Zupin diskurs ovdje uspostavlja dugu liniju legitimacije: od sudjelovanja umjetnika u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi do njihove uloge u oblikovanju socijalističke sadašnjosti. Iz toga okvira proizlazi i način na koji Zupa promatra samu izložbu. Sagledavši cjelinu, ističe da se na njoj istovremeno vide „uspomene iz borbe” i prikazi aktualnih napora socijalističke izgradnje, ali odmah uvodi i važnu nijansu kada dodaje: „Naravno, da je to izraženo sa više ili manje uspjeha, ukoliko se pojedini umjetnik uspio otarasiti onih naslijeđa, kojima je ranije radi egzistencije morao da podliježe”.²⁸² Ova formulacija osobito je zanimljiva jer potvrđuje da ni 1949. godine pitanje raskida s prethodnim umjetničkim navikama nije smatrano dovršenim. Naprotiv, i dalje se polazi od pretpostavke da pojedini autori tek djelomično uspijevaju napustiti ranije modele rada i prilagoditi ih novim očekivanjima. Time *IV. Prvomajska izložba* zadržava obilježje prijelaznosti: kritika u njoj vidi pomak, ali i dalje razabire ostatke starijih manira i profesionalno uvjetovanih kompromisa.

	
279	Isto.
280	B.(ranko) Zupa, „Osvrt na prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije priredenu u čast 30-godišnjice osnutka KPJ”, <i>Slobodna Dalmacija</i> , 30. lipnja 1949., str. 2–3.
281	Isto, str. 2.
282	Isto.

Posebno je zanimljivo što Zupa pozornost posvećuje i mediju, odnosno unutarnjoj strukturi izložbe, primjećujući prevlast slikarstva u ulju te slabu zastupljenost grafike. Tako piše:

	Grafika kao moćno izražajno sredstvo današnjice nije ni na prošlogodišnjoj izložbi bila jače zastupljena. To je šteta, ako se ima na umu, koliki je učinak odmah poslije oslobođenja našeg grada imala uspjeha izložba, na kojoj su pretežno bila izložena grafička djela. Ako se ima na umu i pomanjkanje sredstava da bi naši likovni umjetnici mogli da se posvete više platnu, onda je logičnije da su trebali da ono izražajno sredstvo, koje im je na dohvatu pa da ne izgube mnogo dragocjene doživljaje iz stvaranja naše socijalističke izgradnje. U izvjesnom smislu naši likovni umjetnici računajući i na ekonomski efekt ove izložbe više su se orijentirali na platna većeg formata.²⁸³
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Ovaj je odlomak dragocjen jer odjednom otvara nekoliko važnih problema: pitanje dostupnosti pojedinih medija, pitanje ekonomskih uvjeta rada te pitanje tržišnoga efekta same izložbe. Zupa time govori i o estetskim izborima i o materijalnim okolnostima proizvodnje, pa njegov komentar upućuje na trajnu napetost između ideološki poželjnoga izražajnog sredstva i ekonomske računice samih umjetnika. Time se ponovno potvrđuje da se javna slika izložbe može razumjeti samo ako se uz idejne i formalne kriterije uzmu u obzir i konkretni uvjeti rada i prodaje. U tome je smislu Zupin osvrt vrlo koristan jer podsjeća da se estetski program poslijeratne umjetnosti oblikovao u dodiru s vrlo konkretnim materijalnim ograničenjima.

Jednako su indikativne i Zupine primjedbe na samo „aranžiranje” izložbe, jer svjedoče o tome da pitanje selekcije i postava još uvijek ostaje osjetljivo. Upozorava:

	Kod aranžiranja izložbe moglo se voditi računa o tome – a to je trebalo da ima na umu jury – da se ne ponovi slučaj iz prošle godine, pa da neka platna, koja nisu ni tematski značajna, a niti su likovno dobro riješena zauzmu najistaknutije plohe u izložbenim dvoranama i tako zaklanjaju pogled na ono što po svom sadržaju i likovnom ostvarenju interesuje danas široke narodne mase. U ovom pogledu, da je jury bolje ocijenio stvar, bio bi odstranio izvjesne slike, davši više mjesta nekim značajnijim djelima.²⁸⁴
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Ovdje napose dolazi do izražaja kontinuitet problema koji su pratili i ranije prvomajske izložbe: u prvi plan dolaze izbor izloženih radova, način njihova postavljanja, istaknuta mjesta pojedinih slika i način na koji sam postav usmjerava pogled publike. To znači da se

	
283	Isto.
284	Isto.

kriterij društvene i idejne relevantnosti proteže od pojedinačnih djela do prostorne logike izložbe kao cjeline.

Zupa zatim eksplicitno uspostavlja hijerarhiju umjetnika prema njihovu odnosu prema suvremenosti, pišući:

Iz presjeka same izložbe izbijaju u prvom redu oni likovni umjetnici, koji su ušli u našu današnju stvarnost i likovno je ostvaruju prema svojim mogućnostima odgovarajućim tretiranjem. U drugom su redu oni, koji još nisu u potpunosti shvatili novu tematiku i naposljetku ostaju likovni umjetnici, u čijem stvaralačkom radu izlaze na površinu ostaci njihovih ranijih manira. Ovi maniri su usko povezani sa umjetničkim formalizmom, pa idejno ne mogu na sebe da privuku pažnju naših radnih ljudi, koji se kulturno sve više izdižu i prilaze slikama sa puno interesa da u njima nađu jedan dio onih napora, koji mora da bude zajednički cilj i umjetnika i gledaoca.²⁸⁵

Ovaj je Zupin ulomak iznimno važan jer sažima vrijednosni horizont kasnih četrdesetih: najviše se cijene oni autori koji su „ušli u našu današnju stvarnost”, dakle oni koji svoju umjetničku praksu uspijevaju uskladiti s aktualnim društvenim iskustvom, a formalizam i subjektivni maniri i dalje se razumiju kao prepreka uspostavljanju veze između djela i publike. Posebno je indikativno što se publika pritom zamišlja kao „radni ljudi” koji kulturno napreduju i koji u slici traže dio vlastitoga društvenog napora. Takva formulacija jasno upućuje na to da je recepcija umjetnosti zamišljena kao zajedničko polje umjetnika i gledatelja, utemeljeno na podijeljenoj društvenoj stvarnosti. Upravo se ovdje najjasnije vidi kako se estetska procjena pretače u društvenu pedagogiju: slika se vrednuje i prema tome može li aktivirati prepoznavanje zajedničkoga rada i zajedničkih ciljeva.

U tome kontekstu Zupa izdvaja skupinu autora među kojima su Parać, Tolić, Knežević, Masle, Krstulović i Mirković, a detaljnije se zadržava na Paraćevu platnu *Na gradilištu*. Njegov opis vrijedi navesti opširnije jer pokazuje kako se valorizira djelo koje uspijeva spojiti radnu temu, ekspresiju tijela i društvenu simboliku:

Najjači među prvima kao Parać, Tolić, Knežević, Masle, Krstulović, Mirković i još neki, naglašuju u svojim djelima onu našu današnjicu, koja ih vezuje sa težnjama radnih masa i nastoje da te svoje umjetničke doživljaje i realistički prikažu. Paraćevo platno „Na gradilištu” izražava snagu i napor naših radnih ljudi na izgradnji socijalizma. Snažno se doimlju pokreti mišića, koji podižu teret na skeli, u njima gledalac vidi napore čitave radničke klase, da nesalomljivom voljom gradi

zdanje svoje bolje budućnosti. U ovoj slici nepobitno se osjeća da je slikar intimno u svojoj duši to i proživio i na platnu izražajno ostvario. Ovo mu je svakako jedno od boljih posljednjih djela. Manjkavost mu je samo u tome, što i ostali dio kompozicije, koja je inače uravnotežena i prostorno lijepo riješena, nije i koloristički završena, pa u izvjesnoj mjeri glavnom motivu daje više karakter studije.²⁸⁶

Taj je sud zanimljiv jer razotkriva da se i u afirmativno valoriziranim djelima i dalje pozorno odmjerava odnos između idejnoga sadržaja i slikarske dovršenosti. Paraćeva slika cijeni se kao uvjerljiv prikaz socijalističke izgradnje, ali se pritom ne odustaje od uvida u njezine formalne manjkavosti. Baš takav spoj društvene afirmacije i formalne procjene daje kritici dodatnu uvjerljivost. Važno je i to što je riječ o djelu koje će završiti u zbirci Galerije umjetnina, pa se u tome slučaju novinska valorizacija može dovesti u vezu i s kasnijom institucijskom potvrdom.

Na drugoj strani spektra Zupa i dalje jasno razlikuje starije majstore i umjetnike čiji se rukopis drži udaljenijim od novih zahtjeva. O Emanuelu Vidoviću piše neutralnije i s poštovanjem prema njegovu iskustvu:

Vidović Emanuel jedan od naših najstarijih majstora, koji je odgojio generacije mladih slikara i ovoga puta nam se predstavio sa više uljanih slika te akvarela. Sigurna majstorova ruka još uvijek ispoljava svoju čvrstinu i poznavanje zanata. Slike su mu smirene, pune tišine, polutame i sumornosti. Najuspjelija mu je „Most u Trogiru”, u kojoj dolazi do izražaja svježina mora, te između ostalih naročito odskače. U njegovim interieurima crtež odaje besprijekorno znanje učitelja.²⁸⁷

Takva formulacija pokazuje da se Vidović i dalje promatra prvenstveno kroz prizmu majstorstva i zanatske sigurnosti, ali bez jačega pokušaja da ga se uključi u samu jezgru poželjnoga novog usmjerenja. Takav položaj upućuje na svojevrsnu dvostruku valorizaciju starijih autora: poštovanje prema njihovu statusu i iskustvu ostaje netaknuto, dok njihova aktualna relevantnost biva odmjeravana prema drukčijim kriterijima od onih koji vrijede za mlade ili društveno angažiranije autore.

Osobito je zanimljiv Zupin odnos prema Anti Kaštelančiću i Rudolfu Bunku, jer se upravo na njima jasno vidi da dio umjetnika ni 1949. godine ne odustaje od vlastitih slikarskih rukopisa, premda ih kritika i dalje proglašava teško razumljivima i udaljenima od potreba „radnih masa”. Ovaj dio vrijedi donijeti opširnije:

²⁸⁵ Isto.

²⁸⁶ Isto.

²⁸⁷ Isto, str. 3.

Kaštelančić Ante i Bunk Rudolf ostali su na svojoj liniji zanatskog manira, koji ne može a da ne bude povezan sa formalizmom, i gdje je motiv apsolutno podređen njihovoj ličnoj sklonosti da se izražavaju tehnikom koja nije razumljiva svim radnim masama. Radi toga i likovno ne vode računa o tome da li će ih radne mase moći razumjeti. Crtež Bunka je statičan, solidan, ali je podvrgnut maniru, što ga odvaja od realnosti i ostavlja gledaoca ravnodušnim. Izuzev „Radova na srebrenim vratima” kod Bunka i „Partizanske veze” kod Kaštelančića, ostala su platna podvrgnuta subjektivističkoj egzibiciji, kod Bunka u njegovoj kubističkoj interpretaciji, a kod Kaštelančića u baratanju kolorističkim efektima koji ruše granice crteža i prostora.²⁸⁸

Time se pokazuje da se kritička osuda formalizma i subjektivističke egzibicije nastavlja i na ovoj izložbi, ali jednako tako i potvrđuje da pojedini umjetnici nikako ne odustaju od vlastitih izražajnih postupaka. Izložba, uz pomake prema poželjnome realističkom usmjerenju, i dalje čuva napetost prema trajnosti individualnih poetika koje se novim kriterijima ne podvrgavaju u cijelosti.

Zupin završetak možda najjasnije sažima cjelokupnu javnu poruku izložbe:

Ova izložba moći će da posluži kao još jedno iskustvo našim likovnim umjetnicima, kako je danas naša društvena stvarnost neodvojena od kulturnih problema i da je danas kulturni front jedan te isti front sa frontom rada. Radni čovjek to kaže i njega treba u tome poštivati.²⁸⁹

Ovdje se izložba izrijeком definira kao pouka i iskustvo, dakle kao etapa prilagodbe umjetnika novim društvenim zahtjevima. Ujedno se još jednom potvrđuje ideja jedinstva kulturnoga i radnoga fronta, što znači da se umjetnost u ovome trenutku shvaća kao sastavni dio šire socijalističke preobrazbe društva.

Sagledana u cjelini, *IV. Prvomajska izložba* upućuje na pojačanu institucijsku uređenost, jasno naglašenu političku simboliku i recepciju koja je, premda i dalje sposobna za razlikovanje kvalitativnih nijansi među autorima, snažno usmjerena prema valorizaciji onih djela koja uspijevaju izraziti rad, obnovu i socijalističku izgradnju. Istovremeno, pokazuje i da se polemika oko formalizma, manire i razumljivosti umjetničkoga jezika ni 1949. godine nije ugasila. Upravo zato ova izložba ima značenje manifestacije partijskoga jubileja, ali i važnoga trenutka u kojemu se mogu pratiti granice i otpori procesa idejnoga i estetskoga preusmjeravanja dalmatinske likovne scene.

288 Isto.
289 Isto.

V. Prvomajska izložba
Radnički dom (prostorije Mjesnoga sindikalnog vijeća), 1. – 15. svibnja 1950.
(produljena do 20. svibnja 1950.)

Izlagači: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Split, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Gojak – Makarska, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Jovan Običan – Dubrovnik, Bartul Petrić – Split, Alfred Petričić – Zadar, Milan Tolić – Split i Emanuel Vidović – Split.

V. Prvomajska izložba donosi važan pomak već na razini izlagačkoga prostora, s obzirom na to da se iz Umjetničkoga salona Galić premješta u Radnički dom, u prostorije Mjesnoga sindikalnog vijeća.²⁹⁰ Promjena mjesta održavanja ima i jasnu simboličku težinu jer upućuje na daljnje približavanje izložbe reprezentacijskome okviru radničkih i sindikalnih institucija te na njezino još snažnije uključivanje u javni i društveni radni prostor. Prvomajska se izložba time izmješta iz tradicionalnoga umjetničkog ambijenta i uspostavlja u prostoru koji neposrednije priziva kolektiv, organizirani rad i društveni horizont kojemu je taj izložbeni format otpočетка bio usmjeren. U novinskoj se obavijesti dodatno naglašava da je izložba otvorena svakodnevno te da će nakon Splita biti prenesena u Dubrovnik i Zadar, čime se potvrđuje kontinuitet njezina putujućeg karaktera i šire javne funkcije. Ujedno je najavljeno i produljenje izložbe do 20. svibnja, što pokazuje da je i vremenski okvir ostao podložan prilagodbi u skladu s organizacijskim i prezentacijskim potrebama same manifestacije.²⁹¹

Ipak, ono što *V. Prvomajsku izložbu* napose izdvaja nije samo nova lokacija nego i promjena u samoj strukturi izložbe i načinu njezina vrednovanja. Boris Vižintin u osvrtu objavljenome u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* naglašava da je izložba po broju radova gotovo prepolovljena u odnosu na prethodne godine: nakon 73 rada 1947., 60 radova 1948. i 60 radova 1949., 1950. godine izložena su svega 33 djela.²⁹² Taj bi podatak, kako i sam primjećuje, mogao sugerirati slabiji odaziv ili neaktivnost, ali Vižintin ga tumači upravo obratno – kao rezultat strožega žiriranja i podizanja kvalitativnoga praga. Posebice ističe da je od više od 130 poslanih radova na izložbu puštena tek četvrtina, pri čemu smatra da je žiri mogao mirne savjesti odbiti i još poneki rad.²⁹³ Na taj način brojčana redukcija postaje znak promjene kriterija jer naglasak se stavlja na ideju izložbe kao pažljivije oblikovane cjeline, a ne isključivo na reprezentativnu širinu i kvantitetu. Vižintin to i potvrđuje kada kaže da je „maleni broj izloženih radova samo pridonio

290 „V. Prvomajska izložba ULUH-a”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5. svibnja 1950., str. 4.
291 „Izložba likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18. svibnja 1950., str. 4.
292 Boris Vižintin, „V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17. lipnja 1950., str. 2.
293 Isto.

poboljšanju kvaliteta čitave izložbe” te da upravo takva izložba omogućuje da se jasnije sagleda vrijednost pojedinih umjetnika koji djeluju u Dalmaciji.²⁹⁴ U tome se smislu V. *Prvomajska izložba* može razumjeti kao trenutak stanovite profesionalizacije izložbenoga standarda, pri čemu se sama izložba sve više oblikuje kao selektivna i pregledna smotra, a sve manje kao široko postavljena godišnja manifestacija.

Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. godine u Umjetničkome salonu Galić razotkriva, međutim, da je recepcija izložbe unutar same Podružnice bila nijansiranija i donekle drukčije intonirana od Vižintinova novinskog teksta. Na sjednici, kojoj uz članove i predstavnike oblasne i gradske vlasti prisustvuje i Branko Zupa iz Gradske biblioteke, naglašava se da je ovogodišnja izložba „i sa umjetničke strane i tematske bolja od lanjske”, ali se istovremeno upozorava da grafika nije zastupljena, da se u radovima osjeća „neproživljena tematika” te da se nekim slikarima, poput Vidovića, Kovačevića, Petričića i Dulčića trebalo dati manje prostora, a mladima je trebalo posvetiti više pozornosti.²⁹⁵ Zupin nastup na toj sjednici posebno je zanimljiv jer se nadovezuje na njegov raniji kritički osvrt o *IV. Prvomajskoj izložbi*, u kojemu je također upozorio na slabu zastupljenost grafike i pritom je označio kao važno i potentno izražajno sredstvo suvremenosti. Time se jasno potvrđuje kontinuitet njegove kritičke pozicije jer Zupa izložbu ne promatra samo kroz prizmu pojedinačnih djela, on to čini i pitanjima medijskoga ustroja, tematske uvjerljivosti i sposobnosti same izložbe da odgovori društvenim i kulturnim zahtjevima vremena. Posebno je važno što grafiku dosljedno prepoznaje kao medij koji je, zbog svoje neposrednosti, ekonomičnosti i izražajne kondenziranosti, mogao biti osobito prikladan za bilježenje iskustava socijalističke svakodnevice i obraćanje široj publici. Usto, riječ je o mediju koji je zahvaljujući svojoj reproduktivnosti i tehničkoj pristupačnosti imao potencijal i za demokratičniji doseg umjetnosti, odnosno za njezino lakše uključivanje u širi društveni optjecaj.²⁹⁶ Zbog toga njegova primjedba o nezastupljenosti grafike ima veću težinu od puke tehničke opaske. Ona, naime, otvara pitanje u kojoj se mjeri izložba doista koristi onim likovnim oblicima koji su najprimjereniji novome društvenom sadržaju, novome gledatelju i novim komunikacijskim funkcijama umjetnosti. Bilo kako bilo, takav zapis važan je jer pokazuje da se unutar Podružnice još uvijek snažno promišlja pitanje

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- Isto.
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- „Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
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- Valja pritom imati na umu kako je riječ o razdoblju intenzivnije produkcije i objavljivanja grafičkih mapa, pa takva opaska Branka Zupe, kao i njegova primjedba o kvalitativnoj oskudici, kao i općenitu nedostatku grafike na splitskim izložbama, djeluje posve razumljivo u tadašnjemu kontekstu. Dovoljno je prisjetiti se nekih važnijih izdanja iz ratnoga vremena i neposrednoga poraća, primjerice grafičko-poetske mape *Jama* Ivana Gorana Kovačića, s litografijama Ede Murtića i Zlatka Price, objavljene 1944. godine u Topuskom u ratnim okolnostima i u nakladi od 250 primjeraka, potom mape Đorđa Andrejevića Kuna *Partizani* (20 crteža, Beograd, 1946.), Frane Šimunovića *Pod okupacijom* (24 crteža, Zagreb, 1947.) i Franje Mraza *Omladinska pruga* (20 crteža, Zagreb, 1947.), kao i niza drugih srodnih izdanja.

tematike i njezine uvjerljivosti, dakle pitanje u kojoj mjeri umjetnici doista „proživljavaju” motive koji su zastupljeni na izložbi. Tu je razliku u odnosu na Vižintinov tekst moguće jasno uočiti: dok zapisnik i Zupina intervencija i dalje polaze od odnosa između teme i njezine stvarne unutarnje usvojenosti, Vižintin puno snažnije naglasak prebacuje na formalni jezik, slikarsku ozbiljnost, likovne probleme i opću kvalitetu izvedbe. Diskrepancija, dakle, proizlazi iz različitih težišta unutar kritičkoga vrednovanja, a ne toliko iz posve suprotnih sudova o izložbi.

Napose je indikativno što se u zapisniku spominju mlađi umjetnici i potreba da im se posveti više pozornosti, a na kraju se i zaključuje da udruženje prihvaća izložbu mladih slikara.²⁹⁷ To je iznimno zanimljivo jer se može čitati kao rani nagovještaj promjene koja će nekoliko godina poslije postati mnogo vidljivija, kada se u dalmatinskoj umjetničkoj sredini počne snažnije afirmirati mlađa generacija. U tome je smislu rasprava oko V. *Prvomajske izložbe* važna i kao simptom generacijskoga pomaka. Premda se stariji i etablirani autori još uvijek drže u središtu izložbenoga legitimiteta, sve se jasnije osjeća potreba da se prostor otvori i mladima, čak i kada njihovi radovi još uvijek ne dosežu punu kvalitativnu zrelost. Zanimljivo je pritom da Parać u zapisniku istovremeno brani određene odluke žirija tvrdnjom da se mlađe slikare nije pripuštalo „radi kvaliteta”, dok se u istoj raspravi javlja i svijest da upravo njima valja posvetiti više pozornosti.²⁹⁸ Napetost između kvalitativne selekcije i generacijske potrebe za otvaranjem prostora čini jedno od važnijih obilježja te izložbene situacije.

Važan sloj rasprave odnosi se i na uvjete rada umjetnika, što također ostaje trajna tema prvomajskih izložbi. U zapisniku Joko Knežević ističe da za slikanje moraju postojati svi uvjeti, „a u prvom redu vrijeme i materijal”, te da se upravo njihov nedostatak osjeća na izložbi.²⁹⁹ Parać se s time slaže i dodatno naglašava da je malo realizirano upravo zbog pomanjkanja uvjeta za rad, osobito vremena, dodajući karakterističnu rečenicu: „Genij mora imati vremena, a kamo li talenat!”³⁰⁰ Ove su opaske važne jer podsjećaju da se pitanje kvalitete izložbe ne može svesti samo na estetske ili idejne kriterije. U pozadini se stalno nalazi i problem materijalnih uvjeta rada, profesionalne preopterećenosti i ograničenih mogućnosti za kontinuiran stvaralački razvoj. Time se još jednom potvrđuje da dalmatinska poratna izložbena scena funkcionira u trajnoj napetosti između visokih javnih očekivanja i vrlo skromnih stvarnih uvjeta rada.

Za razliku od zapisničke rasprave, Vižintinov novinski osvrt otvara posve drukčiji registar vrednovanja, u kojemu u prvi plan dolaze formalne kvalitete, unutarnja ozbiljnost likovnoga

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- „Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.
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tretmana i mjesto pojedinih autora unutar lokalne umjetničke hijerarhije. Već samom tvrdnjom da „tri imena, koja sačinjavaju srž kvalitete ove izložbe, jesu: stari Vidović, njegov učenik Kaštelančić i relativno mladi Knežević”, a da im se po ozbiljnosti tretiranja likovnih problema pridružuju Dulčić i Kovačević, Vižintin jasno daje do znanja da ga više zanima slikarski jezik i stupanj likovne zrelosti negoli sama programska podobnost teme.³⁰¹ Takva hijerarhija osobito je zanimljiva jer pokazuje da se procjena temelji na širemu uvidu u ranija ostvarenja pojedinih autora, a ne isključivo na onome što je konkretno pokazano na izložbi. To je posebno vidljivo u slučaju Branka Kovačevića, za kojega Vižintin kaže da je „po kvaliteti jači, nego što ga predstavljaju djela na ovoj izložbi”.³⁰² Takva napomena upućuje na stanovit raskorak između aktualnoga izložbenog nastupa i očekivanja koja su se oko Kovačevićeva slikarstva već bila oblikovala. Budući da se ranije istaknuo na ULUH-ovoj izložbi u Zagrebu svojim *Mrtvim pticama*, očito je da Vižintin njegov doprinos *V. Prvomajskoj izložbi* promatra i u svjetlu toga prethodno potvrđenoga dosega. Kovačević se tako pojavljuje kao autor prepoznatoga potencijala, ali i kao primjer umjetnika koji na konkretnoj izložbi nije dosegnuo razinu što ju je njegova ranija produkcija već bila naznačila. Na taj se način kritika udaljava od usko izložbenoga okvira i pojedine autore odmjerava prema njihovu širemu izložbenom kontinuitetu i već postignutim vrijednostima, što Vižintinovu prosudbu čini osjetno složenijom i povijesnoumjetnički profiliranim.

Vižintin zasebice valorizira Vidovića, pri čemu je vrlo znakovito da se nanovo pozitivno afirmira njegov zreli intimizam. Pišući o pet izloženih slika, kao najbolju ističe *U lučici*, a zatim hvali prigušeni kolorit, diskretne odnose boja, valerske modulacije i prisne pejzaže, napose *Napušteno brodogradilište* i *U lučici II*.³⁰³ Ovdje valja primijetiti da se Vidovićeva vrijednost ponajprije povezuje s kvalitetama njegovih formalnih rješenja, s atmosferom, tonalitetom i unutarnjom slikarskom kulturom, dok tematska usklađenost s aktualnim društvenim zadacima ostaje u drugome planu. U tome je kontekstu znakovito da se i u zapisniku sa sjednice Podružnice Vidović pojavljuje kao svojevrstan izuzetak: premda je Branko Zupa smatrao da je nekim slikarima, među njima i Vidoviću, trebalo dati manje prostora na izložbi, Parać mu u raspravi izrijeком priznaje „jaki likovni kvalitet”, koji mu upravo i dopušta da izlaže ono što osobno smatra najboljim.³⁰⁴ Takva Paraćeva opaska upućuje na to da se unutar same Podružnice Vidovićev izlagački status legitimira prije svega pozivanjem na njegovu umjetničku vrijednost, a tek posredno odnosom prema aktualnim tematskim zahtjevima. To predstavlja znatan odmak od ranijih kritika, u kojima se od starijih autora često tražilo veće tematsko približavanje „novoј stvarnosti”. Kod Vižintina, naprotiv, Vidovićev intimizam ponovno zadobiva status legitimnoga i visoko vrednovanoga slikarskog horizonta.

³⁰¹ Boris Vižintin, „V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17. lipnja 1950., str. 2.

³⁰² Isto.

³⁰³ Isto.

³⁰⁴ „Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

Sličan pomak prema formalno-likovnoj argumentaciji vidljiv je i u ocjenama Kaštelančića i Kneževića. Za Kaštelančića kaže da je „iskren slikarski temperamenat” te da njegova neposrednost i toplina doživljaja neposredno prelaze na gledaoca, pri čemu posebno izdvaja *Krajolik s otoka* kao jedno od najboljih platna na izložbi, odmah poslije Vidovića.³⁰⁵ Iako mu zamjera nedovoljnu pažnju pri smještaju ljudskih likova u prostor, osnovni ton ostaje vrlo afirmativan. Kod Kneževića posebice naglašava stalni napredak i zrelost u kompoziciji, a *Selo Vrisnik* opisuje kao djelo tretirano realistički, sa živom paletom, živim tonskim kontrastima i ozbiljnom likovnom kulturom.³⁰⁶ U ovim se ocjenama također vidi da Vižintin realističnost razumije kao jedan od mogućih načina ostvarenja ozbiljne slikarske cjeline, a ne kao vrijednost dostatnu samu po sebi. To je osobito važno jer pokazuje da je kod njega pitanje formalne uvjerljivosti ipak presudnije od same tematske podobnosti.

Vrlo indikativna mjesta Vižintinova teksta odnose se na one radove koji se, premda tematski odgovaraju očekivanjima prethodnih godina, razotkrivaju nedostatnima upravo zato što zapadaju u ilustrativnost. Tako za Franičevića i Tolića piše da je njihov glavni problem „problem lične originalne nijanse”, da njihove slike (*Na omladinskoj pruzi*, *Na gradilištu*) djeluju kao dekorativno nacrtane i naknadno ispunjene bojama „kao images d’Epinal” (tj. poput pučkih, narativno pojednostavljenih i koloriranih ilustracija), sa slabim doživljajem i malom izražajnom snagom.³⁰⁷ Posebno je važna njegova tvrdnja da nisu uspjeli dovesti stvarnost u intimniji odnos sa slikarskim vizualnim mogućnostima, pa djela ostaju blizu „suhe ilustracije”.³⁰⁸ Ovaj je sud iznimno zanimljiv jer otkriva kako se nekada favorizirane teme – omladinska pruga, gradilište, rad – više ne smatraju dovoljnim jamstvom vrijednosti. Ako im nedostaje slikarsko uživanje, formalna dubina i profesionalna uvjerljivost, vrlo lako skliznu u ilustrativnost. Upravo se tu vidi koliko se do 1950. godine mijenja horizont kritike: tema ostaje važna, ali više nije dostatna da sama nosi izložbenu vrijednost djela.

Ni ocjena Bunka više nije strukturirana oko ideološke osude kakva je obilježavala prethodne godine, premda se i dalje zadržava stanovita rezerva prema njegovu posebnom načinu gledanja. Vižintin piše da su *Utijačica* i *Triglav* zamišljeni ekspresivno dekorativno, hladno i nedostupno, ali „ne bez izvjesnih kvaliteta”, uz napomenu da je njegov crtež „siguran i odsječan”, pod utjecajem ekspresionizma te da njegova djela nose „biljeg izvjesnog likovnog traženja”.³⁰⁹ Takav sud otkriva da se Bunka više ne promatra prvenstveno kao primjer formalističkoga zastranjenja, kako je to bio slučaj u ranijim kritičkim napisima, dok se njegov rad sada nastoji preciznije smjestiti unutar određenoga

³⁰⁵ Boris Vižintin, „V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17. lipnja 1950., str. 2.

³⁰⁶ Isto.

³⁰⁷ Isto.

³⁰⁸ Isto.

³⁰⁹ Isto.

likovnog i stilskog iskustva. U tome je smislu znakovito što se u Vižintinovu tekstu, kao i u ranijim osvrtima na Bunka, u pozadini i dalje može naslutiti pitanje odnosa prema Picassu i širemu modernističkom repertoaru, ali sada bez ranije retoričke žestine i bez potrebe za izravnim ideološkim diskvalificiranjem takvih uzora. Bunkov se izraz tako više ne odbacuje unaprijed zbog njegove udaljenosti od poželjne likovne norme; promatra ga se kao poseban oblik slikarskoga traženja koji posjeduje određene kvalitete, ali istovremeno ostaje hladan i djelomično zatvoren prema gledatelju. To potvrđuje dojam da je Vižintinova kritika više usmjerena na opis i vrednovanje formalnih problema te na nijansiranje pojedinačnih autorskih pozicija, uz manju potrebu za ideološkim razvrstavanjem umjetnika.

Posebno strog Vižintin ostaje prema Masli i Gojaku, za čije radove tvrdi da su bezlični, mjestimice nerazumljivi i bez dubljega doživljaja, a prema skulpturi gotovo je rezolutno negativan. Skulptura je, kako kaže, „kao i obično u Splitu slabo zastupana”, Mirkovićeve radove opisuje kao „čisti obrt, koji ne spada na ovakvu izložbu”, a kod nepoznatoga Običana iz Dubrovnika barem razabire nastojanje da izrazi dubinu doživljaja.³¹⁰ I ta je ocjena važna jer pokazuje da Vižintin izložbu doživljava kao prostor na kojemu se mora održati određena razina unutarnje likovne ambicije. Radovi koji ostaju na razini vještine ili obrta za njega više nisu dovoljni.

O institucijskoj i ekonomskoj dimenziji *V. Prvomajske izložbe* svjedoči i naknadna dokumentacija o otkupu umjetnina, iz koje se razabire da su pojedini radovi bili rezervirani za gradske i oblasne ustanove, ali do kraja 1950. godine još nisu bili isplaćeni.³¹¹ Upravo takva administrativna neujednačenost otkupa iz 1950. godine

310	Isto.
311	U dopisu ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju u Splitu upućenom Udruženju likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Zagrebu 15. prosinca 1950., Podružnica izvještava o umjetninama prodanima na <i>V. Prvomajskoj izložbi</i> u Splitu koje do toga trenutka nisu bile isplaćene. Za Povjereništvo prosvjete Gradskog N. O.-a Split bio je otkupljen rad Ivana Mirkovića <i>Bombaš</i> , sadra, u iznosu od 15 000 dinara. Za Oblasni N. O. Dalmacije u Splitu bili su otkupljeni: Ante Gojak, <i>Autoportret</i> , ulje, 15 000 dinara; Branko Kovačević, <i>Glava žene</i> , ulje, 25 000 dinara; Antun Masle, <i>Iz dubrovačke luke</i> , ulje, 20 000 dinara; Emanuel Vidović, <i>U lučici</i> , ulje, 45 000 dinara. Ukupan iznos neisplaćenih otkupa navedenih u dopisu iznosio je 120 000 dinara, a Podružnica je zatražila da se poduzme potrebno kako bi se otkupljeni radovi podmirili u tekućoj proračunskoj godini. Vidjeti „Dopis ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju”, koji se šalje Udruženju likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Zagrebu 15. prosinca 1950., br. 145/50, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945.–1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 56: Otkup umjetničkih radova – Upravno vijeće. Nadalje, prema izvatku iz zapisnika Komisije za otkup umjetnina, koja se sastala u Zagrebu od 12. do 14. prosinca 1950., u predmetu otkupa Oblasnoga N. O.-a Dalmacije sa <i>V. Prvomajske izložbe</i> zabilježeni su: Ante Gojak, <i>Autoportret</i> , ulje, 15 000 dinara; Branko Kovačević, <i>Glava žene</i> , ulje, 23 000 dinara; Antun Masle, <i>Iz dubrovačke luke</i> , ulje, 20 000 dinara; Emanuel Vidović, <i>Napušteno brodogradilište</i> , ulje, 43 000 dinara. Usporedba ovih dvaju dokumenata pokazuje manje razlike u evidentiranim cijenama i naslovu Vidovićeva rada, što upućuje na potrebu opreza pri konačnoj identifikaciji otkupljenih djela. Vidjeti „Izvadak iz Zapisnika Komisije za otkup umjetnina, 18. prosinca 1950.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko

čini razumljivijim kasnije normiranje postupka, koje će od 1951. godine biti vezano za *Uputstva o kupovanju radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti* i rad republičke komisije.

Sagledana u cjelini, *V. Prvomajska izložba* donosi nekoliko važnih pomaka. Na institucijskoj razini mijenja prostor i seli u Radnički dom, čime se još čvršće veže za javni okvir rada i sindikalne reprezentacije. Na organizacijskoj razini donosi strožu selekciju pa se broj izloženih radova znatno smanjuje, a kvalitativni se kriterij pojačava. Na razini recepcije, međutim, razvidna je zanimljiva dvojnost: u zapisniku se još uvijek snažno inzistira na pitanju tematike, njezine proživljenosti i na potrebi da se mlađima otvori više prostora, a u Vižintinovu tekstu sve se više u prvi plan pomiču formalni jezik, slikarska ozbiljnost i unutarnja likovna vrijednost djela. Upravo ta razlika čini *V. Prvomajsku izložbu* osobito zanimljivom jer izgleda da postaje prostor u kojemu se ponovno snažnije afirmira pitanje likovne kvalitete kao zasebne kritičke kategorije, a manje mjesto provjere društveno poželjnih tema. Istovremeno, rasprava o mlađim umjetnicima pokazuje da se u pozadini već nazire nova generacijska paradigma, koja će u godinama koje slijede sve odlučnije mijenjati dalmatinsku izlagačku scenu.

VI. Prvomajska izložba

Dom kulture (prizemlje bivše Biskupske palače), 1. – 15. svibnja 1951.

(produljena do 20. svibnja)

Izlagači: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Vinko Foretić – Komiža, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Gojak – Makarska, Ante Jović – Zagreb-Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Tomislav Kukoč – Split, Ante Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Bartul Petrić – Split, Petar Ružić – Split, Milan Tolić – Split i Emanuel Vidović – Split.

Gosti izlagači: Josip Boteri – Makarska, Ante Ivanišević – Split, Đuro Pulitika – Dubrovnik i Ranko Tolić – Split.

VI. Prvomajska izložba predstavlja zanimljiv trenutak u razvoju poslijeratne izlagačke prakse u Splitu ponajprije zbog činjenice da je njezina važnost bila vezana i za pitanje izložbene infrastrukture grada. U novinskim napisima iz proljeća 1951. godine jasno se artikulira da je upravo pomanjkanje prikladnih izložbenih prostorija bilo jedan od ključnih problema likovnoga života u Splitu, pa se kao rješenje najavljuje uređenje prizemlja bivše Biskupske palače, gdje će biti organizirana i *VI. Prvomajska izložba*

društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 56: Otkup umjetničkih radova – Upravno vijeće.

likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije.³¹² Taj podatak upućuje na to da se pitanje izlaganja u tome trenutku sve jasnije shvaćalo kao temeljni preduvjet kontinuiteta i intenziteta umjetničkoga života u gradu. Upravo zato *VI. Prvomajsku izložbu* valja promatrati i kao događaj koji otvara novo poglavlje u prostornim uvjetima splitske likovne scene. Dakle, ova izložba nije važna samo kao još jedna dionica u nizu prvomajskih manifestacija. Važna je i kao trenutak u kojemu se pitanje prostora prvi put javno profilira kao ključno strukturno pitanje lokalnoga umjetničkog života.

Takav naglasak dodatno potvrđuju i novinski osvrti povodom otvorenja izložbe. U kratkoj vijesti objavljenoj 1. svibnja 1951. godine posebno se ističe da je „pomanjkanje izložbenih prostorija bilo najbolniji problem likovnog života u Splitu”, a otvaranje izložbe u posebno uređenim prostorijama bivše Biskupske palače prikazuje se kao dugo očekivano rješenje tog problema.³¹³ U istome se tekstu naglašava da će se upravo ondje preseliti i Galerija umjetnina, a odmah nakon *VI. Prvomajske izložbe* najavljuje se i izložba zagrebačkih likovnih umjetnika, koja je tada bila u Beogradu.³¹⁴ Sve to potvrđuje da je novi prostor shvaćen kao infrastrukturni iskorak koji može izmijeniti i intenzivirati ritam kulturnih događanja u Splitu. Nova adresa manifestacije otvarala je mogućnost uspostavljanja stabilnijega i češćega izložbenog života. U tome smislu vrlo je znakovita i završna nada novinskoga napisa da će se sada, „kada u Splitu postoje podesne izložbene prostorije”, moći češće gledati samostalne i kolektivne izložbe, „a ne kao dosad od godine na godinu”.³¹⁵ Zbog toga se *VI. Prvomajska izložba* javlja i kao simbolički prag novoga institucijskog razdoblja. Ta novinska formulacija ujedno svjedoči o tome da se pitanje prostora neposredno povezivalo s pitanjem učestalosti i raznovrsnosti izložbenih događaja pa je nova lokacija promatrana kao uvjet šire kulturne normalizacije grada.

Otvorenje izložbe 1. svibnja 1951. godine u novome Domu kulture, u bivšoj Biskupskoj palači, bilo je ujedno i izrazito reprezentativan javni događaj. Prema izvještaju iz *Slobodne Dalmacije*, otvorenju su prisustvovali Vicko Krstulović, sekretar Oblasnoga komiteta KPH za Dalmaciju i član CK KPJ-a, Paško Ninčević, predsjednik Narodnoga odbora Grada Splita, predstavnici JRM-a, narodnih vlasti i masovnih organizacija, kao i engleski konzul u Splitu, George Burton.³¹⁶ Takav sastav uzvanika jasno dokumentira da je otvorenje izložbe nadilazilo okvir strukovnoga kulturnog događaja. Visoki partijski i gradski dužnosnici, vojni predstavnici i prisutnost stranoga konzula upućuju na to da se otvaranje u novome izložbenom prostoru doživljavalo kao događaj šire javne i reprezentativne važnosti. Osobito je indikativna prisutnost engleskoga konzula jer

sugerira da se manifestacija promatrala i kao dio međunarodno vidljivoga urbanoga i kulturnoga života grada. Otvaranje izložbe u obnovljenome i reprezentativnome ambijentu neorenesansne palače s početka 20. stoljeća time je dobilo dodatnu simboličku težinu jer je nova izlagačka infrastruktura služila i samim umjetnicima i javnoj slici Splita kao kulturnoga središta. Spoj političkih dužnosnika, vojnih predstavnika i stranoga diplomatskog gosta pokazuje da je otvaranje izložbe funkcioniralo i kao čin javne legitimacije novoga kulturnog prostora, a ne samo izložbe kao takve.

Novinski izvještaji također razotkrivaju da je izložba pobudila veliko zanimanje građanstva. Već početni članci naglašavaju pojačan odaziv publike,³¹⁷ a sredinom svibnja *Slobodna Dalmacija* donosi podatak da je *VI. Prvomajsku izložbu* posjetilo više ljudi negoli sve ranije prvomajske izložbe zajedno. Dok se broj posjetitelja prethodnih izložbi kretao između 1 000 i 1 500, ovu je izložbu vidjelo više od 9 000 ljudi.³¹⁸ Taj je podatak iznimno važan jer pokazuje da je novi prostor izložbi dao znatno veću javnu vidljivost i pristupačnost. Novine pritom posebno bilježe zajedničke posjete sindikalnih podružnica radnih kolektiva i ustanova, ali i prolazak velikoga broja turista kroz izložbene prostorije.³¹⁹ Time se razabire izrazita heterogenost publike izložbe, koja obuhvaća organizirane radničke kolektive, šire građanstvo i posjetitelje izvan lokalne sredine. Takva recepcija potvrđuje da je nova izložbena infrastruktura bila jedan od ključnih razloga uspjeha, što novinski napis i potvrđuje tvrdnjom da je uspjehu izložbe „mnogo pridonijelo i to, što je aranžirana u reprezentativnim prostorijama novog Doma kulture (bivše biskupske palače), a sve ranije izložbe održavane su u salonu Galić”.³²⁰ Izložba je stoga i produljena do kraja tjedna, odnosno do 20. svibnja, prije nego što je trebala biti prenesena u Zadar i Dubrovnik.³²¹

Prijeđe li se s razine infrastrukture i recepcije na samu izložbu, postaje jasno da je javni interes bio veći od kritičkoga oduševljenja njezinom cjelinom. U opširnijemu osvrtu objavljenome 5. lipnja 1951. godine kritika upozorava da se povećanje broja izlagača i radova nije odrazilo na porast kvalitete. Primjećuje se tako da je na izložbi sudjelovalo 20 umjetnika sa 66 radova te da je izložba brojčano nadrasla prethodne, ali odmah se dodaje da se „s ovim nije podigao i kvalitet same izložbe”.³²² Pritom se otvara važno pitanje žiriranja i kriterija odabira. Autor kritičkoga teksta navodi da žiri „izgleda, da u izboru nije polazio od čvrsto određenog kriterija”, pa su pojedini radovi mogli biti odbijeni ako se išlo za kvalitetnom izložbom; ako se pak išlo za „masovnošću”, odnosno za smotrom svekolikih slikarskih nastojanja u Dalmaciji, tada je, smatra on, trebalo prihvatiti veći broj

312 „Dva savjeta za kulturu i umjetnost”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13. travnja 1951., str. 2.

313 „Šesta prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1. svibnja 1951., str. 5.

314 Isto.

315 Isto.

316 „Otvorena je VI. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3. svibnja 1951., str. 4.

317 Isto.

318 „Šestu prvomajsku izložbu posjetilo preko 9 hiljada ljudi”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. svibnja 1951., str. 4.

319 Isto.

320 Isto.

321 „Produžuje se VI. Prvomajska izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15. svibnja 1951., str. 4.

322 L., „VI. prvomajska izložba u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5. lipnja 1951., str. 2.

umjetnika i poslanih radova.³²³ Ta opaska vrlo jasno pogađa jednu od temeljnih napetosti prvomajskih izložbi otvarajući pitanje o tome jesu li one zamišljene kao pregledna i reprezentativna regionalna smotra ili kao strogo selektirana kvalitativna izložba. U slučaju *VI. Prvomajske izložbe* kritika pokazuje da ta dvojba još nije bila razriješena.

Kritičar ipak ne promatra manjkavosti izložbe izvan materijalnih i institucijskih uvjeta pa tvrdi:

Nedostaci ove izložbe mogu se opravdati uzmu li se u obzir prilike pod kojima mnogi umjetnici stvaraju: pomanjkanje slikarskog materijala (platna, boja, kistova), oskudan broj ateljea, i mnoge druge zasad još neizbježive okolnosti. Ima i drugih uzroka. Prvomajska izložba je jedina likovna izložba, dok pojedinačnih izložba nema. Likovni život se odvija dosta oskudno i skromno, od godine do godine.³²⁴

U tome smislu kritika *VI. Prvomajske izložbe* zadobiva šire značenje: izložba postaje simptom stanja cjelokupne likovne scene. Osvrt je vrlo zanimljiv i zato što otvoreno tvrdi kako se na posljednjih nekoliko izložbi jedva može govoriti o „nekakvom razvitku pojedinačnom, a još manje kolektivnom”, pri čemu se uzrok pronalazi u „izvjesnoj inertnosti naših umjetnika da sami stvore intenzivniji umjetnički život”.³²⁵ Na taj se način odgovornost dijelom premješta s objektivnih uvjeta na same umjetnike i njihovu radnu etiku. Ujedno, takav sud pokazuje i koliko je u tadašnjoj kritici pojam umjetničkoga razvoja bio vezan za kontinuitet rada, izlaganja i vidljivosti, dakle uz uvjete koji nisu mogli biti osigurani jednom skupnom izložbom godišnje.

U tome se kontekstu znakovito pojavljuju i pozivanja na Delacroixa, Cézannea i Gauguina. Kritičar citira Delacroixov dnevnik kako bi naglasio da umjetnost podrazumijeva disciplinu, duboko učenje, iskustvo i majstorstvo izvođenja.³²⁶ Pozivanje na velike slikarske autoritete otkriva zanimljiv pomak u kritičkome diskursu: umjesto dominantno ideološkoga vrednovanja, u prvi plan sve snažnije dolazi zahtjev za profesionalnim usavršavanjem, umjetničkom disciplinom i ozbiljnošću zanata. *VI. Prvomajska izložba* stoga se kritički čita manje kao provjera političke podobnosti motiva, a više kao ogledni prostor za provjeru likovne zrelosti i individualnoga razvoja. Taj je pomak posebno važan jer pokazuje da se fokus kritike početkom pedesetih sve jasnije premješta prema pitanjima struke, rada i zanatske ozbiljnosti.

Unutar te kritičke optike autor izdvaja tri ključna imena izložbe: Vidovića, Dulčića i Kaštelančića, koji „u neku ruku ... sačinjavaju jezgru ove izložbe”.³²⁷ Kod Emanuela Vidovića naglašava se kontinuitet već prepoznatoga opusa: trogirski motivi, sanjivi večernji ugođaji, sumračne boje i „nekonsistentne forme”, pri čemu se kao najbolji rad ipak izdvaja akvarel *Sa prozora*, koji djeluje svježije i „romantički spontanije”.³²⁸ Važno je pritom primijetiti da se Vidović više ne vrednuje prema kriteriju tematske suvremenosti, i u fokus dolazi unutarnja koherencija njegova slikarskog svijeta, njegovo znanje i psihološka stanja koja varira. Time se njegov zreli intimizam zapravo i dalje priznaje kao legitimna vrijednost unutar izložbe. Vidovićev položaj, kako je moguće razabrati, pokazuje da se starijim majstorima i dalje priznaje autoritet, ali prema kriterijima koji su sve manje vezani za programsku aktualnost motiva, a sve više za dosljednost i unutarnju snagu njihova slikarskog jezika.

Kaštelančić je prikazan kao umjetnik snažna temperamenta koji dalmatinskome krajoliku pristupa silinom impulzivnoga slikarskog doživljaja. Kritičar ističe da njegove žive i svijetle boje „nemirno se isprepliću”, stvarajući stanovitu dramatiku koja neposredno djeluje na gledatelja, ali mu istovremeno zamjera monotoniju tretmana i činjenicu da pojedine slike ne oblikuju zaseban, odvojen doživljaj.³²⁹ Takva procjena zanimljiva je jer otkriva da se ni slikarska energija ni koloristička sugestivnost same po sebi ne smatraju dovoljnima; traži se raznovrsnost i unutarnja diferenciranost rada. U tome Kaštelančićev slučaj otkriva kako se od umjetnika sve više očekuju snažan rukopis i sposobnost da svaki rad iznese kao zasebno oblikovanu cjelinu.

Posebno mjesto na izložbi ima Ivo Dulčić, kojega kritičar opisuje kao „izrazit talent” koji već nekoliko godina privlači pozornost publike i koji je prethodne jeseni s uspjehom izlagao na samostalnoj izložbi u Zagrebu.³³⁰ Osobitost njegova slikarstva vidi u boji, „fluidnoj, profinjenoj do senzualnosti”, a *Dječji restoran* prepoznaje kao rad koji ponajbolje demonstrira mekoću boje i virtuoznost tonskih modulacija, premda uz određene kompozicijske nedostatke.³³¹ Ovdje je posebno važno da se Dulčićev rad procjenjuje prvenstveno sposobnošću razvijanja osobnoga i senzibilnoga slikarskog govora. Upravo takav kritički pristup potvrđuje da *VI. Prvomajska izložba* u recepciji sve izrazitije postaje mjesto formalno-likovnoga vrednovanja. Dulčić se pritom izdvaja i kao pokazatelj smjera u kojemu bi se dalmatinska scena mogla dalje razvijati kada bi postojali uvjeti za češće i samostalnije prezentacije pojedinih opusa.

Sličan tip procjene vidljiv je i kod ostalih autora. Rudolf Bunk opisuje se kao „interesantna slikarska fizionomija”, čiji se intelektualni razvitak očituje u strožoj

³²³ Isto.

³²⁴ Isto.

³²⁵ Isto.

³²⁶ Isto.

³²⁷ Isto.

³²⁸ Isto.

³²⁹ Isto.

³³⁰ Isto.

³³¹ Isto.

sistematici i „pribjegavanju formalnim apstrakcijama”, pri čemu kritičar primjećuje da njegovo studiozno slikarstvo „utapa umjetnikovu senzibilnost” i da se umjetnost „scientifizira”, pa je iz nje „radost svaka iščezla”.³³² Ta formulacija pokazuje koliko je kritika sada osjetljiva na odnos između racionalne konstrukcije i emocionalne punine djela. Branko Kovačević također se procjenjuje prije svega formalno: *Stradun* se opisuje kao „virtuozno komponiran”, ali hladan u boji, dok *Mrtve ptice* „ove godine na žalost i premrtve” zaostaju u svakom pogledu.³³³ Milan Tolić prikazan je kao autor u stalnome traženju vlastitoga izraza, s pozitivnim vrijednostima u pejzažima, ali i gubitkom kontrole nad bojom, a *Ciganka* je ocijenjena kao izrazit primjer nejedinstvena stila.³³⁴ Takve procjene razotkrivaju da kritika umjetnike prati longitudinalno, vrednujući njihove pokušaje, pomake i zastoje. Upravo ta longitudinalna perspektiva otkriva i jednu od slabosti lokalnoga izložbenog sustava: bez učestalijih samostalnih nastupa razvoj pojedinih autora ostaje vidljiv tek fragmentarno, u rijetkim skupnim presjecima.

Kritičar se osvrće i na Vinka Foretića, čije veliko platno *Dva svijeta* opisuje kao literarno intoniran prizor iz vagona trećega razreda, ispunjen plavilom, alkoholom i dimom, koji uza sve nedostatke nosi nešto „toplo i tugaljivo”, vjerojatno zato što proizlazi iz iskreno doživljenih reminiscencija umjetnikova života.³³⁵ Taj je sud zanimljiv jer razotkriva da se i narativniji, literarno obojeni radovi mogu afirmirati ako iza njih stoji autentično iskustvo i emocionalna uvjerljivost.

Na razini opće slike izložbe važno je istaknuti da je obuhvaćala i kiparska djela, ali kritičar i taj segment ocjenjuje prilično rezervirano. Ivan Mirković predstavljen je kao autor čiji radovi svjedoče o zanatskoj rutini, osobito u portretu Rikarda Katalinića Jeretova, a kompozicija *Strijeljanje* Petra Ružića smatra se stilski neuravnoteženom.³³⁶ Pozitivnije se ističe Ante Ivanišević, čija se drvena statueta *Žena na frontovskom radu* ocjenjuje uspjelim djelom u granicama primijenjene umjetnosti.³³⁷ Time se pokazuje da ni novi prostor ni visoka posjećenost sami po sebi nisu doveli do nekritičnoga slavljenja izložbe kao cjeline. Dapače, upravo u trenutku infrastrukturnoga iskoraka kritika kao da osjeća potrebu još odlučnije naglasiti razliku između javnoga uspjeha izložbe i neujednačenosti njezina umjetničkog dosega.

Sagledana u cjelini, *VI. Prvomajska izložba* bila je važna ponajprije zbog toga što je otvorila pitanje splitske izložbene infrastrukture i ponudila konkretan odgovor na dugotrajni manjak reprezentativnih prostora za izlaganje. Otvaranje u bivšoj Biskupskoj

palači, velik interes publike, produljenje trajanja izložbe i najava daljnjih izložbenih programa u istome prostoru pokazuju da se upravo 1951. godine počinje ozbiljnije uspostavljati infrastrukturni okvir za intenzivniji likovni život u gradu. Uz prostornu i organizacijsku dimenziju, *VI. Prvomajska izložba* važna je i zbog jasnije vidljivoga republičkog sustava otkupa. Nakon donošenja *Uputstava o kupovanju radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti* u siječnju 1951. godine otkupi se počinju odvijati preciznije strukturiranim postupkom, koji uključuje unaprijed rezervirana sredstva, imenovanje predstavnika republičke komisije, rad pomoćne komisije na terenu te naknadnu potvrdu i korekciju cijena u odnosu na one u Zagrebu.³³⁸ U tome smislu *VI. Prvomajska izložba* nije bila samo lokalna godišnja smotra dalmatinskih umjetnika nego i mjesto na kojemu se može pratiti sve organiziraniji odnos između republičke kulturne politike, lokalnih stručnih autoriteta i tržišne valorizacije umjetničkih radova.

Istovremeno, sama izložba u kritičkim je očima ostala ambivalentna: s jedne strane potvrđuje rast interesa publike i novu javnu vidljivost umjetnosti, a s druge razotkriva i dalje prisutne probleme kriterija, selekcije, profesionalne discipline i neujednačene kvalitete radova. Otkupni postupak dodatno potvrđuje tu napetost između javne reprezentacije i stručne selekcije. Pomoćna komisija u Splitu predložila je radove za otkup s *VI. Prvomajske izložbe*, a republička je komisija 21. svibnja 1951. godine prijedlog u načelu prihvatila, uz korekciju cijena prema zagrebačkim kriterijima.³³⁹ Time se otkup

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- 338 Na sastanku Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske održanome 24. travnja 1951. predložena je raspodjela sredstava Ministarstva za nauku i kulturu u ukupnome iznosu od 2 000 000 dinara. Za otkup s Prvomajske izložbe Podružnice ULUH-a za Dalmaciju u Splitu predviđeno je 200 000 dinara. Kao predstavnik republičke komisije za splitsku izložbu predložen je Frano Šimunović, a za članove pomoćne komisije u Splitu predloženi su dr. Cvito Fisković, direktor Konzervatorskoga zavoda za Dalmaciju, dr. Kruno Prijatelj, v. d. direktora Galerije umjetnina i Ivan Knežević, akademski slikar. Vidjeti „Zapisnik sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 24. travnja 1951.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 55: Otkup umjetničkih radova.
- 339 Na III. sastanku Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, održanome 21. svibnja 1951., razmatran je zaključak Pomoćne komisije za otkup umjetnina s *VI. Prvomajske izložbe* u Splitu. Komisija se u načelu suglasila s predloženim otkupom, ali je odlučila sniziti cijene i približiti ih zagrebačkim cijenama utvrđenima na drugome sastanku republičke komisije od 10. i 11. svibnja 1951. Za otkup su predloženi: Rudolf Bunk, *Autoportret*, tempera, 15 000 dinara; Ivo Dulčić, *Dubrovački trg*, ulje, 30 000 dinara; Ante Franičević, *Pejsaž s pruge*, ulje, 18 000 dinara; Ante Kaštelančić, *Trpanjska aleja*, ulje, 35 000 dinara; Joko Knežević, *Sjeverna luka*, ulje, 35 000 dinara; Bartul Petrić, *Predgrade Splita*, sepija, 6 000 dinara; Milan Tolić, *Motiv Zadra*, ulje, 15 000 dinara; Emanuel Vidović, *Sa prozora*, akvarel, 15 000 dinara. Komisija je dodatno predložila otkup slike Ante Gojaka *Istezanje migavice* za 20 000 dinara. Ukupan iznos otkupa iznosio je 189 000 dinara, a ostatak od 11 000 dinara do predviđenih 200 000 dinara rezerviran je za daljnji otkup iz Dalmacije prilikom posjeta člana republičke komisije. Vidjeti „Zapisnik III. sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 21. svibnja 1951.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 55: Otkup umjetničkih radova.

pojavljuje kao zaseban oblik vrednovanja izložbe: njime se potvrđuju prisutnost pojedinih autora u javnome prostoru i njihova institucijska prihvatljivost unutar republičkoga sustava kulturne potpore.

Upravo ta dvostrukost – infrastrukturni iskorak i estetska neujednačenost – čini *VI. Prvomajsku izložbu* osobito važnim mjestom za razumijevanje poslijeratne umjetničke scene u Splitu. Pokazuje da se likovni život sredinom stoljeća više nije mogao razvijati bez odgovarajućega prostora, ali i da sama infrastruktura nije automatski jamčila i stabilizaciju kvalitativnoga horizonta izložbene produkcije. Jednako je važno što je kritika pritom vrlo jasno upozorila na nedostatnost modela u kojemu su prvomajske izložbe praktički jedina veća prilika za javno sagledavanje rada dalmatinskih umjetnika. Budući da samostalnih izložbi gotovo i nema, a Podružnica ih još uvijek kontinuirano ne organizira, pojedini se opusi mogu upoznavati tek fragmentarno i povremeno, na rijetkim godišnjim smotrama. To ujedno znači da ni kritičko vrednovanje ne može dosegnuti punu dubinu jer je uskraćeno za mogućnost sustavnijega praćenja individualnih razvojnih linija. U tome smislu *VI. Prvomajska izložba* razotkriva i strukturni paradoks splitskoga likovnog života: upravo u trenutku kada grad napokon dobiva prikladniji izložbeni prostor, postaje još jasnije koliko nedostaje razgranatiji izložbeni ritam koji bi pojedinim umjetnicima omogućio puniju i učestaliju javnu artikulaciju njihova rada.

VII. Prvomajska izložba

Dom kulture (prizemlje bivše Biskupske palače), 1. – 15. svibnja 1952.

Izlagači: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Ante Franičević – Split, Nikola Ignjatović – Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Eugen Krstulović – Dubrovnik, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Bartul Petrić – Split, Željko Radmilović – Split, Milan Tolić – Split i Emanuel Vidović – Split.

Gosti izlagači: Ante Boteri – Makarska, Ante Ivanišević – Split, Ljubo Kolovrat – Dubrovnik, Krešo Mateljan – Split, Vjera Matijaš – Split, Bosiljka Mijatović – Dubrovnik, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Đuro Pulitika – Dubrovnik, Vojka Ružić – Split i Ranko Tolić – Split.

VII. Prvomajska izložba pokazuje da se početkom pedesetih godina prvomajske izložbe sve jasnije oblikuju kao mjesto presijecanja nekoliko važnih procesa, i to institucionalizacije izložbenoga života, promjene odnosa između središta i periferije, rastuće potrebe za samorefleksijom umjetničke scene te pojačanoga interesa za pitanje kvalitete, kriterija i tržišne sudbine izloženih radova. Ako je prethodna, šesta izložba snažno otvorila pitanje izložbene infrastrukture u Splitu, sedma se izložba tim institucijskim okvirom nastavlja koristiti, ali istovremeno daje do znanja da rješenje prostornoga pitanja samo po sebi nije bilo dovoljno da razriješi dublje probleme lokalne

likovne scene. U tome smislu *VII. Prvomajska izložba* djeluje kao važan indikator napetosti između reprezentativne funkcije manifestacije i sve izraženije potrebe za strožim vrednovanjem umjetničke proizvodnje. Otkupni materijal iz 1952. godine potvrđuje kontinuitet modela uspostavljenoga prethodne godine. Komisija za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske razmatrala je prijedlog otkupa s *VII. Prvomajske izložbe*, pri čemu je dio radova trebao biti kupljen iz republičkih sredstava, a dio iz lokalnih izvora. Takva raspodjela upućuje na oblikovanje složenijega mehanizma kulturnoga financiranja početkom pedesetih godina, u kojemu republička i lokalna razina sudjeluju u selekciji i materijalnoj potvrdi umjetničke produkcije.³⁴⁰

Uoči same izložbe posebno je zanimljiv novinski tekst u kojemu umjetnici iz Dubrovnika dobivaju priliku da sami artikuliraju svoj položaj, svoj odnos prema radu i vlastita očekivanja od izložbene aktivnosti.³⁴¹ Javni novinski prostor u ovoj fazi služi obavještavanju o izložbi, naknadnoj kritici i izravnome istupu samih umjetnika, koji u njemu mogu iznijeti vlastito razumijevanje struke i uvjeta rada. U isto vrijeme njihove izjave otkrivaju koliko je pitanje geografskoga položaja bilo usko povezano s pitanjem umjetničke vidljivosti i mogućnosti razvoja. Tako Branko Kovačević otvoreno kaže: „Moj je plan da se u skoroj budućnosti preselim iz Dubrovnika u Zagreb, jer mislim da ću u Zagrebu naći povoljnije uvjete za rad. U Dubrovniku živim već 6 godina, a udaljenost od centra za jedno duže razdoblje može donekle utjecati da čovjek padne u zaborav”.³⁴² Ova

³⁴⁰ Na XV. sastanku Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, održanome 15. svibnja 1952., razmotren je izvještaj Frane Kršinića i S. Šeparovića o otkupnome prijedlogu Komisije za otkup na VII. Prvomajskoj izložbi Podružnice ULUH-a u Splitu. U komisiji su, uz njih, sudjelovali Ante Kaštelančić i Joko Knežević, akademski slikari te P. Ninčević, predsjednik NO-a Grada Splita. Predloženo je da se s izložbe otkupi četrnaest radova Rudolfa Bunka, Ive Dulčića, Ante Kaštelančića, Joke Kneževića, Branka Kovačevića, Andrije Krstulovića, Antuna Masle, Željka Radmilovića, Milana Tolića, Emanuela Vidovića, Ante Botterija i Đure Pulitike, u ukupnoj vrijednosti od 448 000 dinara. Iz sredstava Savjeta za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NRH predviđen je otkup pet radova u vrijednosti od 198 000 dinara: Rudolf Bunk, *Cvijeće*, ulje, 60 × 60 cm, kat. br. 3 (35 000 dinara); Ivo Dulčić, *Portret gđe M. B.*, ulje, 69 × 55 cm, kat. br. 5 (35 000 dinara); Ante Kaštelančić, *Motiv s otoka*, ulje, 81 × 70 cm, kat. br. 15 (53 000 dinara); Joko Knežević, *Glava*, mozaik, 40 × 34 cm, kat. br. 19 (35 000 dinara); Emanuel Vidović, *Skuš*e, ulje, 53 × 34 cm, kat. br. 43 (40 000 dinara). Ostali su radovi trebali biti otkupljeni iz lokalnih sredstava. Vidjeti „Zapisnik XV. sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 15. svibnja 1952.”, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 55: Otkup umjetničkih radova. Ovi otkupljeni radovi bili su otpremljeni u Zagreb. Vidjeti dopis „Dostava otkupljenih slika”, koji je ULUH-ova Podružnica za Dalmaciju u Splitu uputila Udruženju likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Zagrebu 2. srpnja 1952., br. 83/52, Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika 1945. – 1992., tehnička jedinica (kutija) 55: Otkup umjetničkih radova.

³⁴¹ B. Kamić, „Pred VII. Prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije: O sebi i svom radu. Razgovor našeg suradnika s likovnim umjetnicima Dubrovnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 26. travnja 1952., str. 3.

³⁴² Isto.

je izjava iznimno važna jer sažima temeljni problem odnosa između kulturnoga središta i gradova udaljenih od njega. Umjetnička proizvodnja očito se i dalje doživljava kao snažno ovisna o prostornoj blizini glavnih institucijskih i kritičkih središta pa boravak izvan Zagreba ili Beograda može značiti smanjenu vidljivost, slabiji profesionalni kontakt i opasnost od marginalizacije. Iz toga proizlazi da dalmatinska umjetnička scena, uza svu svoju vitalnost, još uvijek nije dosegнула razinu samodostatnosti koja bi umjetnicima osigurala pun osjećaj profesionalnoga kontinuiteta. Ujedno postaje jasno da kulturna decentralizacija, iako načelno poželjna, u praksi još nije bila provedena u mjeri koja bi umjetnicima izvan glavnih središta omogućila ravnopravnu profesionalnu prisutnost.

Sličan ton prepoznaje se i u Dulčićevim i Maslinim izjavama. Dulčić pritom izričito povezuje izložbenu aktivnost s osnovnom društvenom funkcijom umjetnosti, tvrdeći da „slikar koji ne izlaže svoj rad nalikuje glumcu koji deklamira iza zatvorenih vrata svoje sobe. Slikar kao i glumac stvara za publiku”.³⁴³ U toj se formulaciji jasno očituje svijest o nužnosti javne prezentacije kao sastavnoga dijela umjetničkoga rada. Ujedno, Dulčić odmah upozorava i na materijalne uvjete koji takvu aktivnost ograničavaju, dodajući da se ne kani trajno zadržati u Dubrovniku jer se osjeća „otkinut od likovnih centara i šireg kruga kolega po zvanju”.³⁴⁴ Ta izjava zorno svjedoči o tome da se profesionalni razvoj u tome trenutku još uvijek teško mogao zamisliti bez neposrednijega dodira s kulturnim središtima. Masle je u tome pogledu još izravniji. Otvoreno govori o svojoj poziciji nastavnika crtanja, koja mu gotovo onemogućuje ozbiljniji slikarski rad te se zbog toga naziva „nedjeljnim slikarom”.³⁴⁵ Njegove su riječi osobito dragocjene jer iznutra osvjetljavaju ono što će kritika poslije prepoznati kao jedan od ključnih problema izložbe i scene u cjelini: nedostatak vremena, materijalnih uvjeta i kontinuiranoga rada. Maslina želja da živi u Zagrebu ili Beogradu, a u Dubrovnik navraća povremeno, ponovno potvrđuje da su kulturna središta doživljavana kao prostori življega umjetničkog života, profesionalnoga usavršavanja i mogućnosti napredovanja.³⁴⁶ Skupno gledajući, ove izjave vrlo jasno demonstriraju kako umjetnici izvan središta svoj položaj doživljavaju kao oblik profesionalne i simboličke periferizacije, a ne samo kao prostornu udaljenost.

Sama *VII. Prvomajska izložba* svečano je otvorena 1. svibnja 1952. godine u 11 sati u zgradi bivše Biskupske palače, u tri velike i prostrane dvorane, uz prisutnost predstavnika narodne vlasti, društvenih organizacija, javnih i kulturnih radnika Splita te mnogobrojnih uzvanika.³⁴⁷ I ovdje je, dakle, otvorenje izložbe zamišljeno kao javni događaj šire društvene važnosti. Sama izložba predstavljena je kao bogatija od prethodnih po broju radova, a novinski izvještaj posebno ističe njezinu „izborom i raznovrsnošću

motiva” obilježenu strukturu, za koju tvrdi da „znatno podiže njen kvalitet i pobuđuje veći interes kod dosad dosta brojne publike”.³⁴⁸ Taj je ton u početku izrazito afirmativan i sugerira da je upravo raznovrsnost motiva prepoznata kao znak kvalitativnoga pomaka. Važno je pritom primijetiti da se kvaliteta ovdje još uvijek velikim dijelom legitimira preko širine zahvaćenoga tematskog polja, što upućuje na to da je ideja reprezentativnosti i dalje imala važnu ulogu u procjeni ukupnoga dosega izložbe.

Zanimljivo je da se već sredinom svibnja izložba u novinskome prostoru promovira i reprodukcijom Bunkova rada *Cvijeće*, što razotkriva da se novinski medij upotrebljava i kao svojevrsni vizualni produžetak izložbe, odnosno kao poticaj publici da posjeti samu izložbu.³⁴⁹ Ta medijska praksa svjedoči o svijesti da se zanimanje za izložbu proizvodi pozorno oblikovanom vizualnom prisutnosti u dnevnome tisku, a ne samo kritičkim sudom. Novine tako preuzimaju i posredničku ulogu između izložbe i publike, sudjelujući u oblikovanju recepcije prije samoga fizičkog posjeta.

Ipak, završna vijest o zatvaranju izložbe donosi podatak koji otvara niz interpretativnih pitanja. Naime, navodi se da je izložbu posjetilo „oko 400 posjetilaca” te da je „izvjestan broj radova” otkupljen.³⁵⁰ Taj je broj posjetitelja osjetno manji od onoga koji je zabilježen na prethodnoj, *VI. Prvomajskoj izložbi*, pa se nameće pitanje je li došlo do stvarnoga pada interesa, do drukčijega načina bilježenja posjećenosti ili do promjene u samoj društvenoj atmosferi koja je pratila izložbu. Takva diskrepancija u svakome slučaju upućuje na oprez pri tumačenju novinskih brojki, ali i na činjenicu da visoka reprezentativnost otvaranja i medijska vidljivost nisu nužno jamčili trajan i masovan interes publike. Istovremeno, podatak o otkupljivanju „izvjesnog broja radova” ostaje namjerno neodređen, što je također indikativno. Sugerira da je tržišni učinak izložbe bio dovoljno važan da bude zabilježen, ali ne i dovoljno snažan ili jasan da bi se preciznije kvantificirao. Već sama ta neodređenost govori o stanovitaj nesigurnosti tržišnoga aspekta izložbe.

Vrlo važan sloj recepcije *VII. Prvomajske izložbe* čini anketa objavljena 21. svibnja 1952. godine, u kojoj o izložbi govore sami umjetnici: Rudolf Bunk, Joko Knežević i kipar Željko Radmilović.³⁵¹ Taj je postupak posebno zanimljiv jer izložbi daje dimenziju samoanalize i samovrednovanja, a ujedno umjetnike približava široj publici kao subjekte koji razmišljaju o kriterijima, napretku i ulozi tržišta. Takva anketa pokazuje i da se unutar same umjetničke zajednice već razvija potreba za artikuliranim javnim govorom o vlastitu položaju, što je važan znak sazrijevanja scene. Bunk pritom iznosi stajalište koje snažno naglašava potrebu za kvalitetom i strožim izborom. Njegove riječi vrijedi navesti opširnije:

- 343 Isto.
- 344 Isto.
- 345 Isto.
- 346 Isto.
- 347 „Otvorena sedma prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5. svibnja 1952., str. 2.

- 348 Isto.
- 349 „Sa VII. prvomajske izložbe u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 14. svibnja 1952., str. 4.
- 350 „Zatvorena VII. prvomajska izložba”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15. svibnja 1952., str. 4.
- 351 „Što misle neki naši likovni radnici o VII. Prvomajskoj izložbi u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21. svibnja 1952., str. 4.

Moramo svakako nastojati da umnožavanjem kvalitete dopremo do one faze razvoja, kada kvantitet treba da preraste u kvalitet, koji mora da daje pravo težište i pravi karakter našim izložbama. Samo kvalitativno višim nivoom prosjeka možemo doći ujedno do sve višeg mjerila osnovnih vrijednosti. Što više dobrih slika, to i kriterij prosuđivanja postaje sve viši. Naprotiv, što više loših slika, to se i kriterij mora nužno spustiti sve niže, pa time i naše manifestacije moraju gubiti u pogledu umjetničkog kao i pedagoškog značaja. Jedino strožim izborom predloženog izložbenog materijala možemo postići dobre rezultate. To se ne odnosi samo na radove naših gostiju izlagača, već i na same članove ULUH-a, koji često ne pokazuju dovoljno autokritike. Da li su umjetnici napredovali u svom umjetničkom radu, to se ne može prosuditi tek na temelju tako oskudnog uvida u njihov rad na zajedničkim izložbama, već bi se takav sud mogao donijeti jedino na temelju samostalne izložbe pojedinaca.³⁵²

Bunkov odgovor iznimno je važan jer sažima nekoliko središnjih problema tadašnje scene. Prvo,inzistira na ideji da izložba mora biti mjesto podizanja kriterija, a ne samo pregled masovnosti. Drugo, izričito traži stroži izbor i veću autokritičnost samih umjetnika. Treće, i možda najvažnije, upozorava da se razvoj pojedinoga umjetnika ne može ozbiljno prosuđivati samo na temelju zajedničkih izložbi. Upravo ta opaska otvara jedan od ključnih problema dalmatinske izlagačke scene: izostanak samostalnih izložbi onemogućava dublji uvid u pojedine opuse. Na taj način zajednička prvomajska izložba preuzima funkciju koju ne može u cijelosti nositi, jer istovremeno mora biti i regionalna smotra i mjesto individualnoga vrednovanja.

Radmilovićev odgovor dodatno produbljuje sliku izložbe, osobito kada je riječ o tržišnome i egzistencijalnome učinku otkupa. Otvoreno tvrdi da su radni uvjeti i financijske teškoće osnovni uzroci slaboga napretka te da otkupi imaju dvostruku funkciju: osiguravaju sredstva za rad, ali i predstavljaju priznanje umjetnikovu trudu.³⁵³ U tome kontekstu posebno su važne njegove riječi:

Osim što otkupi, ukoliko ih ima, pružaju osnovna materijalna sredstva umjetniku da razvija svoj rad, oni su i jedno priznanje njegovom trudu i radu. Ukoliko otkupa nema, efekat je sasvim suprotan, to naime znači da su umjetnikovi radovi, koje on nudi na tržište, depласirani i nepotrebni a to, jasno, djeluje demoralizatorski i odražava se u njegovom daljem radu.³⁵⁴

Iz ovoga je ulomka vidljivo da se izložba nije doživljavala samo kao mjesto javnoga predstavljanja; ona je bila i prostor tržišne provjere te simboličkoga priznanja. Otkup

je imao dalekosežan učinak: potvrđivao je društvenu vrijednost rada i istovremeno omogućavao nastavak proizvodnje. Upravo zato podatak da je na izložbi otkupljen „izvjestan broj radova” dobiva dodatnu težinu jer pokazuje da je i sam tržišni učinak bio dio ukupnoga smisla izložbene manifestacije. U toj perspektivi izložba prestaje biti samo kulturni događaj i postaje jedan od rijetkih mehanizama koji umjetniku omogućuje ekonomsku i simboličku reprodukciju vlastitoga rada.

Kneževićev odgovor, pak, uvodi još jednu važnu dimenziju rasprave. Smatra da je izložba vrlo slična prošlogodišnjoj, „jedino što je svake godine nešto slabija”, a pritom otvoreno kaže da ga „mnogo ne zanima cjelokupan dojam izložbe”, jer taj dojam traje samo dok traje sama izložba.³⁵⁵ Puno važnijima smatra djela koja bi mogla obraniti svoju „unutrašnju vrijednost i nakon izvjesnog niza vjekova”. Ovakvo je stajalište zanimljivo jer relativizira samu logiku skupne godišnje smotre i kratkotrajnoga izložbenog dojma. Knežević time izložbu podređuje dugome trajanju umjetničke vrijednosti, a ne trenutnoj društvenoj funkciji manifestacije. Osobito je važan njegov sud o otkupima, koje naziva „jednim nužnim zlom”, upozoravajući da su mnoga likovna stremljenja posljednjih godina bila „preudešavana upravo prema zahtjevima otkupa”.³⁵⁶ Taj sud unosi važnu korekciju u dotada pretežno afirmativno razumijevanje otkupa. Naime, oni mogu održavati umjetnost na životu, ali mogu i deformirati stvaralački impuls kada umjetnici počnu prilagođavati svoj rad očekivanjima tržišta i naručitelja. Kneževićev odgovor zato uvodi možda i najdublju razinu samokritike jer upozorava da sustav potpore umjetnosti može djelovati produktivno, ali i normativno pritiskati samo stvaralaštvo.

Nadalje, vrlo važan kritički okvir za razumijevanje *VII. Prvomajske izložbe* donosi i tekst A. N. objavljen 16. svibnja 1952. godine. U njemu se otvoreno tvrdi da je kulturni i umjetnički život Splita „u posljednje vrijeme znatno popustio” te da treba „upregnuti sve sile” kako bi se ponovno podigao na potrebnu visinu.³⁵⁷ Kritičar pritom upozorava da se problem manje osjeća u kvantiteti, a više u kvaliteti te da diletantizam na mnogim poljima kulture i umjetnosti prijeti „razvodnjavanju i onih izrazitih i pozitivnih kvaliteta, koje već postoje”.³⁵⁸ U tome je smislu *VII. Prvomajska izložba* za njega simptom širega kulturnog stanja grada. Napose je važna njegova tvrdnja da se Split, iako nije središte poput Zagreba ili Beograda, ne smije zadovoljiti drugorazrednim i trećerazrednim umjetnicima, predstavama ili izložbama, već treba težiti umjetničkoj i znanstvenoj kvaliteti koja neće zaostajati za središtima.³⁵⁹ Time se ponovno otvara temeljna napetost između središta i periferije, ali sada iz perspektive kulturne politike grada: Split se ne želi pomiriti s položajem provincije.

352 Isto.
353 Isto.
354 Isto.

355 Isto.
356 Isto.
357 A. N., „Sedma prvomajska izložba ULUH-a u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16. svibnja 1952., str. 3.
358 Isto.
359 Isto.

pojedinačne izložbene rezultate. One su, usto što su bile prostor pokazivanja radova, bile i mjesto na kojemu se u realnome vremenu oblikovala sama institucijska fizionomija Podružnice, njezin odnos prema javnosti, prema državi, prema kritici i, naposljetku, prema vlastitim članovima.

Važnu razvojnu liniju cijeloga niza čini i promjena izlagačkoga prostora, koja vrlo zorno odražava proces institucijskoga jačanja same manifestacije. Prve četiri prvomajske izložbe održavale su se u Umjetničkome salonu Galić, prostoru koji je, premda važan za poslijeratni likovni život Splita, ipak bio razmjerno skromnih kapaciteta i još uvijek privatnoga karaktera. Sama činjenica da se tako važna godišnja manifestacija Podružnice u početku oslanjala na takav prostor jasno pokazuje koliko je izložbena infrastruktura grada bila nedostatna. Prijelaz *V. Prvomajske izložbe* u prostorije Mjesnoga sindikalnog vijeća u Radničkome domu označava novu fazu, u kojoj se izložba simbolički još snažnije veže za javni okvir rada, kolektiva i sindikalne reprezentacije. Konačno, smještanje šeste i sedme izložbe u prizemlje bivše Biskupske palače, odnosno Dom kulture, označava najviši stupanj te prostorne i institucijske afirmacije. Time izložba dobiva reprezentativniji okvir, a sam Split napokon prikladniji prostor za intenzivniji i razgranatiji izložbeni život. Promjena mjesta održavanja stoga postaje važan pokazatelj prijelaza od infrastrukturno ograničenoga i djelomice improviziranoga modela prema stabilnijemu, javno legitimiranomu i kulturnopolitički važnijemu obliku izlagačke prakse.

U prvome razdoblju, osobito od prve do četvrte izložbe, jasno se razabire snažan ideološki okvir unutar kojega se umjetnost vrednovala. Od izložbi se očekivalo da budu više od revijalnih smotri aktualne produkcije. Trebale su potvrditi povezanost umjetnosti s novim društvenim poretkom, s kolektivnim iskustvom rata, obnove i rada, sa simboličkim legitimitetom poratne države i s idejom kulturnoga fronta kao sastavnoga dijela šire društvene preobrazbe. U tome je smislu kritika, osobito u najranijim godinama, često polazila od pitanja tematike, društvene usmjerenosti i sposobnosti umjetničkoga djela da zahvati „našu veliku epohu”, „narodni život” i „suvremenu zbilju”. Mrtva priroda, pejzaž i intimistički motivi doživljavali su se kao znakovi udaljenosti od povijesnoga trenutka, a modernistički formalizam kao anakrona ili društveno deplasirana poetika. Na prvim izložbama umjetnička se vrijednost stoga u velikoj mjeri mjerila stupnjem društvene relevantnosti, tematske suvremenosti i sposobnosti djela da se uklopi u očekivanja nove kulturne politike.

Ipak, jednako je važno naglasiti da se taj normativni aspekt nikada nije jednostavno i bez ostatka preslikao u samu umjetničku praksu. Upravo su prvomajske izložbe dragocjene zato što iznimno jasno pokazuju koliko je stvarna produkcija bila neujednačena, hibridna i otporna na jednostavna usmjeravanja. Umjetnici Podružnice uglavnom nisu naglo i kolektivno napustili vlastite prijeratne likovne jezike. Naprotiv, u izlagačkim su prostorima još godinama bili snažno prisutni pejzaž, mrtva priroda, intimizam,

koloristička istraživanja i razni oblici modernističkoga naslijeđa. U tome se vidi jedna od ključnih napetosti cijeloga razdoblja: dok su kritika i kulturna politika tražile što čvršće povezivanje umjetnosti sa socijalnom stvarnošću i ideološki poželjnim sadržajima, sami su umjetnici često ostajali vjerni vlastitim rukopisima, iskustvima i estetskim formacijama. Prvomajske izložbe zato svjedoče o dugotrajnome i složenome pregovoru između političkoga zahtjeva, institucijskoga pritiska i trajnosti individualnih poetika. Upravo u tome procjepu između očekivanoga i zatečenoga najjasnije se očituje njihova povijesna vrijednost. Vrijednost tih izložbi sadržana je u onome što su afirmirale, ali i u granicama onoga što su uspijevale disciplinirati. U njima se jasno vidi da je poslijeratna likovna scena bila prostor prijelaza, nesigurnosti, kompromisa i otpora, a ne kakvo homogeno polje. Umjetnici su se kretali između ideološki propisanih tema i vlastitih unutarnjih interesa, između društvene reprezentacije i slikarske autonomije, između kolektivnoga zahtjeva i individualnoga iskustva. Zbog toga se prvomajske izložbe mogu čitati i kao svojevrsni laboratorij poslijeratne kulturne modernizacije, u kojemu se neprestano ispituje do koje se mjere likovna umjetnost može prilagoditi novim društvenim koordinatama, a da pritom ne izgubi vlastitu unutarnju logiku.

U tome se kontinuitetu ipak mogu pratiti i važni pomaci. Oko 1948. godine i osobito nakon prekida sa Staljinom postaje sve vidljivije da isključivo ideološki kriterij postupno slabi. To ne znači da društvena funkcija umjetnosti odjednom nestaje iz kritičkoga i izložbenoga horizonta; ona ostaje važna, katkada i vrlo naglašena. No, od kraja četrdesetih i početka pedesetih sve snažnije u prvi plan dolaze pitanja formalne kvalitete, slikarske ozbiljnosti, zanatske discipline, medijskoga izbora, unutarnje koherentnosti rada i individualnoga razvoja autora. U tekstovima o petoj, šestoj i sedmoj izložbi sve se jasnije vidi da se kritika postupno odmiče od pitanja odgovara li motiv novome društvenom trenutku i sve se više usmjerava prema likovnoj uvjerljivosti djela, razvijenosti autorskoga rukopisa, ozbiljnosti rada, vježbi, predradnji i stvarnoj profesionalnoj napetosti. U tome pomaku zrcali se i šira promjena kulturnoga ozračja: socrealistički zahtjev ne nestaje naglo, ali postupno gubi monopol nad vrednovanjem.

To je jedna od najvažnijih razvojnih linija koju ovaj niz izložbi otkriva. Na početku se od umjetnosti traži prije svega društvena čitljivost i idejna usmjerenost; pri kraju promatranoga razdoblja sve se snažnije traži profesionalna vjerodostojnost, formalna koncentracija i ozbiljnost umjetničkoga rada. Upravo zato prvomajske izložbe omogućuju da se vrlo precizno prati prijelaz od dominantno ideološkoga kriterija prema složenijemu modelu procjene u kojemu se ponovno afirmiraju i povijesnoumjetnički, formalni i strukovni kriteriji. Taj prijelaz nije linearan ni posve dovršen, ali je jasno vidljiv.

Istovremeno, cijeli niz izložbi vrlo jasno razotkriva koliko je likovni život Podružnice bio ovisan o materijalnim i institucijskim uvjetima. U zapisnicima, novinskim člancima i umjetničkim izjavama neprestano se ponavljaju isti problemi: nedostatak vremena, oskudni uvjeti rada, manjak materijala, odsutnost ateljea, opterećenost drugim

poslovima, rijetkost izložbenih prilika, slabo razvijena kritička pratnja i oskudna infrastruktura. Upravo zato je *VI. Prvomajska izložba*, otvorena u novim prostorijama bivše Biskupske palače, tako važna: pokazala je da pitanje izložbenoga prostora postaje jedan od temeljnih uvjeta mogućnosti intenzivnijega kulturnog života u Splitu. No, jednako se brzo pokazalo i da nova infrastruktura sama po sebi nije dovoljna. Prostor može povećati vidljivost, posjećenost i javni prestiž, ali ne može automatski riješiti problem kvalitativne neujednačenosti, izostanka kontinuiteta rada ili strukturne slabosti izložbenoga sustava.

U tome je smislu posebno važna činjenica da su prvomajske izložbe dugo ostale gotovo jedini kontinuirani okvir javnoga predstavljanja umjetnika Podružnice. Upravo su zbog toga bile i preopterećene. Od jedne se godišnje manifestacije očekivalo da bude reprezentativna regionalna smotra, javni kulturni događaj, politički ritual, tržišna prilika, mjesto kritičke procjene i prostor sagledavanja razvoja pojedinih autora. Takav je teret bio prevelik za jedan jedini izložbeni model. Kritika je to s vremenom sve jasnije uočavala. Već kod šeste i osobito sedme izložbe izrijeком se upozorava da jedna zajednička izložba godišnje nije dovoljna za ozbiljno praćenje i razumijevanje pojedinačnih opusa. Bez samostalnih izložbi razvoj autora ostajao je vidljiv tek fragmentarno, povremenim godišnjim presjecima. To znači da ni kritičko vrednovanje nije moglo dosegnuti punu dubinu jer mu je nedostajao kontinuiraniji uvid u pojedinačne stvaralačke putanje.

Ta je okolnost od osobite važnosti za razumijevanje cjelokupnoga izložbenog modela Podružnice. Prvomajske izložbe jesu bile njezin najvažniji javni projekt, ali su ujedno razotkrile i granice njezina djelovanja. Pokazale su potrebu za sustavnijim i razgranatijim izložbenim životom, za samostalnim nastupima, za razvijenijom kritičkom infrastrukturu i za većom diferencijacijom unutar same scene. Tek tada bi se moglo ozbiljnije govoriti o umjetničkome razvoju, o međusobnoj usporedivosti opusa i o stvarnome profesionalnom sazrijevanju zajednice.

Jednako su važne i unutarnje društvene i generacijske napetosti koje su se ovim nizom izložbi razotkrivale. Prve izložbe pokazuju koliko su snažno bili prisutni sporovi oko žiriranja, kriterija, privilegiranih pozicija starijih članova i načina na koji se govori o tuđemu radu. Kasnije izložbe sve jasnije otvaraju i pitanje mlađe generacije te potrebe da joj se osigura više prostora i vidljivosti. U tome smislu prvomajske izložbe funkcionirale su kao javne manifestacije i kao mjesta na kojima se unutar same Podružnice pregovaralo o autoritetu, iskustvu, kvaliteti i pravu na budućnost. U njima se vidi kako se polako oblikuje nova generacijska paradigma, koja će tek u godinama koje slijede snažnije preoblikovati dalmatinsku scenu.

Usto, ovaj niz izložbi vrlo jasno otkriva i strukturnu neravnotežu u prisutnosti umjetnica. Premda se u pojedinim godinama pojavljuju autorice poput Jovanke Strajnić, Else Vučetić, a poslije Vjere Matijaš, Bosiljke Mijatović i Vojke Ružić, njihova je zastupljenost

tijekom čitavoga razdoblja izrazito skromna. Čak i ondje gdje se bilježi brojčani porast, riječ je o vrlo stidljivome pomaku koji prije potvrđuje dubinu njihova dotadašnjeg izostanka nego što upućuje na ozbiljniju promjenu. I ta dimenzija mnogo govori o radu Podružnice: prvomajske izložbe jesu bile reprezentativna smotra lokalne produkcije, ali su ujedno razotkrivale i vrlo ograničen pristup javnoj vidljivosti za žene unutar tadašnjega umjetničkog polja.

Zaključno, prvomajske izložbe od 1946. do 1952. godine mogu se razumjeti kao jedno od najvažnijih mjesta na kojima se u poslijeratnoj Dalmaciji formirao odnos između umjetnosti, institucije i društva. U početku su snažno obilježene ideološkim kriterijem i očekivanjem da umjetnost bude jasan izraz nove stvarnosti, rada i kolektivne obnove. S vremenom se taj kriterij postupno relativizira, a u prvi plan sve više dolaze pitanja formalne kvalitete, profesionalizma, medija, uvjeta rada i razvoja pojedinačnih opusa. Istovremeno, same izložbe razotkrivaju koliko je taj proces bio spor, neujednačen i proturječan. Umjetnici nisu jednostavno napuštali svoje prijeratne poetike, kritika nije bila jedinstvena, institucijski okvir bio je nestabilan, a materijalni uvjeti često nepovoljni. Upravo zato taj niz izložbi predstavlja iznimno vrijedan dokument jedne scene u nastajanju. Njihova je prava važnost upravo u toj složenosti. Potvrđivale su ono što je kulturna politika željela vidjeti, ali su ujedno razotkrivale granice tih očekivanja, otpore unutar same umjetničke prakse i strukturne slabosti lokalnoga sustava. Kao takve, prvomajske izložbe predstavljaju ključni izvor za razumijevanje načina na koji se u poslijeratnoj Dalmaciji uspostavljao, pregovarao i postupno mijenjao sam pojam suvremene umjetnosti.

Nakon analize prvomajskih izložbi kao najstabilnijega izlagačkog modela Podružnice, potrebno je izdvojiti i jedan drukčiji izložbeni oblik iz iste rane poratne faze. Izložba *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* pokazuje kako su umjetnici sudjelovali u vizualnome oblikovanju društvene obnove izvan okvira klasične umjetničke smotre.

5 UMJETNICI, OBNOVA I VIZUALNA KULTURA PORATNE DALMACIJE

Izložba *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.*

Premda je glavнина ove knjige usmjerena prema koncipiranju, organizaciji i razvoju godišnjih prvomajskih izložbi, izložbu *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.*, održanu od lipnja do kolovoza 1946. godine, valja uvrstiti kao zaseban i osobito indikativan primjer poratne vizualne kulture u Splitu. Slijedi neposredno nakon *I. Prvomajske izložbe*, ali se zasniva na drukčijoj izložbenoj logici. Za razliku od prvomajskih izložbi, počevši od prve pa nadalje, koje su se ponajprije temeljile na predstavljanju samostalnih umjetničkih radova, *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* bila je zamišljena kao vizualno-dokumentarna prezentacija rezultata poratne obnove. Stoga važnim postaje pitanje uloge umjetnika u oblikovanju izložbenih cjelina namijenjenih javnoj edukaciji, političkoj legitimaciji i popularizaciji rezultata nove vlasti.

Izložba je bila postavljena u prostorijama Osnovne škole Manuš, koje je ustupio Prosvjetni odjel Gradskoga narodnog odbora Split, a svečano je otvorena 16. lipnja 1946. godine u 9 sati ujutro.³⁶⁸ Svečano otvorenje jasno potvrđuje njezinu reprezentativnu i političku važnost. Otvorenju su, prema novinskome izvještaju, prisustvovali predstavnici narodnih vlasti, Jugoslavenske armije i mornarice, masovnih organizacija te mnogobrojno građanstvo, a izložbu je otvorio predsjednik Oblasnoga narodnog odbora za Dalmaciju Vice Buljan.³⁶⁹ U njegovu je govoru osobito znakovita reminiscencija na raniju izložbu dalmatinskoga zbjega u El Shattu, koja je održana „pred godinu dana na ovom istom mjestu u ovim istim prostorijama”, kada je bio prikazan uspjeh izbjeglica koje su u logorskome kompleksu usred pustinje stvorile privremeni dom.³⁷⁰ Prostor škole Manuš time se uspostavlja kao mjesto simboličkoga kontinuiteta između ratnoga iskustva dislokacije i poratnoga iskustva obnove. *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* upisuje se u širu

368 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* (katalog izložbe), Split, 1946.

369 „Svečano otvorenje izložbe Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945. godinu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17. lipnja 1946., str. 2.

370 Isto.

povijest kolektivne izdržljivosti, materijalne rekonstrukcije i organizirane društvene samoobnove. Buljanovo određenje izložbe kao poticaja budućemu radu premješta njezinu ulogu iz područja retrospektivnoga pregleda prema aktivnoj mobilizaciji. Ta okolnost ujedno upućuje na fleksibilno oblikovanje izložbenoga prostora u poratnim prilikama, uporabom dostupnih javnih zgrada i u bliskoj vezi s obrazovnim i upravnim institucijama.

U uvodnome dijelu kataloga eksplicitno je formuliran cilj izložbe: „Cilj izložbe je da prikaže rezultate rada na obnovi u oblasti Dalmacije u 1945 god. poslije pustošenja i pljačke koju nam je okupator nanio na svim područjima privrednog i kulturnog života.”³⁷¹ Takav cilj otpočetka određuje političku i ideološku putanju izložbe. U njezinu se postavu činjenice organiziraju u pripovijest o obnovi koja polazi od ratne devastacije i završava afirmacijom uspješne rekonstrukcije pod vodstvom narodnih vlasti. To razumijevanje izložbe potvrđuje i novinska najava uoči njezina otvorenja, u kojoj se ističe da treba u „povezanom i sažetom, a istovremeno umjetničkom i estetskom okviru” prikazati razmjere ratne pustoši, uspjehe postignute 1945. godine i perspektive buduće izgradnje.³⁷² Iz navedene se formulacije razabire da je izložba bila zamišljena kao sinteza dokumentarnoga pregleda, vizualne obrade i političke pedagogije. Iznimno je važan naglasak na tomu da posjetitelj, suočen sa statistikama, grafikonima, crtežima i fotografijama, treba razumjeti razmjere ratnoga razaranja te opravdanost mjera koje su nove vlasti poduzele u obnovi. Izložba se tako oblikuje kao sredstvo usmjeravanja pogleda i tumačenja koje promatrača vodi od iskustva ratne devastacije prema prihvatanju obnove kao organiziranoga i povijesno nužnoga društvenog projekta. U tome je smislu u samoj najavi izložbe jasno naznačeno da njezina svrha nadilazi informativnu razinu i zadobiva izrazitu ideološku i mobilizacijsku zadaću. Ujedno je znakovito što se izložba zamišlja kao postav koji bi trebao ostati trajan, redovito se dopunjavati novim podacima i biti prikazivan i izvan Splita, u drugim većim mjestima Dalmacije.³⁷³ Iz takve koncepcije razvidno je da je bila shvaćena kao sredstvo trajnoga obavještavanja, političke didaktike i društvene mobilizacije, s ambicijom da nadživi jednokratni izložbeni događaj. Da je toj manifestaciji pridavana osobita važnost, pokazuje i činjenica da se njezina priprema i najava u javnosti bilježe već početkom siječnja 1946. godine, što upućuje na zaključak da je izložba bila zamišljena kao dugoročnije pripreman reprezentativni projekt, udaljen od logike usputne popratne manifestacije obnove.³⁷⁴

371 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* (katalog izložbe), Split, 1946., str. 1.
372 Dinko Foretić, „Izložba ‘Obnova Dalmacije u 1945. godini’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 9. lipnja 1946., str. 2. Manje ispravke toga članka a referentne na popis sudionika i broj otvorenih osnovnih škola donosi se u: „Ispravak”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11. lipnja 1946., str. 4.
373 Isto.
374 „Izložba obnove u Splitu”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1. siječnja 1946., str. 8.

Izložbeni katalog razrađuje metodološku osnovu toga narativa.³⁷⁵ Naime, rezultati obnove promatraju se u trima etapama: stanje prije rata, stanje zatečeno u času oslobođenja te stanje na kraju 1945. godine nakon jednogodišnjega intenzivnog rada na obnovi. Postavljeni trodijelni model ima izrazitu interpretativnu funkciju. Omogućuje usporedbu, uvodi vremensku dinamiku i usmjerava pogled promatrača prema ideji napretka, odnosno prema prijelazu iz razorenosti u obnovljeni društveni poredak. Riječ je o postupku koji je po svojoj logici blizak statističkome i pedagoškome načinu izlaganja, ali istodobno djeluje i kao oblik političke argumentacije. Izložba pritom stanje prikazuje deskriptivno, ali ga istovremeno raspoređuje tako da svaka izložbena jedinica sudjeluje u potvrđivanju narativa o uspješnoj obnovi. Ta je metodološka struktura među najzanimljivijim aspektima postava. U osam dvorana posjetitelj se susretao s analitičkim grafikonima, dijagramima, reljefnim kartama, fotografijama, maketama, umjetničkim slikama, zidnim dekoracijama i frizovima. Takav raspon građe upućuje na tip složenoga vizualnog aparata u kojemu se činjenice, brojke i političke poruke prevode u pregledan i dojmljiv oblik. U tome se smislu može govoriti o izložbi izrazito aktivističke i propagandne naravi, ali i o postavu koji odaje stanovitu bliskost s antropološkim i muzeološkim pristupima izlaganju. Različite vrste materijala nisu hijerarhijski odvojene, nego se spajaju u zajednički narativni sklop pri čemu posjetitelj biva uključen u proces promatranja, učenja, uspoređivanja, razumijevanja i prihvatanja ponuđenoga modela tumačenja stvarnosti.

Takva je koncepcija posebice važna za razumijevanje mjesta umjetnika u poratnim kulturnim praksama. Pojavljuju se kao suradnici u oblikovanju širega vizualnog narativa, a manje kao autori autonomnih djela namijenjenih zasebnoj likovnoj valorizaciji. Njihovi prilozi omogućuju da gospodarske, infrastrukturne, socijalne i kulturne teme zadobiju prepoznatljiv, sugestivan i lako čitljiv oblik. Likovno djelo postaje sastavnicom izložbenoga jezika koji djeluje na spoju dekoracije, didaktičkoga pomagala, političke komunikacije i dokumentacije.

Nadalje, katalog je ove izložbe vrlo znakovit jer autore pojedinih radova navodi precizno, uz izostanak reprodukcija i uobičajene likovne valorizacije.³⁷⁶ Umjetnici se, dakle, spominju kao izvršitelji pojedinih vizualnih zadataka unutar tematski organiziranih cjelina, a ne kao individualni stvaraoci čija bi djela bila tumačena u terminima stila, poetike ili kvalitativne izdvojenosti. To je važan pomak. Autorstvo je prisutno i jasno označeno, ali je podređeno funkciji cjeline. Sličan princip vrijedi i za aranžere, odnosno postavljače pojedinih dvorana, čija se imena također navode, čime se ističe suradnički karakter izložbe i činjenica da je njezina realizacija počivala na koordinaciji različitih stručnjaka.

375 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* (katalog izložbe), Split, 1946., str. 1.
376 Isto, str. 2–8.

Upravo raspored likovnih priloga po dvoranama omogućuje da se preciznije sagleda način na koji je umjetnički rad bio uklopljen u izložbeni mehanizam obnove. U prvoj dvorani, posvećenoj rudarstvu, industriji i elektrifikaciji, dekorativnu sliku koja prikazuje tijekom rada u rudniku, od početnoga bušenja do izvoza rudače, izradio je Ivan Mirković, a aranžman dvorane oblikovali su arhitekt Momčilo Berber i tehničar Božidar Šalamon. U drugoj dvorani, posvećenoj poštansko-telegrafsko-telefonskoj službi, ponovno se pojavljuje Ivan Mirković, čija slika simbolično prikazuje obnovu telegrafsko-telefonskih trasa, a aranžer je bio arhitekt Milivoj Tomasović. U hodniku su pak bile postavljene velike slike koje prikazuju „osnovne činioce obnove”: Vjekoslav Parać prikazuje Antifašistički front žena, Živko Kljaković Narodnu omladinu Hrvatske, Rudolf Bunk Jedinstvene sindikate radnika i namještenika, a Joko Knežević Jugoslavensku armiju i mornaricu. Time su masovne organizacije i vojni čimbenici dobili vlastiti vizualni pandan unutar izložbenoga prostora pa hodnik funkcionira kao ideološki snažno naglašena sekvenca, a ne kao neutralna komunikacijska zona. Treća dvorana, posvećena arhitekturi, sadržavala je veliku sliku Ante Petričića i Nikole Ignjatovića, koja predstavlja „osnovna pitanja koja treba da riješi današnja arhitektura”: obnovu porušenoga i izgradnju higijenskih i modernih naselja za široke narodne slojeve. U toj formulaciji osobito je važna socijalna komponenta arhitekture. Prostor stanovanja prikazuje se kao političko i društveno pitanje, a likovni rad ulazi u funkciju vizualnoga obrazlaganja toga programa. Aranžman su osmislili inženjer Mijo Krstulović, arhitekt Ante Vesanović te tehničari Jerko Mrduljaš i Ratko Radić, što dodatno potvrđuje interdisciplinarni karakter izložbe. U četvrtoj dvorani, koja obrađuje prosvjetu i tjelesnu kulturu, Ante Kaštelančić izrađuje alegorijsku sliku koja prikazuje njihovu uzajamnu povezanost. Za postav su bili zaduženi arhitekt Milivoj Vukasović i tehničar Petar Kuzmić. Peta dvorana, posvećena poljoprivredi, šumarstvu i hidrotehnici, ponovno uključuje Ivana Mirkovića, autora dekorativnoga friza koji prati prikaze uspjeha u obnovi poljoprivrede, stočarstva i šumarstva, kao i melioracijskih radova. Aranžeri su bili arhitekti Milivoj Tomasović i Mirko Rendić. Šesta dvorana, u kojoj se obrađuju turizam, promet i brodogradnja, donosi više radova Ante Kaštelančića: dekorativnu predstavu prometa te veliku zidnu dekoraciju na pročelnoj stijeni, povezanu s turističkom tematikom i obnovom hotela. U oblikovanju ove dvorane sudjeluju arhitekt Zlatko Lukšić, inženjer Ante Razmilović, arhitekt Vlaho Linardović, tehničar Mario Nardeli, kipar Andrija Frank i kartograf Dujam Škare, iz čega se razabire da je vizualna artikulacija pojedine teme bila rezultat složena zajedničkog rada. Sedma dvorana, posvećena zadrugarstvu, sadržavala je veliku sliku ribara, rad Ivana Mirkovića, uz maketu ribarske kuće i ribarski alat, čime se dokumentarni i ambijentalni elementi dodatno stapaju s umjetničkim prikazom. Aranžer je i ovdje bio Milivoj Tomasović. U zadnjoj, osmoj dvorani, koja se bavi socijalno-zdravstvenim ustanovama i Društvom Crvenoga križa, Ante Petričić izrađuje dekorativni prikaz s podacima o tuberkulozi, a Ivan Mirković potpisuje sliku koja simbolično prikazuje pomoć Crvenoga križa pučanstvu Dalmacije. Aranžman dvorane izveli su tehničari Juraj Kupčevski i Josip Kovačić. Takav raspored svjedoči o aktivnoj ulozi likovnih priloga u strukturiranju čitljivoga i ideološki usmjerenoga pregleda poratne stvarnosti.

Struktura autorskih priloga i njihova raspodjela po dvoranama upućuju na važna obilježja izložbenoga koncepta. Pojedini se umjetnici pojavljuju višekratno, što upućuje na postojanje užega kruga autora spremnih i sposobnih uključiti se u ovakav tip zadatka. Napose se ističe Ivan Mirković, koji sudjeluje u više dvorana i pritom preuzima vizualnu obradu tematski vrlo različitih cjelina, od rudarstva i komunikacija do poljoprivrede, ribarstva i Crvenoga križa. Njegova višestruka prisutnost govori i o izrazitoj prilagodljivosti zadanoj narativnoj funkciji izložbe. Važno mjesto imaju i Ante Kaštelančić, Ante Petričić i Nikola Ignjatović. Prisutnost Paraća, Kljakovića, Bunka i Kneževića u hodničkim prikazima masovnih organizacija i vojske dodatno naglašava političko-simbolički sloj postava. Raspored autorstva ujedno otkriva da je likovni doprinos uključen u širu logiku izložbene pripovijesti te da sudjeluje među nosivim elementima cjelovite vizualne argumentacije. Jednako je važna i vidljivost aranžera i postavljača jer upućuje na to da je izložba bila zamišljena kao zajednički projekt različitih struka, oblikovan suradnjom više sudionika i profesija.

Katalog razotkriva i širi organizacijski sklop njezine realizacije: priredio ju je Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije na poticaj Ministarstva građevina, a organizaciju i radove izvodili su arhitekti, inženjeri i stručnjaci Oblasnoga građevinskog odjela, uz dobrovoljnu suradnju Udruženja likovnih umjetnika u Splitu.³⁷⁷ Taj je podatak osobito dragocjen jer potvrđuje sudjelovanje likovne zajednice u širemu društvenom radu vezanome za reprezentaciju obnove, izvan njezinih usko strukovnih zadaća. Takvu interpretaciju potvrđuje i godišnji izvještaj tajnika Podružnice Živka Kljakovića iz siječnja 1947. godine, u kojem se sudjelovanje u izložbi *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* izdvaja kao jedno od najvažnijih zajedničkih zaduženja članstva.³⁷⁸ Prema tome izvještaju mnogobrojni su članovi bili angažirani na kraće ili dulje vrijeme, a njihov je rad znatno pridonio tomu da se izložba ocijeni kao jedna od najuspjelijih manifestacija te vrste u tadašnjoj državi. Iz izvještaja se razabire da se uloga Podružnice u ovome slučaju ne može svesti na povremenu pomoć pri postavu jer je riječ o širemu sudjelovanju umjetnika u vizualnoj artikulaciji obnoviteljskoga diskursa. U isti se okvir uklapa i sudjelovanje mnogih zadruga, poduzeća i ustanova, kao i prekovremeni rad pojedinih radnika i namještenika.

Osobito je znakovita podudarnost između sadržajnoga usmjerenja izložbe i načina njezine realizacije. Izložba govori o obnovi, a istovremeno je i sama ostvarena radnim, kooperativnim i racionaliziranim modelom produkcije. U tome se spoju može prepoznati jedna od bitnih karakteristika poratne izložbene kulture: postav funkcionira istodobno kao medij reprezentacije i kao praktična manifestacija društvenih vrijednosti koje

³⁷⁷ Isto, str. 8.

³⁷⁸ „Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.”, knjiga *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split*, Arhiva Hrvatske udruge likovnih umjetnika, Split.

promovira. Stoga *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* djeluje kao svojevrstan izložbeni pandan obnoviteljskome diskursu jer u isto vrijeme dokumentira obnovu i performativno sudjeluje u njezinu simboličkom učvršćivanju.

Zanimljiva je i činjenica da su fotografije uglavnom izradili fotoreporter *Slobodne Dalmacije* Petar Raljević te fotografi Dragutin K. Stühler i Paško Alujević.³⁷⁹ Fotografija pritom zadobiva ulogu dokumentarnoga i uvjeravajućega sredstva unutar postava. Fotografije, grafikoni i dijagrami pojavljuju se uz umjetničke priloge kao ravnopravni nositelji značenja, pa se čitav projekt može povezati s modernim izložbenim formama u kojima granice između umjetnosti, vizualne statistike, političke komunikacije i muzeološke prezentacije postaju izrazito propusne. Upravo je to razlog zbog kojega zaslužuje posebno mjesto u razmatranju poratnoga izložbenog života. U estetskome smislu izložba, sudeći prema katalogu, ne poziva na individualnu likovnu prosudbu pojedinačnih radova, barem ne na način na koji to čine uobičajene umjetničke smotre. Autori su imenovani, ali njihovi se prilozi određuju ponajprije funkcionalno: kao dekorativne slike, alegorijski prikazi, frizovi, zidne dekoracije ili simboličke predstave. Izostanak reprodukcija i manjak standardne likovne valorizacije u katalogu proizlaze iz same logike postava. Naglasak je na cjelini, na preglednosti poruke i na učinku koji proizlazi iz kombinacije različitih vizualnih sredstava. Umjetnička komponenta ostaje prisutna, ali je usmjerena prema općoj čitljivosti i učvršćivanju zadanoga pripovjednog slijeda. Upravo se u tome razabire važnost sudjelovanja umjetnika: u poratnim okolnostima djeluju u više registara, kao autori samostalnih radova, sudionici strukovnih izložbi, oblikovatelji javnih ceremonijala i suradnici na složenim tematskim postavima koji su vizualno organizirali društveno poželjno znanje. U tome pogledu ova izložba pruža vrijedan korektiv slici umjetničkoga života koja bi bila svedena samo na izložbe štafelajnoga slikarstva i skulpture. Pokazuje da je prostor djelovanja likovnih umjetnika bio širi i da je obuhvaćao i područje primijenjenoga, dekorativnoga i izložbenog oblikovanja.

Izložba je bila otvorena svakoga dana, prijepodne i poslijepodne, uz naplatu ulaznica i mogućnost dobrovoljnoga doprinosa. Važnu ulogu u javnoj vidljivosti izložbe imala je i novinska promocija u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji*, gdje su se objavljivale grafički istaknute obavijesti s osnovnim podacima o otvorenju, sadržaju, radnome vremenu i ulaznicama, kao i zasebni pozivi publici na posjet izložbi.³⁸⁰ Takav oblik oglašavanja upućuje na nastojanje da izložba bude pristupačna i prisutna u svakodnevnome informacijskom opticaju grada. Raspon cijena za odrasle, omladinu i vojnike sugerira svijest o raznolikoj

publici, dok formulacija da se dobrovoljni doprinos prima „sa zahvalnošću” učvršćuje participativni ton izložbe. Posjetitelj se tako uključuje kao promatrač i kao potencijalni sudionik u širemu društvenom projektu obnove. Da je takav participativni model imao i konkretnu društvenu recepciju, indicira vijest iz *Slobodne Dalmacije* od 8. kolovoza 1946. godine, prema kojoj su izložbu posjetila 72 člana radnoga kolektiva tvornice tjestenine i keksa Cetina iz Omiša, predavši upravi izložbe i dobrovoljni doprinos od 2 000 dinara. Taj primjer potvrđuje da je izložba bila percipirana kao „općenarodna manifestacija” te da je mogla računati i na simboličku i na materijalnu potporu organiziranih radnih kolektiva.³⁸¹

Posebnu važnost izložbi daje i činjenica da ju je 26. srpnja 1946. godine posjetio Josip Broz Tito. Taj podatak nadilazi razinu protokolarnoga kurioziteta jer otkriva da je izložba bila shvaćena kao reprezentativno mjesto na kojemu se u sažetome obliku mogao predočiti čitav program obnove Dalmacije. U sklopu obilaska tvorničkih i infrastrukturnih kompleksa u Kaštelima i Splitu posjet izložbi imao je funkciju vizualne sinteze: ono što se na terenu moglo vidjeti fragmentarno, ovdje je bilo organizirano u pregledan narativ gospodarske, prometne i društvene rekonstrukcije. Prema izvještaju objavljenome u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* 27. srpnja 1946. godine, Tito je pregledao sva odjeljenja izložbe, sa zanimanjem promatrajući osobito izložene proizvode salonita i veliku reljefnu kartu pomorstva i prometne obnove.³⁸² Darivanje albuma izložbe kao spomena na njegov prvi dolazak u Split otkriva i memorijalnu dimenziju postava, zamišljenoga kao reprezentativni objekt političke memorije.³⁸³ U toj se perspektivi izložba pojavljuje kao mjesto na kojemu se prelamaju dokumentacija, propaganda, ceremonijal i simbolička potvrda obnove najvišega državnog autoriteta.

Sagledaju li se svi navedeni elementi, *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* izrazito je reprezentativan primjer poratne tematske izložbe koja objedinjuje dokumentarni, propagandni, edukacijski, umjetnički i dekorativni sloj. Njezina vrijednost za ovu knjigu

379 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* (katalog izložbe), Split, 1946., str. 8.
380 Vidjeti grafički izdvojene obavijesti i pozive na izložbu u: *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17. lipnja 1946., str. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 20. lipnja 1946., str. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23. lipnja 1946., str. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10. srpnja 1946., str. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12. srpnja 1946., str. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18. srpnja 1946., str. 4.

381 „Radnici i namještenici tvornice tjestenine i keksa ‘Cetina’ iz Omiša posjetili izložbu ‘Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945. godinu’”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 8. kolovoza 1946., str. 4.
382 „Maršal Tito posjetio je jučer Dječji dom u Mejama i izložbu obnove”, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 27. srpnja 1946., str. 2. U novinskome se tekstu zapisuje: „U dvorani, u kojoj su izloženi moderni i stari modeli brodova i jedrenjaka, predsjednik Oblasnog NO-a predao je maršalu Titu kao dar za spomen, prigodom njegovog prvog dolaska u Split, album sa izložbe obnove u kojoj se vide naponi i uspjesi naroda Dalmacije u obnovi svoje ovlasti. Na izlasku maršal Tito se upisao u knjigu.”
383 Album fotografija s izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije 1944 – 1945”, Muzej Jugoslavije, Beograd, inv. br. 1-6-173. Album sadrži 40 fotografija, pri čemu je svaka obilježena žigom fotografa Stühlera (Foto Stühler – Split). Ispod svake pojedine fotografije otisnuta je legenda u verzalima koja identificira prikazani sadržaj. Na prednjoj strani albuma stoji naslov *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945*, dok je na prvoj unutarnjoj stranici otisnuta posveta, također u verzalima, sljedećega sadržaja: „Ljubljenom Maršalu Titu prigodom njegovog prvog dolaska u Split, a za spomen na jednogodišnje napore i uspjehe naroda Dalmacije na obnovi svoje oblasti poklanja Oblasni narodni odbor za Dalmaciju.”

proizlazi iz načina na koji rezultate obnove prevodi u vizualnu argumentaciju sastavljenu od brojki, fotografija, karata, maketa i umjetničkih priloga. Pritom se osobito razabire uloga likovnih umjetnika izvan područja tradicionalne umjetničke izložbe: oni sudjeluju u suradničkim postupcima izložbenoga oblikovanja, u političkoj funkcionalizaciji slike i u konstruiranju javno čitljivih prikaza društvene stvarnosti.³⁸⁴ Ondje gdje *I. Prvomajska izložba* otvara pitanja suvremenosti umjetničkoga izraza, recepcije i unutarnjih prijemora unutar strukovne zajednice, *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.* snažnije osvjetljava područje kolektivne vizualne argumentacije, dokumentarne prezentacije i reprezentacije poratne obnove. Upravo zbog toga zauzima istaknuto mjesto u rekonstrukciji ranih poratnih izložbenih praksi u Dalmaciji.

384 Za širi kulturno-vizualni okvir prvoga poratnog desetljeća, osobito u vezi s političkim ritualima, reprezentacijom rada, spomeničkom plastikom, arhitekturom, masovnom kulturom i vizualnim oblicima socijalističke legitimacije, vidjeti katalog izložbe *Refleksije vremena 1945.–1955.*, ur. Jasmina Bavoľjak, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2012. Katalog okuplja tekstove više autora, među ostalima Igora Dude, Tomislava Anića, Jasmine Bavoľjak, Vlade Bralića, Daniela Rafaelija, Maše Kolanović, Renate Jambrešić Kirin, Reane Senjković i Leonide Kovač, čime pruža interdisciplinaran uvid u društvene, političke, umjetničke i vizualne aspekte ranoga socijalističkog razdoblja.

AUTHOR’S FOREWORD

This book was written to mark the eightieth anniversary of the continuous existence of an artists’ association whose organisational, legal and nominal identity has shifted over time in response to changing social, institutional and historical circumstances from 1945 to the present day. The book takes as its starting point the need for a more systematic examination of the formative phase of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch. This was the immediate post-war period, characterised by the establishment of a new state order, the restructuring of cultural policies, and the articulation of new demands imposed on the visual arts.

The research forming the basis of this book relies primarily on archival sources, notably the minutes of the Split branch and the documentation of the Zagreb central office, which provide insight into the association’s internal dynamics, its organisational difficulties and its programmatic determinants. The book analyses the early exhibition practices, the artists’ participation in shaping a new paradigm of visual art, the first seven May Day exhibitions, and the exhibition devoted to reconstruction, considered as a particularly important interdisciplinary project undertaken by Split’s artists, engineers and architects.

Particular attention is paid to the reception of the exhibitions within the local public sphere, with the objective of identifying the principal critical discourses and the manner in which post-war visual art life in Split was understood, interpreted and evaluated. The book is therefore conceived as a contribution to the understanding of the institutional beginnings, the processes of crisis and consolidation, and the exhibition models that characterised the association’s early period of activity in Dalmatia.

Dalibor Prančević
Split, June 2026

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ACRONYMS

AFŽ	Antifascist Women’s Front
AVNOJ	Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
CK	Central Committee
FPR	Federal People’s Republic
FPRY	Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia
HDA	Croatian State Archives
HSS	Croatian Peasant Party
HULU	Croatian Association of Visual Artists
JRM	Yugoslav Navy
KP	Communist Party
KPH	Communist Party of Croatia
KPJ	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
KUD	Cultural and Arts Association
KUO	Cultural and Artistic Committee
MJ	Museum of Yugoslavia
NDH	Independent State of Croatia
NO	People’s Committee
NOR	National Liberation War
NR	People’s Republic
NRH	People’s Republic of Croatia
SLUJ	Union of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia
SULUJ	Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia
ULUH	Association of Fine Artists of Croatia
ZAVNOH	Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia

1 PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Post-war Restructuring of the Visual Arts Field: Institutions, Oversight, Negotiations

The changes that reshaped Split’s post-war art scene cannot be fully understood through individual bodies of work, exhibitions, or stylistic shifts alone. To grasp their wider significance, one must turn to the organisational fabric that underpinned them: meeting minutes, administrative correspondence, institutional negotiations, and the day-to-day workings of the professional association. The question of how the space of artistic activity in Split was configured after 1945, and what part the ULUH Dalmatia Branch played in that process, therefore warrants serious attention. This research perspective has not previously been pursued in any structured way, though that is not to suggest that the post-war artistic context in Split has gone unnoticed by historiography, far from it. The art historian and polymath Duško Kečkemet devoted systematic attention to Split’s artistic milieu, most comprehensively in his book *Painters, Sculptors, Architects: Visual Arts of the Modern Period in Split. Split Artists and Artistic Life from 1945 to 1992*, a work that established the chronological and thematic foundations upon which all subsequent research has rested.¹ Kečkemet’s analysis mapped the essential coordinates for understanding individual oeuvres, stylistic transformations, and the broader cultural dynamics of the city. His approach, however – consistent with the prevailing methodological models of the latter half of the twentieth century – centred principally on artistic personalities, aesthetic profiles, and the interpretation of individual works, leaving the organisational, administrative, and procedural dimensions of professional institutions at the margins of scholarly interest. More recently, certain segments of the post-war art scene have been re-evaluated, particularly the activities of the Salon Galić Gallery in the immediate post-1945 years, thereby offering a clearer understanding of the exhibition and programming developments of that period.² Even so, the focus

1 Duško Kečkemet, *Slikari, kipari, arhitekti. Likovna umjetnost novijeg doba u Splitu. Splitski umjetnici i likovni život od 1945. – 1992.*, Marjan tisak, Split, 2004.

2 Dalibor Prančević, “Izložbeni program umjetničkoga salona Galić u vrijeme poraća (1945. – 1949.)” [Exhibition Program of the Salon Galić Gallery During the Post-war Period (1945 – 1949)], *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu*, no. 18, 2025, pp. 35–66; Dalibor Prančević, “Salon Galić

of this research has gravitated towards exhibition events, artistic phenomena, and representative events, while the institutional structure of the ULUH Split Branch – its genesis, internal organisation, relations with republican and federal bodies, and the day-to-day operational dynamics – has remained largely untouched by systematic archival inquiry.

The aim of this book is to redirect scholarly attention away from the narrative history of individual oeuvres and exhibitions, and towards an institutional history of the visual arts field. Meeting minutes, administrative correspondence, and related documentation are treated here as primary analytical sources in their own right, rather than as illustrative adjuncts to a pre-formed narrative. This makes it possible to examine the concrete mechanisms of decision-making, the distribution of material resources, relations with municipal and republican bodies, the shaping of professional criteria, and the strategies through which artists navigated a normatively structured cultural system. The original contribution of this study therefore lies in its detailed reconstruction of the institutionalisation of the ULUH Split Branch within a broader framework of post-war organisation of cultural life, in which the visual arts field is approached not only through its aesthetic achievements, but equally through its administrative practices, organisational models, and the professional negotiations that made its functioning possible.³ From this vantage point, the Split art scene of the early post-war years emerges in the full richness of its institutional complexity, with its aesthetic and exhibition history complemented by an analysis of the internal structure and mechanics of professional association.

Any understanding of how public life was organised in post-war Split, including its artistic activity, must begin with the changes introduced at the federal and republican levels. In the immediate aftermath of the country’s liberation, models for organising artistic associations along republican lines were swiftly established, a process that formed part of the wider institutional consolidation of the cultural field under the

3 On the history of the Croatian Fine Artists’ Association and the processing of its archival fond at the Croatian State Archives, see: Marijana Jukić, “Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika – 135 godina promicanja kulture i umjetnosti” [The Croatian Fine Artists’ Association – 135 Years of Promoting Culture and Art], *Arhivski vjesnik*, 58, 2015, pp. 209–227. The author provides an overview of the Association’s development from its foundation to the present day, with particular attention to fond HR-HDA-1979, in which the material is divided into the sub-fond Society of Arts (1879–1941) and the sub-fond Croatian Fine Artists’ Association (1945–1992). The latter contains more complete records of working bodies, rulebooks, membership lists, minutes, correspondence, and other documentation of relevance to the study of the institutional history of artistic associations.

new socialist state.⁴ The Association of Fine Artists of Croatia (ULUH) was formally established on 6 June 1945, at a meeting of the Association of Fine Artists and Architects, which also initiated the drafting of rules and membership criteria. Artistic competence alone was not sufficient for admission; prospective members were also subject to an assessment of their moral character, a provision aimed above all at scrutinising the conduct of individual artists during the war. As such, the formation of professional associations was, from the outset, bound up with ethical and political judgement, rendering professional legitimacy inseparable from ideological conformity. Convened on 29 July 1945, ULUH’s General Assembly made public the rulings of the Court of Honour, which imposed penalties on artists deemed to have been compromised or politically unacceptable during the existence of the Independent State of Croatia. The episode illuminates a broader process of symbolic and institutional purification of the profession, one intended to draw a clear line of demarcation between the “old” and the “new” cultural order.

The legal foundations of the new order were further consolidated with the adoption of the first Constitution of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia on 31 January 1946. As the state’s foundational legal instrument, the Constitution defined Yugoslavia as a federal community of peoples founded on the authority of the working people and the principle of planned socialist development. Its provisions on education, science, and culture emphasised the state’s obligation to promote cultural progress in accordance with the interests of the people and the construction of socialist society, explicitly guaranteeing freedom of scientific and artistic work, whilst also affirming that the state supports science and art for the advancement of national culture and protects copyright by law. The new state also set itself the programmatic goal of raising the population’s overall cultural level, declaring educational and cultural institutions open to the widest possible sections of society and recasting culture as a social obligation and common good rather than the province of individuals or elites. The Constitution’s guarantees of freedom of speech, the press, association, and public assembly were, however, qualified by provisions for the sanctioning of any exercise of these rights deemed incompatible with the fundamental principles of the constitutional order. This combination of guarantees and restrictions defined the field of cultural production as a space of particular social responsibility. Art was implicitly understood in this context as an active participant in the affirmation of new social values: labour, collectivity, social equality, and the historical legitimization of the National Liberation Struggle. This constitutional articulation of foundational values

4 Suzana Leček, “Likovna umjetnost u društvenom životu Hrvatske 1945–1947.” [Visual Art in the Social Life of Croatia, 1945–1947], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, XXII/1–2, 1990, pp. 131–156; Ana Šeparović, “U znaku totalitarizama” [In the Spirit of Totalitarianism], in: Irena Kraševac (ed.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija* [150 Years of the Croatian Fine Artists’ Association: Art and Institution], Croatian Fine Artists’ Association and Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 175–199.

indirectly shaped the field of artistic activity as well, suggesting that culture was expected to contribute to the process of social transformation. Artistic work thus took on the character of a public service in the broader sense of the term, enlisted in the construction of a symbolic order intended to confirm and consolidate the new social system.

This constitutional foundation was swiftly translated into practice through the mechanisms of the planned economy and state regulation of cultural life. With the introduction of the First Five-Year Plan (1947 – 1951), culture came to be systematically conceived as an integral component of the broader social plan, and cultural institutions, exhibition activities, and professional associations were each assigned their role in the wider programme of modernisation and ideological consolidation of the country.⁵ Artistic activity was therefore implicitly incorporated into the horizon of planned development, with artists expected to contribute to the visual articulation of social priorities. At the same time, the system of people’s committees – as the basic units of local authority – provided the administrative tier at which cultural policy was implemented on the ground. Culture was thus incorporated into the remit of municipal and regional bodies, which placed the ULUH Split Branch in a relationship of interdependence with local administration from the very outset, whether in matters of exhibition organisation, the allocation of premises, material support, or the purchase of artworks. This administrative logic accounts for the dense web of references to municipal departments, approvals, and authorisations that runs through the Branch’s minutes, reflecting the fact that artistic life was not conducted beyond the reach of public authority, but was embedded within its structures at every turn. Ultimately, the constitutionally emphasised duty of labour and its affirmation of the working person as the foundational subject of society had a symbolic impact on the status of the artist. Artistic creation was recast as a form of socially useful work, and professional organisation through ULUH became the institutional means by which artists could assert and confirm their professional identity within the new value system.

The act of foundation and the confirmation of the rules – which all branches of ULUH were also required to adopt – were formalised on 25 November 1945, though the association had already begun operating before receiving formal confirmation. This gap between the formal legal act and actual practice vividly illustrates the accelerated pace

5 The First Five-Year Plan in Yugoslavia was the first comprehensive planning document for the economic and social development of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, drawn up by the Federal Planning Commission and adopted in 1947 as a legally binding instrument. It was modelled on the Soviet system of central planning and provided for accelerated industrialisation, the collectivisation of agriculture, the development of heavy industry and energy, and the modernisation of infrastructure. Alongside its economic objectives, the Five-Year Plan also encompassed educational, scientific, and cultural tasks, proceeding from the assumption that the cultural elevation of the population was an integral part of the construction of socialist society.

of institutionalisation, in which rules were being drawn up in parallel with activities already underway on the ground. The origins of the Split Branch can be traced to the interaction between formal regulation and concrete professional practice, with its organisation determined both by local specificities and by the requirement to align with the republican model.

The local particularities of Split’s cultural life in the immediate post-liberation period are of particular relevance here. Any account of the institutional formation of artistic life in post-war Split must give careful consideration to the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group, whose activities in several respects foreshadowed and laid the groundwork for the establishment of the ULUH Split Branch. Founded in 1943 in liberated territory on the island of Hvar, the group brought together scholars and cultural figures from across Dalmatia. It represented one of the first organised initiatives for artistic and cultural renewal under wartime conditions. In early 1947, the group was reconstituted as a cultural and artistic association bearing the same name, in response to the community’s growing need for more systematic cultural work and education.⁶ The “Ivan Lozica” group holds a distinctive place in the period immediately following liberation, at a juncture when it had become clear that the existing organisational framework – the Association of Cultural Workers of Croatia for Dalmatia – was no longer capable of meeting the demands and complexities of the rapidly evolving cultural landscape. The reconstruction of devastated villages and cities, the mobilisation of society, and the sweeping political transformation of the country all placed new demands on artists and cultural workers, requiring more flexible and committed forms of organisation. Writing in the daily press of the period, Živko Jeličić noted that the group brought together the most active cultural workers in Split around the name of the young sculptor Ivan Lozica, who was symbolically identified as a representative generational figure forged in the struggle against the occupier.⁷ In symbolic and organisational terms alike, “Ivan Lozica” was far more than a new cultural association. It gave expression to the drive to draw an ideological and moral line between the new order and the period that had preceded it, to overcome the cultural wasteland

6 A contemporary press report noted the following: “Now that our country enters a phase of comprehensive and organised activity, and as the people’s authorities, in their efforts to eradicate illiteracy, seek to raise the cultural level of our society, while a palpable desire for the stage, for song, and for books is felt among the population, the need has emerged for a broader cultural and artistic association that, through the work of its members, would support the cultural and artistic advancement of our region. Such an association would also provide its members with the means to develop and deepen their knowledge of science, literature, and the arts, and to cultivate their creative abilities. In light of these needs and tasks, and given the considerable number of cultural workers in Dalmatia, the aforementioned ‘Ivan Lozica’ Cultural and Arts Group has been transformed into an association bearing the same name.” D.(anilo) Čović, “Kulturno-umjetničko društvo ‘Ivan Lozica’” [‘Ivan Lozica’ Cultural and Arts Association], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 26 January 1947, p. 3.

7 Živko Jeličić, “Kulturna nastojanja kulturno-umjetničke grupe ‘Ivan Lozica’” [The Cultural Efforts of the ‘Ivan Lozica’ Cultural and Arts Group], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11 August 1946, p. 3.

left by the war years, and to lay the groundwork for a new, socially engaged culture. By encompassing diverse forms of creative work – literary, visual, musical, publishing, and other activities – the group created a platform for interdisciplinary and collective activity consonant with the cultural programmes of the post-war period. It is important to emphasise that a visual arts section was formed under the group’s auspices, which would go on to generate the nucleus of the future ULUH Split Branch. The visual artists gathered around the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group worked under conditions of material scarcity and infrastructural devastation, yet grounded their practice in a powerful ideological and social enthusiasm, a close alignment with the People’s Front, and the conviction that art participates in the process of general reconstruction and the cultural elevation of the people. Along this genealogical line, the ULUH Split Branch may be understood as the outcome of the gradual institutionalisation of impulses already articulated in the work of this group: a progression from spontaneous, mobilizational gathering to a professionally defined association integrated into the republican organisational model. The connection between the “Ivan Lozica” group and the ULUH Split Branch illustrates how the local art scene developed after 1945 in a state of tension between ideological engagement, the need for organisational stability, and the aspiration towards the professionalisation of artistic work. The process of professional and organisational differentiation discernible within the “Ivan Lozica” group would soon be formalised through the establishment of the ULUH Split Branch, integrated into the republican and federal system of cultural administration.

The formation of ULUH cannot be understood in isolation from the network of political oversight that was steadily consolidated at the federal and republican levels after 1945. The association’s activities fell under the supervision of the cultural and artistic department of the Ministry of Education, which was itself answerable to the Committee for Culture and Art attached to the Government of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia – the FPRY.⁸ This multi-tiered structure of oversight attests to the establishment of a firmly centralised model of cultural administration, one in which professional organisations were integrated into the broader state apparatus. The associations thus became constituent parts of a centrally regulated cultural system, their work brought into alignment with the programmatic directives of state cultural policy. The centralised administrative structure was further reinforced through the hierarchy of the Communist Party, which exercised political control over culture through the Agitation and Propaganda Department – Agitprop, under the leadership of Milovan Đilas. Agitprop bore responsibility for the propagation of socialist ideology

8 Ana Šeparović, “U znaku totalitarizama” [In the Spirit of Totalitarianism], in: Irena Kraševac (ed.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija* [150 Years of the Croatian Fine Artists’ Association: Art and Institution], Croatian Fine Artists’ Association and Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 175–199, 188.

across all domains of cultural and intellectual life.⁹ Agitprop’s early activities were marked by the rapid establishment of a centralised, directive, and multi-layered system of media control, built upon the strategic deployment of trusted personnel, planned thematic direction, and a combination of material and repressive mechanisms, instruments through which the press was integrated into the state-party apparatus.¹⁰

9 On the activities of Agitprop in the cultural field of the People’s Republic of Croatia, primarily with reference to literary work and publishing, but with important insights into the mechanisms of party oversight over culture, see: Tatjana Šarić, “Djelovanje Agitpropa prema književnom radu i izdavaštvu u NRH, 1945.–1952.” [Activity of the Agitprop in Relation to Literary Work and Publishing in the People’s Republic of Croatia, 1945–1952], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 42/1, 2010, pp. 387–423.

10 As Magdalena Najbar-Agičić observes, the early work of Agitprop in the aftermath of 1945 was characterised by the rapid and systematic establishment of a party monopoly over the media, one of the central pillars of the consolidation of communist rule in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Even during the final months of the war, moves were already under way to reorganise the apparatus of agitation and propaganda along centralising lines and to introduce a “directive mode” of management, with the aim of drawing political, cultural, educational, and scientific life alike under the control of party institutions. This conception implied the integration of the media into the wider state-party apparatus and their mobilisation in the service of constructing the new social order. The system of control did not depend on the creation of a formal censorship institution of the kind found in certain other communist states, since the infiltration of editorial boards and the direct management of content made any such mechanism unnecessary. The principal instrument was control over personnel: the installation of trusted party members in editorial roles, the consolidation of party organisations within media outlets, and their ideological training through systematic forms of political education. Professional associations, including those representing journalists, functioned as conduits for party policy, further entrenching the vertical structure of control. In addition to managing personnel, Agitprop developed precise mechanisms for steering editorial content. Editorial boards received lists of approved topics and interpretive frameworks, consultations and conferences were regularly convened, and the planned determination of a publication’s content became mandatory. Control likewise encompassed the material underpinnings of the media system: the allocation of paper, the state monopoly over distribution, and the support of the repressive apparatus constituted additional instruments for regulating and disciplining the entire field of publishing. The press was thus fully absorbed into the state-party apparatus, with a clearly defined role in the moulding of the “socialist person” and the raising of mass consciousness. The early Agitprop model may consequently be characterised as a centralised, hierarchical, and systematically organised apparatus of media control and direction, in which ideological, organisational, and material mechanisms operated simultaneously and in a complementary fashion. See: Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, “Agitprop među novinarima. Uspostava komunističke vlasti i nadzor nad medijima” [Agitprop among Journalists: Establishment of Communist State and Control over the Media], in: Igor Duda (ed.), *Stvaranje socijalističkog čovjeka. Hrvatsko društvo i ideologija jugoslavenskoga socijalizma* [Making of the Socialist Man: Croatian Society and the Ideology of Yugoslav Socialism], Srednja Europa and Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Zagreb and Pula, 2017, pp. 177–200. For more on the relationship between the People’s Front, Agitprop, and the media, see: Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda. Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945.–1952.* [The Public and Propaganda: The People’s Front in the Politics and Culture of Croatia, 1945–1952], Croatian Institute of History and Dom i svijet, Zagreb, 2002. The author analyses the People’s Front as a transmission mechanism for party will and demonstrates how the media, under Agitprop’s supervision, functioned within a model of directed public discourse, serving the legitimisation of communist rule and the ideological mobilisation of society.

It should be emphasised that its role extended well beyond mere administrative oversight: it was a body that formulated normative patterns of socially desirable art, directed public discourse, and encouraged the alignment of artistic practices with the ideological horizons of the time. The cultural field thereby became a space for the articulation of political priorities, but also a site of their symbolic legitimation. Agitprop commissions operated at both federal and republican levels, including a cultural and artistic commission led by Marin Franičević. Within this structure, Franjo Mraz oversaw the visual arts sector and was responsible for monitoring the entire visual arts scene, including ULUH’s activities.¹¹ This organisational division speaks to the systematic monitoring of artistic production, its public presentation, and its organisational frameworks, a process that required continuous dialogue between professional bodies and political authorities. It was within this triangulation of oversight, direction, and operational autonomy that the real working conditions of the association took shape, conditions in which its local activities – including those in Split – would be simultaneously propelled by professional initiative and constrained by the imperatives of ideological conformity.

The drive towards centralisation found further expression in the initiative to establish the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia (SULUJ), launched in early 1946, though the formal unification of the republican associations and the ratification of the union’s statutes were not achieved until a congress convened in Zagreb in December 1947. The establishment of SULUJ forms part of the broader transformation of cultural life at the federal level, which sought to standardise organisational forms, coordinate exhibition activities, and bring consistency to professional criteria and questions concerning the status of artists. The Union was envisaged as an umbrella body that would bring together the work of the republican associations, articulate shared programmatic directions, and act as an intermediary between visual artists and the federal institutions of authority. This further entrenched the vertical structure of cultural governance, with republican and local associations retaining their operational functions, whilst strategic and normative decisions progressively shifted into the domain of federal coordination. The Zagreb congress of December 1947 marked the formal culmination of these efforts, ratifying the statutes and defining the organisational architecture of the Union. Yugoslavia’s visual arts field thereby acquired an institutional framework that simultaneously enabled the mobility of artists at the federal level and their participation in representative exhibitions and international events, whilst tightening the mechanisms of oversight and the alignment

11 Ana Šeparović, “U znaku totalitarizama” [In the Spirit of Totalitarianism], in: Irena Kraševac (ed.), *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija* [150 Years of the Croatian Fine Artists’ Association: Art and Institution], Croatian Fine Artists’ Association and Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 175–199, 188.

of artistic production with socio-political priorities. It is within this layered structure of republican and federal coordination that the activities of the Split Branch must be situated.

The First Congress of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia: Federal Coordination and Criteria of Artistic Quality

Convened in Zagreb on 6 and 7 December 1947 at the “Vladimir Nazor” House of Culture, the First Congress of Visual Artists of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia marks one of the pivotal junctures at which the organisational unification of the republican visual artists’ associations became inextricably intertwined with questions of artistic quality, the social function of art, and the role of the artist in the building of socialism.¹² The Congress is significant for an understanding of the ULUH Split Branch not only on account of the formal confirmation of federal coordination, the Statutes, and the administrative structure of the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia. It is equally important as a site for the articulation of criteria that would, at the local level, be refracted through questions of membership, jury proceedings, exhibition selection, acquisitions, commissions, and the evaluation of artistic work. For this reason, it provides a broader analytical key for reading the minutes of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch.

The congress was the culmination of a lengthy preparatory process, which makes clear that the federal organisation of the visual arts field was far from a purely administrative undertaking.¹³ As early as the pre-congress conference of the associations of visual artists of the federal units, held on 15 and 16 January 1946 at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, the Congress had been defined as the supreme organ of the future Union, entrusted with

12 The First Congress of Visual Artists of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia convened in Zagreb on 6 and 7 December 1947, at the “Vladimir Nazor” House of Culture at Trg maršala Tita 6. Originally planned for 1946, it was postponed to the end of 1947, a delay that speaks to the complexity of the preparations, the incomplete state of the papers, and the need to settle a number of organisational and programmatic questions beforehand. The printed programme reflects a clear two-part structure: a ceremonial opening on the evening of 6 December at 5 p.m., followed by a working session on 7 December beginning at 9 a.m. Three items formed the core of the working session: a paper by Đorđe Andrejević Kun on the condition and tasks of visual artists, a paper by Đuro Tiljak on organisational matters, and the election of the board of the Union of Visual Artists of the FPRY. See: “Program Kongresa” [Congress Programme], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

13 For an instructive example of how questions of public cultural positioning, artistic autonomy, and the social function of art in the immediate post-war period may be discerned not only from official correspondence but from private letters as well, see: Snježana Pavičić, “Pisma Lea Juneka i Đure Tiljka iz 1945. godine. Važni dokumenti vremena” [The Letters of Leo Junek and Đuro Tiljak from 1945: Important Documents of the Time], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, pp. 197–202.

coordinating the work of all the republican associations.¹⁴ The conference participants were simultaneously designated as an action committee for the formation of the Union. This detail suggests that the federal structure was established gradually, through negotiation and preparatory meetings, rather than by simple administrative decree. The same conference also opened the question of the aesthetic and ideological orientation of the forthcoming congress. Marino Tartaglia, for instance, proposed that the congress paper should address the question of Socialist Realism in relation to naturalism and formalism, and that a separate paper should be devoted to the guidelines of art.¹⁵ By early 1946, it was already apparent that the future federal gathering was expected not merely to consolidate organisational structures, but to intervene programmatically in the very understanding of artistic creation. The Congress was accordingly conceived as both a point of organisational unification and a forum for charting the ideological course of the visual arts within the new social order.

Particularly indicative, however, is the discussion concerning criticism. The minutes note that art criticism in the former Yugoslavia had been weak, that qualified critics were almost nowhere to be found under the new circumstances, and that any critic worth the name would need to address both the merits and shortcomings of a work of art through the lens of scientific theory, that is, dialectical materialism.¹⁶ The minutes also call for the organisation of critics, the definition of their professional responsibility, and the maintenance of regular contact with artists. What such a formulation reveals is that criticism was envisioned as an integral component of the new system of artistic evaluation, rather than a mere passing newspaper commentary. Joint conferences of artists and critics were intended, in the words of the minutes, to serve the “clarification of terminology.”¹⁷ This suggests an awareness of the terminological and evaluative instability of the post-war moment. Concepts such as realism, formalism, subject matter, quality, and the social function of art could not be taken for granted; they had to be debated, harmonised, and rendered operational.

The pre-congress conference held on 5 and 6 March 1947 in Zagreb affords an even greater insight into the internal disputes. Much of the discussion centred on the “ideological report,” its tone, scope, and degree of directiveness. A palpable tension runs through the participants’ statements, between the need for programmatic direction on

14 “Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije udruženja likovnih umjetnika federalnih jedinica” [Minutes of the Pre-Congress Conference of the Visual Artists’ Associations of the Federal Units], held on 15 and 16 January 1946 at the premises of the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, Ilica 85/a, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

the one hand, and the risk of artistic practice collapsing into rigid formal prescription on the other. Vanja Radauš adopts a distinctly combative stance, warning against any compromise and rejecting what he calls “playing at form for form’s sake.”¹⁸ Đorđe Andrejević Kun distils the thrust of the report into the formula “for subject matter and against ideological vacuity,” while Sreten Stanojević emphasises the need to breathe “life with full lungs” lest artists fall behind the popular upsurge.¹⁹ The underlying value horizon could not be clearer: art must break free from the closed circle of the studio, engage with social reality, and play its part in shaping the new life. The most direct and most fiercely debated part of the discussion concerns, predictably, formalism. Radauš speaks of a “battle against formalism and for content,” calls for “the Paris School to be unmasked,” and reaches for a particularly arresting formulation, claiming that “the quality of Paris has degraded the human being to a mere blot.”²⁰ This phrase captures one of the central objections levelled by post-war aesthetic criticism at modernist painting: the human being, as the central subject of the new social reality, is lost, fragmented, or reduced to a mere optical, coloristic, or compositional element within the formalist idiom. Radauš’s formulation thus amounts to more than a rhetorical flourish. It articulates with considerable precision the ideological core of the dispute: the question of artistic form becomes a question of the presence or absence of the human being, and by extension a question of the social responsibility of art. Yet the discussion was far from one-sided. Andrejević Kun cautions that it is precisely on the question of form that the congress risks failure, should form begin to be prescribed.²¹ Đuro Tiljak adds his voice to this note of caution, arguing that the emphasis should be shifted towards subject matter and a closer engagement with the people, without framing the problem in formalist terms.²² Stojanović, meanwhile, makes the pointed observation that a competently executed rose is preferable to a poorly painted partisan woman or a porter treated as mere interior.²³ This part of the discussion is particularly revealing, since it makes clear that the quality of a work could not be reduced to subject matter alone. The themes of the National Liberation Struggle, labour, or reconstruction were not automatic guarantee of artistic value. The problem that would come to define the local debates in Split is already crystallising in this internal dispute: how to bring ideological commitment, thematic currency, and genuine artistic quality into alignment.

18 “Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije održane 5. i 6. ožujka 1947. u Zagrebu” [Minutes of the Pre-Congress Conference Held on 5 and 6 March 1947 in Zagreb], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

The final pre-congress conferences of December 1947 were devoted principally to refining the Statute, coordinating the reports, and drafting the resolution.²⁴ On 3 December, discussion focused on individual chapters and articles of the Statute of the Union of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia. The session of 4 December, held because Andrejević Kun failed to submit his report for discussion, was given over to a reading of the refined and corrected Statute. On 5 December, Kun presented his report “On the Possibilities, Tasks and Prospects of Our Visual Arts,” after which discussion centred on the need to bring his report into line with Tiljak’s report on organisational matters.

Nevertheless, the central programmatic text of the congress was Đorđe Andrejević Kun’s report “On the Possibilities, Tasks and Prospects of Our Visual Arts,” which was ultimately delivered by Branko Šotra owing to Kun’s ill health.²⁵ The report opens with the thesis that the establishment of the people’s state had created entirely new conditions for artistic work and a wholly new relationship between society, the state, and art. The artist was no longer at the mercy of the market anarchy, but worked in conditions where the state purchased and commissioned works of art and art belonged to the people. The material circumstances of the artist are presented as having undergone a fundamental transformation, but more significant still is the change in his social status. Artists are described as valued members of society, creators who exert an influence upon the people, meet their needs, and earn their recognition in return.²⁶ Kun’s report draws an explicit link between art, the Five-Year Plan, and socialist reconstruction. Beyond fostering economic progress, the Plan is presented as contributing to the cultural elevation of the people, while at the same time providing visual artists with new subjects, sources of inspiration, and practical opportunities. The construction of representative buildings, cultural centres, public institutions, and monuments creates new possibilities for monumental art, while the heroic liberation struggle generates a demand for the artistic memorialisation of individuals and events. In this conception, art is understood as an integral element in the construction of the state and society. Painting, relief, sculpture, and the monument become the means through which the people can recognise and affirm their own historical efforts.

24 See: “Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 3. prosinca 1947.” [Minutes of the Pre-Congress Conference of 3 December 1947], “Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 4. prosinca 1947.” [Minutes of the Pre-Congress Conference of 4 December 1947], “Zapisnik predkongresne konferencije na dan 5. prosinca 1947.” [Minutes of the Pre-Congress Conference of 5 December 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

25 Đorđe Andrejević Kun, “I. referat o stanju i zadacima likovnih umjetnika: O mogućnostima, zadacima i perspektivama naše likovne umjetnosti” [First Report on the Situation and Tasks of Visual Artists: On the Possibilities, Tasks and Prospects of Our Visual Arts], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

26 Ibid.

Of considerable weight, furthermore, is Kun’s interpretation of wartime art. The National Liberation Struggle had raised the question of “what, how, why, and for whom to paint or sculpt.”²⁷ In the report, this question is of fundamental importance, for it dismantles the notion of art as a closed, autonomous domain. During the war, artists had worked under conditions of constraint, employing drawings, posters, illustrations, and printmaking techniques that lent themselves to the rapid dissemination of a message; their art had a clear purpose, audience, and effect. It was in this wartime practice, Kun argues, that direct contact between the artist and the people had first been established. After liberation, that contact needed to be deepened, extended, and transposed into the conditions of peacetime.

The report also conveys the sense of uncertainty that many artists experienced in the immediate post-war years. Faced with new expectations, many were unsure of their role, fearing that artistic production would be reduced to topical themes, applied art, posters, illustrations, or decorative work. Some struggled to engage with a new audience, a new critical framework, and unfamiliar subject matter. Kun insists, however, that new themes required new means of expression, a breaking free from habits unsuited to monumental subjects and the acquisition of artistic means they had not previously possessed. This observation is of particular interpretative value, as it suggests that the discourse of the Congress did not simply call for the substitution of one iconography for another. Artists were called upon to redefine their entire creative outlook: their attitude towards subject matter, form, audience, the purpose of the artwork, and the social significance of their own work. In this regard, the passage where Kun speaks of the return of the human figure to art is particularly telling. In his view, the figure of man re-appears on the canvas after having been largely neglected or pushed aside as a motif. Portraits once again convey individuality and character, while landscape painting is no longer treated simply as an occasion for formal experimentation and instead becomes associated with notions of homeland, labour, and nature reshaped by conscious human agency.²⁸ This passage establishes a principle that would recur throughout post-war criticism: the value of a work of art is defined by its capacity to articulate the human condition within a historically specific reality. Formal elements are not dismissed, but their importance is evaluated in terms of their relationship to content and their effectiveness in conveying the defining characteristics of the era.

Kun’s criticism of Western art is framed in markedly sharp ideological terms. Formalism is associated with the crisis of capitalist society, a retreat from life and human experience, the erosion of both content and form, and the substitution of reality with phantasmagoria, grotesque imagery, and abstraction.²⁹ By contrast, the new Yugoslav

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

art is to draw upon its own sound traditions and the great epochs of world art, from antiquity and the Renaissance to Goya, Daumier, Meunier, and Rodin.³⁰ This selection of tradition is, needless to say, anything but neutral. It constructs a genealogy of art that is simultaneously formally vigorous, rich in content, and socially relevant. Modernist novelty devoid of content is accordingly dismissed as barren, while originality is sought in the forging of connections between the new epoch and those historical models of art that had succeeded in expressing the progressive ideas of their own time.

The second major congress report, Tiljak’s text on organisational matters, is of considerable importance to the subject of this book, as it draws a direct connection between the structure of the association and the question of the quality of artistic work. Tiljak begins with the post-liberation cleansing of the association and the need to reorganise visual artists.³¹ He firmly rejects the possibility of protecting artistic work along the lines of an industrial trade-union model, arguing that art is a free profession and that the artist is a producer of cultural values whose work cannot be measured by material criteria alone.³² This formulation helps explain why ULUH, at both the republican and local level, placed such insistence on membership hierarchies, juries, artistic tribunals, and commissions: the protection of the artist implied the protection of artistic quality as well.

Tiljak defines the quality of artistic work with considerable clarity. According to his report, it consists in a high degree of artistic “ideational content”, appropriate visual expressive means, original form, and sound craftsmanship.³³ Said definition is of particular significance for this book as a whole, as it enables a more precise understanding of the many local debates in Split. When the minutes of the Split Branch address questions of full membership, the status of individual artists, jury proceedings, the quality of works at May Day exhibitions, or the eligibility of works for public commissions, all of these issues can be read in the light of Tiljak’s formula: ideational content, visual means, originality of form, and technical execution. Quality is not conceived as a purely aesthetic category, nor reduced to mere thematic conformity. It is constituted at the intersection of ideational content, form, craftsmanship, and social function. Tiljak’s elaboration of the association’s tasks further reinforces this connection. Associations of visual artists are to cultivate high artistic standards, safeguard the basic material interests of artists, and act as regulators ensuring the fair recognition of the progressive significance of both artwork and artistic personality.³⁴ The association, in

30 Ibid.
31 Đuro Tiljak, “II. referat o organizacionim pitanjima” [Second Report on Organisational Matters], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.

other words, was not conceived as a mere administrative body or professional guild. It was to serve as a mechanism for the evaluation, direction, mediation, and disciplining of artistic work.

Of particular note is Tiljak’s claim that association membership ought to be denied to those lacking artistic quality, people he dismisses as “notorious idlers and ignoramuses.”³⁵ This rather blunt turn of phrase is telling, as it exposes the extent to which professional association was conceived as a disciplinary mechanism. Membership in the new order was not a passive entitlement but an active commitment: to consistent work, ideological development, and openness to criticism and self-criticism.³⁶ Such a model corresponds directly with the Split minutes, where recurring concerns surface around member passivity, irregular dues, lack of output, failure to contribute to collective tasks, and the uneven quality of individual works. In this sense, the congress discourse offers a broader, federal framing for what manifested in Split as the practical difficulties that plagued the organisation on a daily basis.

Tiljak’s report further opens up the question of artistic propaganda, that is, the bringing of art closer to the broad popular masses. Exhibitions, reproductions, monographs, critical studies, galleries, museums, films, slides, plaster cast collections, and travelling exhibitions are cited as means of fostering a cultural relationship with the work of art.³⁷ This section is important for understanding the exhibition policy of the Dalmatia Branch. The May Day exhibitions, collective events, public lectures, press criticism, touring exhibitions, and acquisitions were not simply local activities, but part of a larger project of artistic education. The underlying ambition was to release art from the grip of a narrow professional and collecting elite and open it up to a new and broader public.

The third section of Tiljak’s report, devoted to artistic materials and tools, demonstrates that quality was understood not only in ideological or formal terms but in material, technical ones as well. He makes the case for planned, coordinated production of the essential supplies used by painters and sculptors: paints, pigments, oils, resins, brushes, inks, and paper.³⁸ The calibre of these materials, he insists, has a direct bearing on the quality of the work produced. This point is significant because it broadens the understanding of artistic quality to encompass the infrastructure of production itself.

The final resolution of the First Congress summarises the ideological and programmatic horizon of the discussions. Visual artists declare in it their dedication to the principles

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.

of progress and people’s democracy, note that the new order has for the first time created the conditions for free and creative work carried out with a dignity befitting working people, and commit themselves to placing their creative powers in the service of the people.³⁹ The resolution describes the formalist art of bourgeois society as a decomposition of reality and an erasure of humanity and the beauty of life from artistic creation. What is demanded in its stead is a genuine reorientation towards monumental art, a broader outlook, richer sources, and a more humane purpose for art.

Of particular importance is the passage in which the resolution makes explicit the obligation to strive for quality in artistic work. Quality is posited as a prerequisite for the new realist art to prove itself worthy of the people’s efforts in struggle and nation-building, and to be capable of giving artistic form to the figure of the builder of the new society. The resolution thus draws together three central elements: quality, realism, and the figure of the new man. A work of art must be ideologically substantial, formally accomplished, and socially intelligible. In the concluding section, artists pledge to deepen the ideological content of their work, raise the standard of their output, and produce works befitting the life, the efforts of the people, and the spirit of the age.⁴⁰ This formulation clearly indicates why, in local contexts such as Split, the quality of artistic works would be continually measured against criteria of subject matter, social usefulness, representativeness, and their capacity to project publicly an image of the new reality.

Considered in its entirety, the Congress played a range of roles in the post-war restructuring of the visual arts field. It formalised a federal system for coordinating artists’ associations, thereby complementing republican organisational models, while at the same time articulating the normative vocabulary used to define the function of art in the new society. Its particular importance lies in its effort to set out criteria of artistic quality that connected ideological orientation, subject matter, the depiction of the human figure, form, technique, and the social purpose of artworks. Within this context, it also addressed issues such as art criticism, public commissions, acquisitions, exhibition promotion, materials, and collaboration with the authorities. All of these issues also surface in the documentation of the Split Branch, albeit in a more routine, operational register: in minutes, correspondence, jury proceedings, objections, membership lists, exhibition planning, and acquisition procedures. For this reason, the First Congress of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia should not be understood as a distant federal event of merely formal relevance to local histories. Rather, it reveals the underlying logic of the system within which the Split Branch operated. The Congress papers and resolution

39 “Rezolucija I. kongresa likovnih umjetnika FNRJ” [Resolution of the First Congress of Visual Artists of the FPRY], read by Franjo Mraz, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, collection HR-HDA-1979-2, Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 73: SLUJ Correspondence.

40 Ibid.

establish principles that were repeatedly tested in everyday practice in Split: questions of membership eligibility, definitions of artistic quality, jury procedures, the meaning of thematic contemporaneity, approaches to formalism, the artist’s relationship to the people, the evaluation of public commissions, and the role of art acquisitions within cultural policy. For this reason, this chapter should precede any analysis of local exhibition practices. In relation to the Split material, it provides a wider interpretative framework for understanding local discussions on membership, quality, jurying, and the social function of art.

Socialist Realism and the Regulation of the Visual Arts Field

Scholars have broadly observed that World War II dealt a severe blow to modernist artistic exploration, bringing it, in many cases, to an abrupt standstill. In the wake of 1945, European nations turned their attention largely towards intensifying or “reconstructing the modernist paradigm.”⁴¹ The devastation that the war wrought upon the infrastructural, institutional, and intellectual underpinnings of modernism produced a significant rupture, and it was against this backdrop that the post-war renewal of artistic life was shaped by the redefinition of the relationship between aesthetic autonomy and the social function of art. In the countries of the Eastern Bloc, aligned with the Soviet Union, the prevailing model of cultural policy was one closely associated with the doctrine of Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov. This model imposed a strictly regulated hierarchy of values, in which artistic practice was integrated into the ideological project of building a socialist society. Art was defined as a constituent element of the social plan, and the criteria by which it was judged derived from its social and ideological utility. Cultural administration rested upon a vertically structured network of institutions and oversight bodies, whilst aesthetic imperatives centred upon the affirmation of figurative representation, narrative form, the typification of characters, and an optimistic rendering of reality, expressed above all through the themes of labour, the collective, and the National Liberation Struggle. Modernist formalism and tendencies towards artistic autonomy were, in this context, subjected to criticism as expressions of ideological inadequacy or aesthetic decadence. In Croatian art criticism, this stance towards the modernist genealogy of painting is perhaps most readily apparent in Grgo Gamulin’s polemic with the “idolatry of Cézanne,” whereby Cézanne becomes a marker of the formalist tradition that Socialist Realist discourse sought to subordinate to the demand for art that was intelligible in its content and conscious of its social responsibilities.⁴²

41 Ljiljana Kolečnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada. Hrvatska umjetnost i likovna kritika 50-ih godina* [Between East and West: Croatian Art and Art Criticism in the 1950s], Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2006, p. 29.

42 On Gamulin’s relationship to the Socialist Realist critical matrix and his polemic with the modernist Cézannean paradigm, see: Tonko Maroević, “Ideja socrealizma u kritičkoj praksi Grga Gamulina. Nekoliko primjera iz vrućih, militantnih godina 1945. – 1952.” [The Idea of Socialist Realism in the

In the Yugoslav and Croatian context, Socialist Realism represents an important, albeit temporally circumscribed, phase in the process of the institutional and ideological transformation of the visual arts field. The new cultural policy, modelled upon the Soviet example, articulated normative demands that steered artistic production towards social transparency and ideological legibility. Certain artists participated in the fashioning of a representative visual language for the new state, most notably through public commissions, monumental sculpture, and exhibition production that affirmed partisan and workers’ iconography, whilst theoretical and critical writings sought to impose yet further discipline upon the aesthetic domain. In the Croatian context, ULUH occupied a particularly significant mediating position between the political apparatus and the concrete realities of artistic production. Ana Šeparović interprets the Association’s activities across several interrelated spheres: the professional sphere, which encompassed the organisation of annual retrospective exhibitions, the acquisition of specialist literature, and working practices such as evening life drawing sessions; the economic sphere, concerned with the allocation of studio space, the procurement of materials for painters and sculptors, the sale of artworks, and financial support for members; and the ideological-political sphere, which served as the conduit through which the state and the Party endeavoured to press the Socialist Realist canon upon the field of the visual arts.⁴³ ULUH therefore emerges as a professional organisation with a markedly mediating and regulatory character: artistic labour, the material conditions of creative work, exhibition practice, and the ideological-political shaping of its membership were all drawn into the broader political-cultural project through its various activities. The question of the actual degree and rigidity of Socialist Realist enforcement, however, opens onto a considerably more intricate picture. Existing scholarship points to the fact that the normative framework of Socialist Realism in the Yugoslav context manifested in a decidedly heterogeneous manner, with pronounced divergences between programmatic documents, critical interventions, and the lived realities of artistic practice. Whilst agitational and critical writings promoted an ideologically sanctioned paradigm, the exhibition spaces of the period tell a rather different story, one in which works carrying forward the lineages of pre-war modernist poetics remain plainly visible, whether in their formal solutions or their iconographic choices. A considerable discrepancy emerges between the discursive apparatus of art

43 Ana Šeparović, “Mehanizmi kontrole i usmjeravanja likovne produkcije: ULUH u kontekstu socrealizma” [Mechanisms of Control and Direction of Artistic Production: ULUH in the Context of Socialist Realism], in: *Institucije povijesti umjetnosti: zbornik 4. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti* [Institutions of Art History: Proceedings of the 4th Congress of Croatian Art Historians], ed. Ivana Mance, Martina Petrinić, and Tanja Trška, Croatian Society of Art Historians and Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2019, pp. 277–281.

criticism, heavily conditioned by the prevailing ideological matrix, and the actual body of artistic production, in which processes of adaptation, compromise, and continuity are unmistakably at work. This interpretation finds additional support in the research of Bojana Videkanić, who approaches Yugoslav post-war art through the lens of its intricate and “uncomfortable” relationship with Socialist Realism.⁴⁴ In her analysis of the first federal exhibition of the Union of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia, held in Belgrade in 1949, Videkanić shows that the official imperative for art that was ideologically transparent, comprehensible to the people, and socially purposeful did not translate, in actual exhibition practice, into a coherent or uniform aesthetic model. Quite the contrary, the works on display exhibited a wide spectrum of formal, thematic, and stylistic approaches, with traces of modernist poetics, pre-war painterly conventions, and socially engaged figuration all maintaining a presence within the officially proclaimed Socialist Realist horizon. Yugoslav Socialist Realism should accordingly be understood as an unstable and hybrid field, in which the normative demands of cultural policy were refracted through diverse artistic traditions, institutional interests, and the concrete conditions of post-war production.

The political break with the Cominform in 1948 did not produce an immediate easing of ideological pressure within the cultural field. On the contrary, in the years immediately following the Cominform Resolution, the imperative to demonstrate political orthodoxy grew more acute, and within the visual arts the demands for ideological discipline, thematic focus, and more systematically organised work on the political and theoretical formation of the membership were correspondingly intensified. Ana Šeparović is therefore right to draw attention to the intensification of ideological and political pressure within ULUH in the years following the Cominform split, manifested first through the general mobilisation of the membership, and from 1949 onwards through the activities of the ideological-political sector, including more stringent jury procedures, lectures, discussions, the encouragement of visits to construction sites and peasant cooperatives, and the systematic orientation of artists towards themes drawn from the National Liberation Struggle and socialist construction.⁴⁵ Within this system, the jury process emerges as one of the most concrete instruments of the ideological and professional direction of artistic production. Šeparović notes that from 1948 onwards the selection of works within ULUH became increasingly rigorous, with ever greater weight attached to the ideological and thematic content of submitted pieces.⁴⁶ The justifications provided for rejected works reveal a broad spectrum of evaluative criteria: a work might be considered

44 Bojana Videkanić, “Yugoslav Postwar Art and Socialist Realism: An Uncomfortable Relationship,” *ARTMargins*, 5/2, 2016, pp. 3–26.

45 Ana Šeparović, “ULUH oko Informbiroa: dinamika ideološko-političkog pritiska u likovnom stvaralaštvu” [ULUH around the Cominform: Dynamics of Ideological and Political Pressure in Visual Arts], *Peristil*, 60, 2017, pp. 103–116.

46 Ibid.

unfinished, overly sketch-like, unclear, ideologically or thematically unacceptable, grotesque, unconvincing in its rendering of movement, formally at odds with its subject matter, or characterised by an artificial romanticism and symbolism. Evidently, the choice of an appropriate theme alone was insufficient. A work was also expected to demonstrate clarity, formal resolution, realistic credibility, legibility of the human figure, a convincing sense of three-dimensional form, and social relevance. What is particularly significant is that this ideological and political infrastructure did not remain limited to Zagreb. Šeparović notes that, throughout 1948, members of the ULUH Split Branch participated in a series of ideological and political lectures addressing economic relations between socialist countries, the revision of Marxism-Leninism in connection with the national question, the fight against revisions of Marxism-Leninism, and communist morality.⁴⁷ This information confirms the integration of the Split Branch into the republican system of political and theoretical guidance through educational and discussion-based activities aimed at shaping the ideological readiness of its members. Only in late 1949 and around 1950 did a gradual deconstruction of the Socialist Realist model begin, accompanied by the growing prominence of discourse centred on creative freedom, individuality, and the pluralism of artistic tendencies. The process was neither sudden nor unambiguous, but it did signal a gradual erosion of the rigid ideological framework that had previously governed the visual arts field. The departure from the Stalinist paradigm necessarily implied a reconsideration of the Zhdanovite model of Socialist Realism, since in the Soviet context it had functioned as the aesthetic counterpart of political orthodoxy. During the closing years of the 1940s and the early 1950s, debates concerning the relationship between ideology and art, and between social purpose and aesthetic autonomy, became increasingly pronounced. This transition may also be understood through the post-war phase of conflict on the literary left, which Domagoj Brozović interprets as a gradual adaptation of Krleža’s earlier views on artistic autonomy to the altered political circumstances that emerged after 1948. Within this process of transformation, the journal *Republika*, Šegedin’s 1949 intervention, and Krleža’s 1952 address became key points in the reconfiguration of cultural discourse: art continued to be conceived as a socially responsible practice, but its significance could no longer be confined to the utilitarian role of political illustration.⁴⁸ The Ljubljana Writers’ Congress of 1952 is frequently identified as a symbolic watershed in this development, with particular attention focused on the address delivered by Miroslav Krleža. In that intervention, Krleža articulated the need for a critical departure from schematism and from the doctrinaire reduction of art to a purely illustrative instrument of political thesis. Krleža did not, however, call into question the social responsibility of art, but rather insisted on its inner complexity, historical depth, and aesthetic autonomy as the precondition for its genuine social

47 Ibid.
48 Domagoj Brozović, “Sukob na književnoj ljevici u novohistorističkom ključu” [The Conflict on the Literary Left in a New Historicist Key], *Umjetnost riječi*, LIX, 1–2, 2015, pp. 133–154.

relevance. The debate therefore did not amount to a renunciation of the socialist project, but to its reinterpretation. Art continued to be regarded as a socially relevant practice, though its value was no longer determined solely by the extent of its direct ideological transparency. This shift marked a move away from a model of normatively prescribed representation towards one that accommodated a plurality of formal solutions and a more complex relationship with reality. In this transitional period, the manner in which art was ideologically guided also changed: rigid enforcement of aesthetic norms gradually yielded to a more flexible system that permitted a diversity of formal approaches, so long as they did not openly challenge the social order. In the visual arts field, these developments were manifested through the affirmation of geometric abstraction, Constructivist tendencies, and exploration of a visual language freed from narrative demands. The Croatian context is particularly significant in this regard, since already in the early 1950s initiatives began to appear that explicitly rehabilitated the modernist tradition and reasserted continuity with the avant-garde experiments of the interwar period. The activity of the EXAT 51 group is, in this respect, particularly illustrative, as its programme documents and exhibition activities do not mark an abrupt break, but rather the logical outcome of the preceding process of gradual liberalisation of the aesthetic field.

The Socialist Realist period in the territory of the People’s Republic of Croatia, according to the existing research of Ljiljana Kolečnik, Sandra Križić Roban, Ana Šeparović, Ive Šimat Banov, Vladimir Maleković, and others, may therefore be understood as a relatively brief yet important phase in which artistic production was subject to normative regulation.⁴⁹ Its significance is less evident in any long-lasting stylistic dominance,

49 Ljiljana Kolečnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada. Hrvatska umjetnost i likovna kritika 50-ih godina* [Between East and West. Croatian Art and Art Criticism of the 1950s], Institute of Art History, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 29–61; Sandra Križić Roban, *Hrvatsko slikarstvo od 1945. do danas* [Croatian Painting from 1945 to the Present], Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2013, pp. 17–32; Ive Šimat Banov, *Hrvatsko kiparstvo od 1950 do danas* [Croatian Sculpture from 1950 to the Present], Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2013, pp. 40–46. On the exhibition context and interpretation of Socialist Realism, see: Vladimir Maleković, *Kritička retrospektiva – Hrvatska likovna umjetnost 1945–1955. Tendenciozni realizam* [Critical Retrospective – Croatian Visual Art 1945–1955. Tendentia Realism] (exhibition catalogue), as part of the 9th Zagreb Salon, Modern Gallery, Zagreb, 1974. The exhibition addresses the period of the affirmation of Socialist Realism as a complex field of tension between the ideological imperative of socially functional, “legible” art and autonomous formal explorations. Maleković analyses how “tendentiousness” in this context ceases to be an aesthetic shortcoming and becomes a criterion of value, while the choice of formal solution acquires the dimension of an ideological commitment: formal decisions are no longer neutral, but participate in the production of political and social meaning and are evaluated according to the intensity of their contact with the “masses”. Compare also the earlier exhibition-historiographical attempt to connect Surrealism, social art, the art of the National Liberation War, and Socialist Realism within a broader field of inquiry: *Nadrealizam, postnadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, umetnost NOR-a, socijalistički realizam: 1929–1950* [Surrealism, Post-Surrealism, Social Art, the Art of the National Liberation War, Socialist Realism: 1929–1950], ed. Miodrag B. Protić, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 1969. The catalogue also includes the text by Dragoslav Đorđević, “Socijalistički realizam 1945–1950” [Socialist Realism 1945–1950].

and more so in the institutional and ideological redefinition of the artist’s position, organisational models of association, and the systems through which artistic work was legitimised. Socialist Realism functioned as a regulatory mechanism through which the relationships between aesthetic autonomy, political loyalty, and the social function of art were elaborated, but also as a space of adaptation, negotiation, and the gradual transformation of the cultural field. It should therefore be understood here as a mutable discursive and institutional system of valuation: as a language of pressure, self-criticism, jury adjudication, and the public legitimation of artistic work. This perspective is particularly useful for interpreting the Split material, where Socialist Realist demands seldom appear as a coherently applied aesthetic system and are instead more commonly encountered as an operative set of criteria used to negotiate issues of membership, artistic quality, exhibition selection, and the social function of art. Even before these criteria became stabilised through the work of the Branch, exhibition practices in Split had already begun to develop during the war and in the immediate post-liberation period, exploring the relationship between image, the public, political message, and the artist’s social responsibility.

2 EXHIBITION MODELS AND THE POLITICAL PEDAGOGY OF IMAGE

Exhibition of Partisan Artists, 1944

In the period immediately preceding the formal establishment of the ULUH Branch, Split’s artistic community was galvanised by a wave of exhibiting activity that can be viewed as early attempts to steer artistic practice towards the demands of the new socio-political order. The most notable of these was the first *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*, held in late 1944 in the central palace on Botičeva poljana in Split, organised by the Cultural Workers’ Club of Croatia for Dalmatia. This exhibition already signals the emerging post-war understanding of art, its public function, and its engagement with the experience of armed struggle.⁵⁰ In the catalogue’s foreword, Jure Franičević Pločar draws attention to the artists who supported the National Liberation Struggle through their work behind the front lines, forging a new artistic expression “amid the ashes, in suffering, in the great heroic struggle of our peoples”. At the same time, he underscores the inextricable link between political and artistic freedom: “The freedom of a people is the freedom of art; the freedom of a people is the freedom of the artist-creator. We must guard this freedom with vigilance, on behalf of the fallen heroes, of the living, of the progress of future generations, of truth and justice, of art itself.”⁵¹ Such a formulation already

50 The summary of the development of the visual arts during the National Liberation Struggle indicates that partisan artistic activity developed across several centres and institutional bases: around the Supreme Headquarters, the AVNOJ, the ZAVNOH, in Cozzano, Slavonia, and the Žumberak region. The same account notes that Antun Zupa coordinated the underground work of visual artists in Split, while Parać, Studin, B. Kovačević, Bunk, Ž. Kljaković, and Šitić were active in El Shatt, suggesting that the Split artistic circle was integrated into a broader and far-reaching wartime network of artistic production. See: “Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s prilozima” [Data Relating to the Development of the Visual Arts in Our Country, with Appendices], Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-12-49 – Miscellaneous Data on the Visual Arts, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art of the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 12.

51 Jure Pločar, *Izložba umjetnika partizana* [*Exhibition of Partisan Artists*] (exhibition catalogue), 23 December 1944 – 10 January 1945, Split. The foreword to this catalogue, which stands as one of the earliest ideological statements shaping the post-war art scene in Dalmatia, contains the following striking passage: “Never before in our people’s history had artists faced such a profound reckoning, both in the eyes of the nation and of art itself, as a true test of their devotion to truth as in this war,

signals the direction in which artistic practice would be interpreted, as an integral part of the collective struggle and as a pledge of future social and cultural emancipation. The exhibited works largely addressed and recorded various wartime events and scenes, their protagonists and lived experiences, with special prominence accorded to the sculptor Ivan Lozica, executed by the Italian fascists in 1943, whose sculptures, drawings, and documentary materials were presented as part of the exhibition. Cvito Fisković wrote at length about the exhibition in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, and his text may be understood as a programmatic intervention in the public discourse on the new art.⁵² Written at a pivotal

which has imposed upon us a struggle for life and death. The time had come to take a stand. The fascists swept across our land, engulfing it in smoke, soaking it in blood and tears, and trampling over everything we held dear; their black hands profaned our most sacred places, their false flags were hoisted triumphantly across our towns and villages, and their divisions, armed to the teeth, marched through our streets. Their most loyal helpers were the local collaborators and traitors. Our people stood on the brink of annihilation. Yet the people summoned their courage and rose up to fight. Written protests alone could not suffice in those days. Artists were the first to raise their voices, in the name of humanity and in defence of an art upon which both foreign and homegrown butchers had turned their blades. Only one honourable course remained; to march alongside the people in the fight for freedom and for art, or else to abandon honour, freedom, and art alike, to bend the knee before the preening *tenenti* (Ital. lieutenants) and *feldwebels* (Ger. sergeants), to plead for clemency and sing praises to their great leaders and the supposed superiority of races deemed fit to rule, to sink into servitude and slavery, to fill one’s pockets with blood-stained coin, to disappear from the face of the earth, and to be forever marked as a traitor. This was the path chosen by the spineless and the treacherous. The true representatives of art, the only art worthy of the name, took the path of struggle, one that claimed the lives of many great fighters and artists: Cesarac, Markovac, Keršovani, Prica, Miškina, Kovačić, Lozica, and countless others who gave their lives in service to their people and their art, in pursuit of the great ideals of freedom and progress. Through ordeal and suffering, through heroic combat, through hunger and bitter cold, our brigades pressed on, sustained by an unshakeable faith in victory and in Tito, a faith that was and remains stronger than any instrument of war. Many of our artists walked that same road, enduring battle and hardship alongside the brigades. Among them was the great Croatian poet Vladimir Nazor. Many others made their contribution from behind the front lines. It was out of these trials that a new artistic language emerged, born amid the ashes, forged in suffering, in the great heroic struggle of our peoples.” In addition to works by the executed Ivan Lozica and documentary material about him, the exhibition catalogue lists the following exhibitors: Zvonko Agbaba, Ivan Čaće, Vilim Čerić, Lela Čermak, Marijan Detoni, Oskar Herman, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Job-Jeličić, Branko Kovačević, Riko Marasović, Franjo Mraz, Edo Murtić, Mirko Ostoja, Dalibor Parać, Vjeko Parać, Bartul Petrić, Oton Postružnik, Zlatko Prica, Vanja Radauš, Stjepan Rajković, Stella Skopal, Marin Studin, Petar Šimaga, Ljudevit Šestić, Jelena Štark, Đuro Tiljak, and Antun Zupa. After its run in Split, the exhibition travelled to the Workers’ Club in Dubrovnik; concurrently, a version of the *Exhibition of Partisan Artists* was organised in Šibenik with a foreword by Vjekoslav Kaleb, and later at the Art Pavilion in Zagreb, where it was presented with a more comprehensive catalogue and illustrations (20 June – 20 July 1945). The Modern Gallery in Zagreb played host shortly afterwards to an *Exhibition of Slovenian Partisan Artists* (16 – 30 September 1945). What these exhibitions collectively presented was a distinctive body of work forged under extreme wartime and existential conditions – work that was not merely, as Vjekoslav Kaleb puts it, a document, but an active form and constituent part of the struggle: “the foundation of a new artistic vision, just as the battles and sufferings are the foundation of a new life.” See: Vjekoslav Kaleb, *Izložba umjetnika partizana* (exhibition catalogue), 4 – 11 February 1945, Šibenik.

52 Cvito Fisković, PhD, “Izložba umjetnika partizana u Splitu” [Exhibition of Partisan Artists in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 24 December 1944, p. 3.

moment and directed at a local readership, the article treats the very act of exhibiting as a moral, political, and cultural assertion of communal identity, whilst the exhibition itself is read as a symptom of far-reaching social transformation.

It is worth pausing here to consider the way in which Fisković sets up a relationship between art and fascism. In a lengthy introduction, Fisković describes the repression of free artists in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, referencing the persecution of modernists and the concept of “degenerate art”. Through this framing, he situates the partisan exhibition within the broader context of European struggle for freedom of artistic expression, one in which art is cast as a domain of truth set against politically imposed falsehood, and the artist elevated to the status of a moral agent. This framing is significant, for it invests partisan art, in Fisković’s reading, with a symbolic and spiritual function within the revolutionary movement, whilst lending legitimacy to its historical and ethical standing.

Fisković’s conception of art as combative, ethically grounded, and socially responsible needs to be placed within a longer continuum of ideas. It draws on the legacy of the interwar group “Zemlja” (*Eng.* Earth), which had already asserted, in the early 1930s, the necessity of connecting artistic practice to the existential realities of the social classes.⁵³ “Zemlja” championed an engagement with the peasantry, labour, and the fabric of everyday social life, whilst rejecting the decorative conventions of academic art and the self-contained insularity of purely formal concerns. Although repression had brought its

53 The notices appearing in the daily press make for interesting reading. A report published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* in January 1945, for instance, notes that former members of the Association of Visual Artists “Zemlja” [Earth] in the liberated territory of Croatia had resolved to revive the association under its original name. The article further notes that a manifesto was issued on this occasion, asserting that the “Zemljaši” [members of Zemlja] had long advocated a combative content rooted in lived experience, and that their artistic stance had been built upon a serious study of contemporary European painting. The article continues by stating that the liberation of the homeland would be followed by “a long and arduous struggle on the cultural front against artistic backwardness, half-heartedness, and obscurantism,” and that it was precisely for this reason that the tradition was being rekindled and the association reconstituted, now enriched by the experiences of the National Liberation Struggle. The manifesto’s signatories are listed as Antun Augustinčić, Marijan Detoni, Franjo Mraz, Oton Postružnik, Vanja Radauš, and Đuro Tiljak. The article points to a deliberate effort to draw a line of continuity between the socially committed artistic stance of the interwar years and its post-war reassertion under changed political conditions. See: “Obnavlja se udruženje likovnih umjetnika ‘Zemlja’” [The Revival of the Association of Visual Artists ‘Zemlja’], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 28 January 1945, p. 3. For more recent interpretations of the Association of Artists Zemlja as a broadly conceived artistic and social project, see the exhibition project *Umjetnost i život su jedno: Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja 1929. – 1935.* [Art and Life are One: The Association of Artists Zemlja 1929 – 1935], Klovićevi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 28 November 2019 – 1 March 2020, exhibition author Petar Prelog, curator Danijela Marković; and the exhibition catalogue *Umjetnost i život su jedno: Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja 1929. – 1935.* [Art and Life are One: The Association of Artists Zemlja 1929–1935], ed. Danijela Marković and Petar Prelog, Klovićevi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 2019.

activities to a halt, the central idea of art’s rootedness in social life continued to resonate within the intellectual outlook of a considerable part of the artistic community. The experience of war served only to sharpen this position further. The illegal exhibition organised in 1943 at the initiative of the underground Central Committee of Intellectuals in Split, and held at the studio of the sculptor Marin Studin, marks a significant transitional moment between the socially engaged art of the interwar period and its post-war institutionalisation. The exhibition comprised some 70 works and, according to available sources, was attended clandestinely by approximately 2,000 visitors from a broad range of social backgrounds. The act of exhibiting in this context was at once an aesthetic statement, an act of political resistance, and a gesture of cultural solidarity, as reflected in the distribution of proceeds between the artists, the fund for artists working in other fields, and the National Liberation Fund.⁵⁴ A continuity can be observed across this developmental arc – from “Zemlja”, through clandestine wartime practice, to the publicly celebrated partisan exhibition – in the conception of art as a socially responsible practice, one that would eventually find a more stable organisational framework in the years after 1945.⁵⁵

54 “Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima” [Data Relating to the Development of Visual Art in Our Country, with Appendices], Appendix 2, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-12-49 – Miscellaneous Data on the Visual Arts, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art of the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 12. The title of the appendix reads: “Ilegalna izložba u Splitu (od početka ožujka do konca rujna 1943. godine)” [The Illegal Exhibition in Split (from the beginning of March to the end of September 1943)]; the appendix states: “The exhibition was organised on the initiative of and at the home of Marin Studin by the underground Central Committee of Intellectuals in Split, under the auspices of the G.N.O.O., as a counter-event against the fascist exhibition in Split in 1942. At this exhibition, works by Antun Zupa, Vjekoslav Parać, Ivo Tijardović, Nikola Ignjatović, Sablić, Ljubo Nakić, and Marin Studin (sculptures and reliefs in wood and bronze, oil paintings, watercolours, lithographs, and drawings) were shown alongside those of Ivo Lozica, who had recently been executed by the fascists. The frames and fittings for the paintings were made by Ivan Galić. Approximately 70 works were on display in total. The exhibition was visited clandestinely by around 2,000 visitors from all walks of life, from priests, merchants, and lawyers to students, pupils, workers, and peasants, and works to the value of approximately 100,000 lire were purchased. Of the sale price, each artist received 60%, 30% went to a fund for artists working in other fields (writers, actors, and musicians), and 10% went to the National Liberation Fund. (Based on the article “Ilegalna izložba umjetnika 1943” [The Illegal Exhibition of Artists 1943], *Glas Slobode*, Dubrovnik, year II, no. 29, 11 February 1945, p. 2. Based on a speech by M. Studin on 5 February 1945 at Radio Station Dubrovnik.)”

55 For a broader overview of social art and its connections with interwar and post-war tendencies, see: Božidar Gagro, “Nadrealizam, socijalna umjetnost 1929. – 1950.” [Surrealism, Social Art 1929–1950], *Život umjetnosti*, 10, 1969, pp. 149–167. Gagro’s text is useful in that, on the occasion of the Belgrade exhibition *Nadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, 1929. – 1950.*, it explores the possibility of a shared reading of Surrealism, social art, the art of the National Liberation Struggle, and Socialist Realism, whilst exercising caution against the methodologically reductive conflation of phenomena that are formally distinct yet ideologically and practically akin. See also the exhibition catalogue: *Nadrealizam, postnadrealizam, socijalna umetnost, umetnost NOR-a, socijalistički realizam: 1929–1950* [Surrealism, Post-Surrealism, Social Art, Art of the National Liberation Struggle, Socialist Realism: 1929–1950], ed. Miodrag B. Protić, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 1969.

A central point in Fisković’s text is the assertion that the works on display demonstrate the presence of artists capable of confronting “the most difficult problems: humanity and the struggle for liberation from violence and falsehood.” The artistic terrain is thereby clearly mapped, essentially, the existential and social drama of the individual at a particular historical juncture. Art takes on the role of giving voice to experiences of violence, resistance, and liberation, establishing in the process a model of art that is both socially engaged and rooted in lived experience. Notably absent is the doctrinal idiom that would go on to define the later, institutionally regulated Socialist Realism.

Of equal importance is Fisković’s departure from the monumental-allegorical tradition of interwar national art. His references to “Vidovdan symbols and allegories” – plainly of the Meštrović variety – and to “empty ornament and pathos” signal a rejection of the rhetorically inflated model of heroic representation, with its reliance on symbolic hypertrophy and monumentality. In its place, partisan artists affirm “notes from nature and life,” the immediacy of lived experience, and a distinctly personal artistic hand. The stress placed on individuality within a collective setting is particularly revealing. Fisković also draws attention to the absence of a dominant figure capable of eclipsing other artists, implicitly gesturing towards a space of plurality and relative parity. This characterisation foreshadows the idea of an artistic community built upon horizontal dynamics, one that would subsequently leave its mark on forms of professional organisation. No less important is his observation that the artists “tend towards realism,” which he describes as “the surest path of healthy development.” At this juncture, realism operates as a marker of experiential and ethical anchorage in reality, unconstrained by rigid doctrinal schematisation. The term functions to draw a distinction from hollow rhetoric and ornamental monumentality. This semantic openness of the concept points towards a transitional period in which the discourse on the social function of art was still in the process of formation, before its full administrative codification had taken hold.

In conclusion, Fisković’s contention that “every true art is combative” and that the artist must hold faith in the progress of humanity imparts a distinctly manifesto-like quality to the text. Art is defined as an active participant in history and an act of public responsibility. Simultaneously, the freedom of personal expression and the plurality of artistic voices are brought to the fore, illuminating how the emerging model of art in Split was shaped at the intersection of collective struggle and individual creative positioning. The text may thus be understood as an early attempt to give conceptual form to the post-war visual arts field, the organisational and institutional ramifications of which would shortly materialise in the founding of the ULUH Split Branch.

The data pertaining to partisan exhibitions affords the opportunity to place the Split exhibition of late 1944 within the broader network of wartime and immediately post-war

artistic mobilisation.⁵⁶ The sequence opens with the Topusko exhibition, staged within the framework of the Congress of Cultural Workers in June 1944, comprising 13 exhibitors and 273 works, before tracing a path through Split, Dubrovnik, Šibenik, and Zadar.⁵⁷ This progression points to the partisan exhibitions as constituting a mobile and polycentric exhibiting practice, one closely bound up with political, cultural, and representational occasions. Within this chain, Split commanded a particularly conspicuous position: 29 artists exhibited there, presenting 166 works to an audience of some 8,000 visitors, a figure that markedly surpasses those documented for Šibenik and Zadar, and which finds its only comparable counterpart in the reception accorded to the Dubrovnik exhibition. No less revealing are the figures relating to catalogues, lectures, guided tours, and survey responses, which point to the educational and propagandistic role these exhibitions were called upon to play: beyond the public display of works, they were active participants in the shaping of audiences, the organised mediation of art, and the political pedagogy of the image. Viewed in this light, the Split exhibition comes into sharper focus as one of the pivotal nodes in a wider network of partisan exhibitions that connected Topusko, the Dalmatian cities, and eventually Zagreb, where the most significant original works from the Dalmatian exhibitions were shown once more and acquired for museum collections.⁵⁸

56 For Tiljak’s contemporary interpretation of partisan art and the Šibenik *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*, see: Đuro Tiljak, “Narodno-oslobodilačka borba i umjetnost” [The National Liberation Struggle and Art] and “Izložba umjetnika partizana u Šibeniku” [Exhibition of Partisan Artists in Šibenik], in: Đuro Tiljak, O građanskoj, socijalnoj i partizanskoj umjetnosti [On Bourgeois, Social, and Partisan Art], eds. Ivana Hanaček and Vesna Vuković, BLOK, Zagreb, 2021, pp. 143–158.

57 “Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima” [Data Relating to the Development of Visual Art in Our Country, with Appendices], Appendix 1, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-12-49 – Miscellaneous Data on the Visual Arts, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 12. This appendix on partisan exhibitions records the following: the Topusko exhibition of 1944, held on the occasion of the Congress of Cultural Workers, featured 13 exhibitors and 273 works, attracting around 1,500 visitors, and was accompanied by 2 lectures and 1 guided tour; the Split exhibition, running from late 1944 into early 1945, counted 29 exhibitors and 166 works, drew approximately 8,000 visitors, and was accompanied by a poster attributed to Mirko Ostoja and 722 survey responses; the Dubrovnik exhibition of February 1945, mounted on the occasion of the feast of Saint Blaise, featured 29 exhibitors and 120 works, drawing around 6,000 visitors and accompanied by 6 lectures; the Šibenik exhibition, organised within the framework of Culture Week, had 20 exhibitors, 154 works, and 4,297 visitors, with a poster by Zlatko Prica, 479 survey responses, 1 lecture, and 4 guided tours; and the Zadar exhibition, also held within the framework of Culture Week, brought together 22 exhibitors and 145 works, attracting around 2,500 visitors, with a poster likewise by Zlatko Prica, 1 lecture, and 2 guided tours.

58 Ibid. For more on the shift from illegal and subversive wartime exhibiting practices to the mass, overt, and ideologically directed exhibition formats in Croatia between 1943 and 1948, see: Snježana Pavičić, “Od subverzivnoga do masovnoga i manifestnoga: izložbe u organizaciji komunističkih odbora za kulturu u Hrvatskoj od 1943. do 1948.” [From the Subversive to the Mass and the Overt: Exhibitions Organised by Communist Cultural Committees in Croatia, 1943–1948], *Informatica Museologica*, 50, 2019, pp. 95–98.

Fine Artists of Dalmatia, 1945

The *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*, held in Split in late 1944, had set out the normative horizon of a socially engaged artistic practice rooted in the experience of the National Liberation Struggle. What followed was the first more substantial post-war art event: the exhibition *Fine Artists of Dalmatia*, staged at the Salon Galić Gallery in August 1945 as part of the First Dalmatian Festival.⁵⁹ The Festival, held from 18 to 26 August, was conceived as a unified platform bringing together a variety of cultural events with a pronounced participatory ambition. Cultural production was thus envisaged as an intrinsic component of a broader social reorganisation, in which art served as a medium for the symbolic integration of the post-war community. In this climate, the fine art exhibition likewise took on a significance reaching well beyond its professional confines, fitting into the wider project of mobilisation and cultural engagement of the broad popular masses, as Živko Jeličić put it in his newspaper review.⁶⁰ His insistence on transforming art into the “property” of the people signals a shift in how cultural production was being perceived: the work of art comes to be regarded through the lens of social distribution and collective identification, while the exhibiting act is inscribed within a process of cultural democratisation. The exhibition was organised by the fine arts section of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group. In contrast to the partisan exhibition, whose legitimacy derived from direct wartime experience and combative iconography, the exhibition of Dalmatian artists raised the question of how inherited artistic poetics were to meet the new expectations of post-war cultural policy. It was precisely this tension that found its way into public debate. Newspaper reviews, above all the piece by Šime Vučetić, gave voice to the problem of the temporal inadequacy of a number of the exhibited works.⁶¹ Vučetić observes that a considerable number of the works were executed before the war, describing them as a “fantastical experience

59 The following list of exhibitors appears in the article “Otvorenje izložbe likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije” [Opening of the Exhibition of Fine Artists of Dalmatia], published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* on 17 August 1945 (p. 3): “This Saturday, 18 August, Salon Galić Gallery in Split will host the opening of an exhibition of fine artists of Dalmatia. The participating artists are: Armanda Nikola, painter; Armanda Ljubica, painter; Baković Stjepan, painter; Bakulić Fabjan, sculptor; Bašić Ljubomir, painter; Bulimbašić Ivan, sculptor; Boteri Josip, painter; Bučan Ante, painter; Bunk Rudolf, painter; Domić Svetozar, painter; Dujmović Šime, sculptor; Franičević Ante, painter; Gojak Ante, painter; Ivanišević Ante, sculptor; Jansevski Votmar, painter; Jeličić-Job Cvijeta, painter; Knežević Joko, painter; Krstulović Andrija, sculptor; Matas Božidar, painter; Maretić Mirko, painter; Masle Antun, painter; Mirković Ivan, sculptor; Parać Vjekoslav, painter; Petrić Bartul, painter; Pulitika Ante, painter; Popović Stanasije, painter; Račić Miše, painter; Stanojević Dušan, sculptor; Strajnić Jovanka, painter; Studin Marin, sculptor; Tolić Milan, painter; Tolić Ranko, painter; Vidović Emanuel, painter; Vitaljić Kuzma, painter; and Zupa Antun, painter.”

60 Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), “Narodne mase na polju umjetnosti” [The Popular Masses in the Field of Art], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12 August 1945, p. 5.

61 Šime Vučetić, “Likovna izložba u okviru festivala” [The Fine Art Exhibition within the Framework of the Festival], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 19 August 1945, p. 3.

of reality,” a characterisation that implies their remove from the contemporary social moment. The observation is not, however, one of mere stylistic import. What Vučetić is effectively doing is laying out a value criterion by which art is measured against the degree of its consonance with the historical situation and the vigour of its engagement with social processes. Put differently, the temporal dimension of a work – the moment of its creation – is elevated into a meaningful factor in both ideological and aesthetic judgement.

Particularly instructive is the manner in which Vučetić conducts his analysis of Vjekoslav Parać’s painting. The contrast drawn between impressionistic points of departure (*Poplars*) and the attempt, under the influence of Realism (*Milkmaids, Solin Field*), to engage with reality in ways that transcend mere colouristic handling lays bare the wider ideological and aesthetic orientation of the text. In urging that the world be seized upon “realistically” rather than through “fantasy” or modernist interpretation, Vučetić is in effect advocating a transformation of the very criteria by which artistic value is to be measured. Formal choices are divested of their autonomy and invested with a social dimension, becoming subject to appraisal on the basis of their capacity to articulate the experience of collective reality. In this demand one may recognise an early formulation of the doctrine by which artistic expression is to be enlisted in the service of the transparent communication of social reality, with aesthetic complexity yielding to the primacy of the message. Aesthetic discussion is thereby transformed into a matter of cultural strategy.

In the second part of his review, Vučetić gives still more explicit formulation to the demand for contemporary subjects and a “realistic treatment” of reality. His call for “motifs from the liberation war and present-day life to be raised to a worthy artistic level” establishes a direct line of continuity with the paradigm set by the *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*. That earlier exhibition is tacitly elevated in Vučetić’s text to the standing of a touchstone – an example of practice in which artistic expression and historical moment were in immediate accord. The reference to it carries the weight of an argument from authority: the experience of war is cast as the bedrock of legitimacy underpinning the new aesthetic orientation. Wartime experience thus takes on, as it were, the function of a normative matrix, a kind of canon of contemporaneity that lends legitimacy to subject matter, iconography, and manner of representation. No less significant is the rhetorical moment in which Vučetić calls into question the continued attachment to landscape and still life as motifs. His ironic invocation of the “wisdom of the pond and the marshland” carries the implication that art content to remain within a pastoral or introspective register is turning a blind eye to the dynamics of social transformation. Within this framework, landscape and flowers become markers of aesthetic inertia, whilst war, labour, and reconstruction constitute the symbolic capital of the new order. This amounts to a normative intervention framed in accordance with the imperatives of Socialist Realist discourse, though in 1945 it is still operating within a relatively open field of debate, in which diverse poetics remain present and are openly contested. That

such plurality should coexist with the normative demand makes clear that the process of ideological stabilisation of the visual arts field is still very far from having run its course.

The exhibition *Fine Artists of Dalmatia* therefore stands as a transitional moment poised between the continuity of interwar modernist and individual poetics and the mounting pressure to redefine the function of art in conformity with progressive social imperatives. The friction between the inherited artistic legacy and the prescribed ideological horizon reveals a process of negotiation playing out within the visual arts field itself. No firmly standardised system of aesthetic precepts has yet taken hold, but the expectation that artistic work aligns itself with the transformation of social reality is coming into ever sharper focus.

There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways, 1945

The programmatically titled caricature exhibition *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways*, which opened on 20 October 1945 at the Ethnographic Museum in Split – its display extending to the People’s Square – ranks among the most significant manifestations of early post-war political visual culture in Dalmatia. The exhibition closed on 26 October.⁶² Organised at the behest of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group, the exhibition was conceived from the outset as a collective endeavour encompassing virtually the whole of the Split artistic community. Painters and sculptors contributed in equal measure, and newspaper reports emphasise the remarkable turnout of both artists and visitors (some 500 attendees at the opening, with the museum premises and the square packed simultaneously).⁶³ The title itself – *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways* – announces an unambiguous programmatic horizon: the exhibition is framed as a visual articulation of historical rupture and the wholesale rejection of the monarchist past, understood as the old Yugoslavia under royal rule. The newspaper discourse foregrounds the antagonism between two historical moments, casting them in an almost Manichae

62 “Izložba karikatura ‘Nema povratka na staro’” [Caricature Exhibition “There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways”], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 October 1945, p. 3. The newspaper carries a brief notice informing readers that this is the last opportunity to view the exhibition.

63 “Otvorenje izložbe karikatura u Splitu” [Opening of the Caricature Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21 October 1945, p. 3. It should be noted that the annual report of the Branch secretary Živko Kljaković, delivered at the assembly of 26 January 1947, states that it was precisely the exhibition of caricatures and the production of grotesques during the electoral campaign that was regarded as the true beginning of the association’s activity, even though the formal structure of the Branch had not yet been completed at that point. See: “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.” [Minutes of the General Annual Assembly of the Visual Artists of Dalmatia Held on 26 January 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

opposition between a repressive, “gendarmerie” Yugoslavia and the new republican political reality. Caricature is thus enlisted as a medium of political demarcation and moral settlement of accounts. The texts are at pains to stress that this is an exhibition of political caricature aimed “against the old Yugoslavia,” whilst simultaneously presenting it as a manifestation of democratic freedoms: its “substance, the mass participation of exhibitors, and the spontaneity of its inception” are read as “proofs of the profound libertarian content of our democracy.”⁶⁴ The programmatic tone is lent additional force by rhetorical turns of phrase such as: “When the people were enslaved, art too was enslaved,” by which the visual medium of caricature is bound directly to the political destiny of the community.⁶⁵ Art is conceived as a historically determined and politically committed practice; stifled under oppression, it now steps into an active and affirmative role under the new conditions of freedom.

In this context, caricature functions as satirical commentary and as a means of moral and symbolic delegitimization of the former regime. The article’s author points out that “all that past... is so drenched in blood” that it becomes “near impossible to find anything laughable in these executioners,” and so the artist is “compelled... to caricature them to the point of bestiality.”⁶⁶ A rhetoric of hatred towards the old order is given clear and deliberate expression here, one in which the distortion of the human figure amounts to an ethical verdict rather than a purely aesthetic choice. At the same time, the very same press coverage calls upon “the love of cultural workers for all those who had suffered under Yugoslavia’s gendarmerie regime.”⁶⁷ The exhibition therefore works on two levels simultaneously: as a declaration of “hatred for the old” and an affirmation of “love” for the downtrodden, drawing a firm line between two distinct Yugoslavias – the monarchist and the republican – and asserting a deliberate political discontinuity between them.

The concept of collective effort in putting the exhibition together receives particular attention. “What sets this exhibition apart is precisely its spontaneity,” the journalist remarks, underlining the fact that Split’s visual artists came forward “entirely on their own initiative” to take charge of the organisation at the behest of the “Ivan Lozica” group.⁶⁸ The shared labour of organisers and participants is held up as the equal of the shock force workers’ zeal driving industrial production: “Their work can stand beside the shock force workers’ achievements in factories and enterprises... With this exhibition, the Split artists have stepped into the republic as one, shoulder to shoulder with the peasants

and workers, keeping the same pace.”⁶⁹ Artistic practice is in this manner absorbed into the wider ideological vision of solidarity uniting workers, peasants, and the “working intelligentsia.” Caricature is recruited into the service of this collective social effort, functioning as the cultural equivalent to the physical reconstruction of the country. In this sense, visual satire becomes one of the manifestations of “shock force work” on the cultural front.

It is noteworthy that the exhibition was opened by Neven Šegvić.⁷⁰ The list of participants confirms the breadth and representativeness of the initiative: the sculptors included Anto Ivanišević, Bartul Krstulović, Tomislav Kukoč, Mirko Ostoja, Petar Ružić, Dušan Stanojević, Marin Studin, and Ante Šitić; the painters included Josip Botteri, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Jeličić-Job, Živko Kljaković, Joko Knežević, Božidar Matas, Ljubomir Nakić, Mate Razmilović, Ivo Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Ranko Tolić, and Antun Zupa. Such participation from virtually the entire active artistic scene in Split further underscores the collective dimension of the project and its reception as a shared cultural and political gesture. Following its showing in Split, the exhibition moved on to Dubrovnik and Šibenik.⁷¹

It is equally worth drawing attention to the fact that a portfolio of caricatures by Split’s visual artists was published under the auspices of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group, printed at the *Slobodna Dalmacija* printing house.⁷² The exhibition project thus took

64 “‘Nema povratka na staro’. Izložba karikatura, još jedan prilog likovnih umjetnika Splita u borbi za republiku” [“There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways’. Caricature Exhibition, Yet Another Contribution by the Visual Artists of Split to the Struggle for the Republic], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23 October 1945, p. 3.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 “Otvorenje izložbe karikatura u Splitu” [Opening of the Caricature Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21 October 1945, p. 3.

71 “Izložba karikatura ‘Nema povratka na staro’” [Caricature Exhibition ‘There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways’], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 October 1945, p. 3; “Izložba karikatura u Dubrovniku i Šibeniku” [Caricature Exhibition in Dubrovnik and Šibenik], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10 November 1945, p. 7.

72 The front cover of the portfolio features a caricature of a monarch with bayonets and the title *Monarhija – robija* [Monarchy – Servitude]. The back flap carries the following inscription: “This portfolio of caricatures brings together works by Split’s visual artists, shown at their caricature exhibition ‘There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways’, held in Split from 20 to 26 October 1945. Through these works, Split’s visual artists have given expression to their hatred of the old Yugoslavia, with the monarchy at its helm, whilst at the same time proclaiming their love for the new Tito’s federative republic of Yugoslavia, the brotherly community of equal and free peoples. This collective endeavour represents yet another contribution to the struggle for the republic, for a better future for our peoples. They worked in the shock force worker spirit, free of artistic pretensions, striving to resolve as effectively as possible the challenge that their age had placed before them. And they have resolved it: FOR THE REPUBLIC, FOR TITO!”

The list of contributors indicates that the portfolio was produced with the participation of the following painters: Josip Botteri, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Cvijeta Jeličić-Job, Živko Kljaković, Joko Knežević, Božidar Matas, Ljubomir Nakić, Mate Razmilović, Ivo Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Ranko Tolić, and Antun Zupa; sculptors: Anto Ivanišević, Bartul Krstulović, Tomislav Kukoč, Mirko Ostoja, Pero Ružić, Dušan Stanojević, Marin Studin, and Ante Šitić; writer: Živko Jeličić; photographer: Petar Raljević; zincographers: Antun Dolenc and Franko Katavić; printers: Marijan Molinari and Edo Kuzmić, machine

on a more lasting graphic and editorial form, its message lifted out of the transient space of the exhibition and transferred into a reproducible medium with a far broader reach.

For all these reasons, the exhibition *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways* may be understood as a symbolic act of ushering in the new order through the visual medium of caricature. The antagonism between “old” and “new” is rendered in stark terms, the distinction between the two Yugoslavias is given expression through a rhetoric of liberation and moral reckoning, and the artists’ collective labour is acknowledged as an integral part of a broader social unity. In the press discourse surrounding the exhibition, it takes on the quality of a manifesto: “Today, in freedom, they have cast their vote for Tito, for the new, for the republic – and this exhibition is that vote.”⁷³ Caricature thus sheds its role as mere illustrative commentary on political affairs and steps forward as an active agent in the forging of the new republic and the symbolic order underpinning it.

Grotesque Evening, 1945

If the caricatures exhibition *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways* articulated an ideological and visual rejection of the monarchist past, then *Grotesque Evening*, staged on 12 November of the same year and organised by the visual artists of Split with the

operators; Armando Mlinar and Jakov Kuzmić, composers; Marija Kraljević and Ema Gazdić, sheet feeders; Nikola Safret and Bartul Kirigin, bookbinders. The portfolio closes with the following note: “Printed by ‘Slobodna Dalmacija’. Printed in Split in October 1945 in a print run of 5,500 copies.” A reprint of the portfolio was published in the 1980s, produced at the “Zrinski” printing house in Čakovec in a run of 2,000 copies; *Književni krug* in Split is named as the publisher, whilst the edition was both initiated and funded by the Fund for the Development and Cultivation of the Achievements of the Revolution and the People’s Liberation Struggle of the Municipality of Split. The portfolio also featured in the exhibition *Partizanska karikatura 1941–1945* [Partisan Caricature 1941–1945] (Museum of the Revolution of the Peoples of Croatia, Zagreb, 2 February – 2 April 1989), cat. nos. 153–171, which reads caricature as a visual and rhetorical instrument of political mobilisation within the People’s Liberation Struggle. Its unmasking function is realised through codified markers of identity, typologized patterns of representation, and strategies of grotesque distortion that reduce adversaries to recognisable, symbolically laden figures, thereby heightening the polemical and mobilising force of visual representation. See: Dolores Ivanuša and Lucija Benyovsky, *Partizanska karikatura 1941–1945* [Partisan Caricature 1941–1945], Museum of the Revolution of the Peoples of Croatia, Zagreb, 1989. In 2015, the Croatian History Museum mounted a virtual exhibition under the title *Monarhija – robija! Nema povratka na staro* ’45 [Monarchy – Servitude! There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways ’45], which offered a thematic treatment and contextualisation of the portfolio in question; the exhibition was curated by Ana Filep and Snježana Pavičić and can be accessed on the Museum’s website: <https://www.hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/virtualne-izlozbe/monarhija-robija-nema-povratka-na-staro-45/>

73 “‘Nema povratka na staro’. Izložba karikatura, još jedan prilog likovnih umjetnika Splita u borbi za republiku” [‘There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways’. Caricature Exhibition, Yet Another Contribution by Split’s Visual Artists to the Struggle for the Republic], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23 October 1945, p. 3.

participation of actors from the local National Theatre, constituted its spatial, physical, and large-scale performative extension.⁷⁴ As Živko Jeličić’s newspaper review makes clear, the event drew a direct line between pictorial satire and collective theatrical action, turning political caricature into a broadly accessible popular spectacle.⁷⁵ The “*Ivan Lozica*” Cultural and Arts Group played a pivotal role in reshaping exhibition practice into a form of public expression. Having worked in close contact with the people throughout the National Liberation Struggle, the artists felt compelled to give visual form to the “burning question of the day” – the triumph over the monarchist and collaborationist past – and to bring it within reach of the widest possible audience. The newspaper article argues that art made in the period of radical social transformation must be attuned to the “vital currents of the age” and engage the artist as an active participant in the struggle for progress.⁷⁶ The aesthetic act is thereby understood as a form of active participation in the making of a new political order and as a means of publicly affirming its symbolic legitimacy.

Whereas the caricature exhibition had directed its critique at the old Yugoslavia, throwing into sharp relief the antagonism between two competing political and historical models, the staging of *Grotesque Evening* elevated that antagonism into a fully realised scenic spectacle. The concept of collective labour, already evoked in the newspaper coverage of the exhibition through the analogy with the shock force work of labourers and peasants, here achieved its most complete expression. Visual artists and theatre actors came together to craft a mass performative event in which political satire found material embodiment in monumental figures. These comprised large grotesque effigies of five to six metres in height, the making of which demanded extraordinary organisational and technical accomplishment. This technically ambitious undertaking took a full two months to complete and was carried out under considerable difficulty. The heads were modelled in clay, cast in plaster, and then built up layer by layer with sheets of paper until they reached the thickness of “stout cardboard” (*papier-mâché*). Each head exceeded one metre twenty centimetres in height and consumed around 160 kilograms of plaster (a detail that further attests to the monumental scale of the endeavour). The bodies were assembled from wood, straw, and old sacking, and the makers were obliged to procure materials largely through their own initiative. Particularly prominent was

74 The documentary photographs were recently exhibited at the exhibition ‘45, organised by the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb, held from 10 March to 30 October 2016. The exhibition was conceived by Matea Brstilo Rešetar, Ana Filep, Nataša Mataušić and Snježana Pavičić. See: <https://hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/arhiva-izlozbi/45/>.

75 Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), “Groteskno veče u Splitu, koje su priredili likovni umjetnici Splita u saradnji s glumcima Narodnog kazališta u Splitu 12. studenoga” [A Grotesque Evening in Split, Staged by Split’s Visual Artists in Collaboration with the Actors of the Split National Theatre on 12 November], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 November 1945, p. 3.

76 Ibid.

the *Head of Perica* (a nickname for King Peter II Karadorđević, symbol of monarchist continuity and of the government-in-exile in London), which was reproduced alongside the newspaper piece and described in the caption as a collective work. By virtue of its scale and its emphatic caricatural distortion, it became the central visual emblem of the evening, functioning as a concentrated symbol of the entire ideological narrative that the event sought to convey.

A procession of grotesque effigies, of *Perica*, Maček, Draža, Pavelić, and Grol, wound its way through the city in a carefully choreographed sequence.⁷⁷ Floodlights, rockets, ships’ sirens, and music lent the occasion the character of a political spectacle. The figure of the king, surrounded by his “lackeys”, was hauled through the streets on a makeshift cart as crowds of citizens laughed and hurled mockery at these relics of a defeated past. The burning of the effigies on the waterfront provided the climactic moment, with “flames bursting from Draža’s mouth” as the crowd looked on, bearing witness to a ritual settling of scores with the old regime.⁷⁸ This act bore the hallmarks of a public, quasi-ritual performance (structured, in iconographic terms, along carnivalesque lines), in which the symbolic destruction of the past was transmuted into an affirmation of the new political reality. The evening as a whole, as Živko Jeličić observed, carried “the imprint of a mass theatre in which thousands of people took part.”⁷⁹ Here the artistic act is transformed into a collective event; the boundary between performer and audience becomes permeable, and civic participation becomes an integral part of the performance itself. In this sense, the *Grotesque Evening* transcends the confines of the exhibition format and may be regarded as the first attempt at organised mass theatre in post-war Split, one in which visual art, scenography, and acting converge within a single political-aesthetic project, aimed at the emotional mobilisation of the audience and the symbolic consolidation of the new social order.

It should be noted that the project brought together a number of distinguished artists from Split: the sculptors Marin Studin, Mirko Ostoja, Petar Ružić, Bartul Krstulović, Ante

Ivanišević, Tomislav Kukoč, and Ante Šitić, together with the painters Nikola Ignjatović, Živko Kljaković, Antun Zupa, and Vjekoslav Jelaska. They were joined by actors from the National Theatre in Split: Ivo Marjanović, Branko Bonači, Matija Žinić, Duka Tadić, and Rikard Brzeska. The collaboration speaks to the interdisciplinary nature of the event and to a conscious ambition to unite visual and theatrical modes of expression in the service of political and social commentary, thereby situating this local initiative within the wider framework of cultural mobilisation that characterised the post-war era.

The *Grotesque Evening* may be understood as an extension of the exhibition act beyond the gallery space and out into the street, the square, and the mass audience: the message shaped by the caricature print was now translated into a public, collective, and performative act. The antagonism between the “old” and the “new” order formed the fundamental dramaturgical axis. In this confrontation, moreover, one can discern a broader differentiation between two Yugoslavias: the monarchist, marked by repression and the symbolism of blood, and the republican, presented as a space of freedom and creative energy, in keeping with the dominant ideological narrative established after 1945.

In terms of its reception, as the coverage in *Slobodna Dalmacija* attests, the event made a considerable impact. The emphasis on mass participation, spontaneity, and collective work functioned as a validation of the new order’s legitimacy. The artists had, in the words of the article’s author, “struck the true chord of creation” and “felt the pulse of the present day”, their work being interpreted as a contribution to the republic and an affirmation of its democratic achievements.⁸⁰ Seen in this light, the *Grotesque Evening* represents a crucial turning point in the transformation of artistic initiative into the public, performative culture of the post-war era. Political caricature, monumental sculptural construction, theatrical performance, and mass participation converged within a single mode of cultural action, one in which the artistic act became an instrument of collective identification and political pedagogy.

The exhibitions and public actions of 1944 and 1945 demonstrate that a socially engaged artistic practice had already taken shape in Split before the formal establishment of the Branch. The next step was its professional organisation and gradual administrative consolidation.

77 In the caricatural and propagandistic register of the post-war press, these figures functioned as personifications of a politically defeated order. “Perica” referred to King Peter II Karadorđević, symbol of monarchist continuity and of the government-in-exile; Maček to Vladko Maček, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, whom the post-war regime accused of political passivity and detachment from the Partisan movement; Draža to Draža Mihailović, leader of the Chetnik movement, branded in the new Yugoslavia as a collaborator and war criminal; Pavelić to Ante Pavelić, the *Poglavnik* of the Independent State of Croatia and the embodiment of Ustasha quisling rule; and Grol to Milan Grol, a representative of bourgeois liberal politics and a member of the government-in-exile.

78 Ž.(ivko) J.(eličić), “Groteskno veče u Splitu, koje su priredili likovni umjetnici Splita u saradnji s glumcima Narodnog kazališta u Splitu 12. studenoga” [A Grotesque Evening in Split, Organised by Split’s Visual Artists in Collaboration with the Actors of the Split National Theatre on 12 November], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 November 1945, p. 3.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

3 INSTITUTIONALISATION, STANDARDISATION, AND CRISES OF THE ULUH DALMATIA BRANCH

Early Institutional Formation of Artistic Life in Split: The Founding Plenary Session of the Association of Visual Artists of Dalmatia,⁸¹ 25 November 1945

Efforts towards professional association and the more sustained organisation of artistic activity are clearly discernible in Split’s artistic life in the immediate aftermath of liberation. The earliest clearly documented expression of these efforts dates to 25 November 1945, when a plenary session was convened to bring visual artists together and lay the foundations of a new professional organisation. Viewed more broadly, this event marks the transition from the wartime, improvised mode of artistic practice to more stable organisational structures that were formed within the cultural policy framework of the nascent socialist state. The session was held in the City Library, which at the time occupied the second floor of 5 Marmontova Street, lending additional symbolic and practical weight to its place within the city’s broader cultural life. The surviving book of minutes offers a detailed account of the proceedings and notes the attendance of 24 members, alongside Augustin Stipčević, a representative of the Regional People’s Committee, confirming that the cultural initiatives enjoyed the formal support of the authorities at the time.⁸²

The convening of the plenary session was initiated by the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group, which in the immediate post-war period functioned as a transitional entity

81 The original documentation shows inconsistency in the nomenclature used for the organisation, alternating between the designation of a branch and the name of an association. These variants have been preserved here in the form in which they appear in the individual documents, since they effectively distinguish between the local Split branch and the central association in Zagreb. This terminological inconsistency is itself indicative of the gradual process through which the organisational and institutional framework of artistic association was formed and consolidated in the early post-war period.

82 Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented in this section is based on insight into the book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split. In particular, cf. “Zapisnik I. plenarne sjednice ‘Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije’, održane 25. studenog 1945” [Minutes of the 1st Plenary Session of the ‘Association of Visual Artists of Dalmatia,’ held on 25 November 1945.]

between wartime cultural activism and the formation of a professional organisation. Bearing the symbolic name of the young sculptor and anti-fascist fighter Ivan Lozica, the group gathered artists and cultural workers intent on translating the experience of the People’s Liberation Movement into post-war cultural reconstruction. Its role therefore extends beyond the practical organisation of the meeting, also marking the broader shift from wartime mobilisation to the institutional organisation of artistic life.

It is within such a developmental framework that we should situate the meeting of the Association of Visual Artists of Dalmatia, held on 25 November 1945, which marked a formal step towards the institutionalisation of artistic activity in Split. It was opened by the sculptor Marin Studin, by then an established figure on the Croatian art scene, whose presence also lent symbolic authority to the founding process of the new association. In his introductory remarks, he outlined the circumstances that had led to the meeting and proposed the election of a Working Committee. Nikola Ignjatović, Ljubomir Bašić, and Zlata Barbić, acting as secretary, were elected to oversee the proceedings, signalling a transition from an initiative to a more formally organised stage of activity. The minutes record that, after the working body had been constituted, Studin presented a chronology of the events leading up to this first plenary session, emphasising that it had arisen from the initiative of a small group of artists who, conscious of the moment’s significance, had resolved to convene a broader assembly. Special emphasis was given to the fact that the invitation to the meeting was accepted by artists from various towns across Dalmatia, further confirming the intention for the newly established association to extend beyond local confines and to develop a regional profile as a central professional organisation. The main agenda item was a discussion on the need to establish a professional artists’ association, which, beyond representing professional interests, would also be expected to play an active role in the country’s cultural reconstruction.

Following Marin Studin’s introductory remarks, Živko Kljaković took the floor and delivered a detailed and programmatically significant address on the organisation of the Split branch of the Association of Visual Artists. His presentation set out both the practical steps involved in establishing the professional body and the conceptual foundations that were then used to define artistic activity. It also highlighted the role of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group in preparing the establishment of the association, as well as a membership criterion based primarily on socio-political engagement and artistic productivity, with relatively less emphasis placed on formal professional qualifications. To provide a clearer understanding of the conceptual and organisational principles underpinning the founding of the association, as well as the manner in which artistic practice was aligned with the socio-political framework of the new order, Živko Kljaković’s paper is reproduced here in full:

Comrade Kljaković: Report on the organisation of the branch of the Association of Visual Artists in the territory of the District People’s Committee for Dalmatia:

Just as every profession today already has its own professional organisations, or “trade unions”, there is likewise a need for an organisation of visual artists within a single association whose task would be to promote the visual arts in general, as well as the professional interests of the artists themselves.

As you are aware, such associations have already been formed in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana, and likely in all other major cities in the country as well.

The purpose of this association is not only to safeguard the interests of the organisation as a whole and of each individual member, but also to establish relations with the people’s authorities and, in agreement with them, to enhance the standing of visual art, which the arts fully deserve by virtue of its cultural contribution. It should enable fine artists to make a meaningful contribution to the broader cultural development and reconstruction of the nation.

Furthermore, the association should enable every fine artist who is a member to follow, within a collective framework, both the trajectories of wider social development and contemporary artistic trends around the world, and particularly within our own country / this would be realised through monthly and fortnightly branch meetings at which individual comrades would present lectures on general political developments at home and abroad, as well as on broader cultural developments and on visual art.

All lectures are to be followed by discussions involving all members of the association.

As for the work undertaken so far in establishing our branch, I will briefly set out the steps taken to date.

The “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group entrusted me and comrades A. Zupa, Nikola Ignjatović, and Andrija Krstulović with the task of overseeing the formation of the Association of Visual Artists in Split. I had convened two smaller meetings; however, some comrades did not attend, or were occupied with producing caricatures for the election campaign. In the meantime, I attempted to establish contact with the Association of Fine Artists in Zagreb in order to obtain guidance, specifically regarding the procedure they had followed in forming their association, so as to facilitate the establishment of our own. From the Zagreb Association, we received the following instructions:

- 1) That the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia had been established in Zagreb, with planned branches in Split for the District People’s Committee of Dalmatia, in Osijek for Slavonia, and in Sušak–Rijeka for Gorski Kotar.

- 2) That each branch was to elect delegates who would liaise with the Central Association in Zagreb and represent the needs of their respective branch. We were also assured that the rulebook would be sent to us once it had been approved by the Ministry of the Interior.

With respect to the court of honour, we were advised to set the process in motion at the earliest opportunity and to forward details pertaining to individual artists without undue delay. A number of further matters of a purely technical character also remained to be resolved, among them the question of premises, a typewriter, and similar practicalities.

Eight days ago, a smaller meeting of fine artists had been convened for the purpose of drawing up the foundations for summoning a plenary session, that is to say, the present meeting, so that the branch might be duly constituted here today in accordance with the agenda. The central issue, which was also a matter of principle and for which an appropriate formulation had to be found, was the question of who is entitled to membership in the association of visual artists within our Region. In the course of discussion, we concluded that the guiding principle should be as inclusive as possible, given that, in the context of the current general campaign and the electoral slogan of “work on the reconstruction of our country”, we were also led to extend opportunities to all artistic workers who, during the national struggle and in the period from liberation to the present day, have proved themselves sufficiently active in the field of visual arts and in the cultural advancement of the broader masses. For this reason, formal professional qualifications were not considered; instead, priority was given to productivity and the practical value of work. This issue, along with the question of those comrades who were not invited to the meeting and the reasons for their exclusion, will be addressed in due course.

Kljaković’s report suggests that the founding of the association was based on two key criteria: professional identification with the artistic vocation and the political and social legitimacy earned through involvement in the National Liberation Struggle and post-war cultural renewal. The planned lectures on political development, culture and the visual arts further demonstrate that the association was conceived not only as a professional body, but also as a venue for the continuous education of its members, where artistic practice would be aligned with the wider aims of post-war social transformation. The ensuing discussion clearly indicates that the establishment of the association also entailed a process of moral and political assessment of artists. Questions over who had been invited to the meeting and who had been excluded, alongside references to the Zagreb initiative committee’s evaluation of artists’ behaviour during the National Liberation Struggle, suggest that professional standing within the new cultural framework was closely intertwined with individuals’ political and social legitimacy. The situation was further complicated by the absence of the rulebook of

the central association in Zagreb, which meant that decisions had to be made without clear procedural guidance. A variety of explanations were offered in this context, among them the fact that certain artists had gone abroad to further their studies, or had turned towards teaching as their primary professional pursuit, and had therefore ceased to work as practising artists in the post-war period. Moreover, it was in this context that a view began to take shape whereby membership criteria ought to rest not so much on formal qualifications as on an individual’s actual contribution to cultural life since the liberation. Comparative material from the Zagreb headquarters situates the issue of membership within a broader institutional framework. In early December 1945, the Executive Committee of ULUH had likewise been deliberating on the “final question of membership” and had adopted the principle of broad admission, coupled with an internal differentiation of members according to the seriousness of their artistic commitment, the quality of their work, and the possibility of later advancement to a higher status.⁸³ At the same time, dissatisfaction was voiced over the fact that information about the formation of the Zagreb association had not been officially communicated in advance, but had instead reached Split indirectly, through the daily press.⁸⁴ This situation indicates that, in the immediate post-war period, institutional relationships between cultural centres were still only beginning to take shape. Zagreb increasingly functioned as the principal hub for organising artistic life, while regional centres such as Split worked to align their own initiatives with the models being developed in the republican capital.

Ante Kaštelančić offered further insight into how the artists’ association in Zagreb came to be institutionalised, and his presentation moved the discussion on from broad questions of principle to the specific organisational models that underpinned the association’s founding. As he noted, the process in Zagreb began with the formation of

83 At the meeting of the Executive Committee of ULUH held on 3 December 1945, the fifth item on the agenda was the “final question of membership”. The minutes state that it was difficult to draw a clear boundary between those who met the requirements for membership and those who did not, particularly in relation to the quality of artistic work. It was concluded that admission to membership should be based on a broad principle, with members divided according to their existing level of seriousness and the quality of their artistic output into full members, who had achieved a certain degree of success, and associate members, who had either not yet exhibited or had not demonstrated sufficiently visible results. It was envisaged that the transition from associate to full membership would take place annually by decision of a jury, based on artistic achievement and the attainment of the minimum standard of quality required for ordinary membership. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 3. prosinca 1945.” [Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of ULUH, 3 December 1945], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

84 A brief report on the holding of the founding assembly of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia, which took place on 9 September 1945 at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, was published in the daily newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija*. See: “Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske” [Association of Fine Artists of Croatia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 September 1945, p. 3.

an initiative committee, which evaluated both the artistic output and the socio-political conduct of individual artists, and subsequently called together those who had not compromised themselves during the National Liberation Struggle. Once its evaluation was complete, the committee went on to establish an honour court and began drafting the rulebook, which was subsequently submitted to the relevant authorities for approval. Pending the adoption of this document, the artists in Split reached an agreement to elect a provisional committee that would temporarily take on the responsibilities of leadership until such time as the formal conditions for electing a permanent committee were in place. To that end, eight members were chosen for the Provisional Committee: Marin Studin (president), Oton Postružnik (vice-president), Živko Kljaković (secretary), Tomislav Kukoč (assistant secretary), Vjekoslav Parać and Mirko Ostoja (delegates), Nikola Ignjatović (treasurer), and Antun Zupa (committee member). Eugen Krstulović and Ante Kaštelančić were appointed as auditors. A decision was taken to hold off on electing the honour court until a concrete need for it emerged, with the proviso that it should consist of three members, whilst those artists who had not been present at the session would be kept informed and called to the next plenary meeting once the rules arrived from Zagreb.

The final part of the session turned to more operational concerns, including the protection of the interests of artists who had taken part in the National Liberation Struggle yet had missed the opportunity to enrol at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, a proposal for the establishment of an art school in Split, and the matter of providing the association with adequate premises and funding for its work. Pending the provision of its own premises, it was agreed that the association would temporarily make use of the headquarters of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group, whilst an organising committee was elected, on the initiative of Nikola Ignjatović, to prepare a new artistic event aimed at strengthening the association’s financial position. The session, which began at 9 a.m. and lasted the better part of four hours, clearly demonstrated its importance. It concluded at 1 p.m., when it was formally closed by Marin Studin, president of the Provisional Committee.

The establishment of the Dalmatia branch of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in the immediate post-war period was a process shaped profoundly by political and ideological considerations, reaching far beyond what might otherwise have been a purely cultural or administrative undertaking. Similar processes of institutionalisation were taking place simultaneously in other cultural centres throughout Yugoslavia, gradually forming a network of regional branches connected to the central associations in the respective republican capitals. During the period of intensive construction of the new socialist order under Communist Party leadership, art was invested with a new social function: to serve the people, foster collective consciousness, and reflect the values of the National Liberation Struggle. Within this emerging cultural framework, artists were increasingly viewed as cultural workers engaged in the project of building a socialist

society, while the image of the autonomous, apolitical creator was gradually pushed aside.

Against this backdrop, the founding of the Dalmatia branch constitutes a landmark moment in the process by which the fine arts became institutionalised in Dalmatia. The newly created organisation had several objectives: the cultural revitalisation of the region, the strengthening of the artistic community in both organisational and material terms, and its bringing into line with the political and ideological guidelines of the state. The emergence of this new professional body is best understood as part of a wider, centrally driven cultural policy aimed at consolidating and supervising artistic production through stable state-backed organisations. This is where a crucial distinction emerges between the newly established Association and its branches and the existing arts group “Ivan Lozica”. The latter had functioned as a loosely organised artistic group, held together by the enthusiasm and creative drive of its individual members, whereas the new branch constituted a formal, professional structure equipped with clearly defined goals, a statute, and an explicit responsibility towards state cultural policy. As a result, regional artists gained access to republican and federal networks of cultural production, along with the institutional benefits that came with them: funding, exhibitions, materials, and public commissions.

The branch also functioned as a mechanism for directing artistic expression, which in the new social circumstances was increasingly understood as an instrument of social mobilisation and mass education rather than as an expression of individual sensibility. As members of the Association, artists received organisational protection, but also incurred an obligation to act collectively. In this sense, the newly founded organisation served as an important instrument of both cultural renewal and the political integration of the Dalmatian artistic sphere into the broader fabric of socialist Yugoslavia. A text published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* underlines the professionalisation of artistic practice, as well as the elimination of “unhealthy tendencies” – such as egoism, fragmentation, and elitism – inherited from the previous social order.⁸⁵ The association was therefore also invested with a disciplinary, almost ethical function, whereby all disagreements were to be resolved within its ranks, including the possible creation of an honour court. In summary, the establishment of the Dalmatia branch of the Association of Fine Artists marks the beginning of a new cultural phase in which art is integrated into state policy, and artists are incorporated into a broader collective expected to create and, through their work, contribute to shaping society. The minutes of this session thus offer a valuable insight into the early post-war moment: into the discussions, negotiations, and uncertainties through which the relationship between the artistic profession and

85 “Osnivanje udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske za Dalmaciju” [Founding of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia for Dalmatia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13 December 1945, p. 3.

the new political authorities was being shaped. From Studin’s opening address, through Kljaković’s programmatic report, to Kaštelančić’s presentation on the Zagreb model of organisation, the session illustrates how local artistic initiatives were being brought into alignment with the organisational and political demands of the new social order.

From Initiative to Consolidation: Early Institutional Work of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia – Dalmatia Branch (1945 – 1946)

The constitution of the Provisional Committee in late 1945 marked the beginning of an intensive period during which the Branch steadily developed into the principal hub for the gathering, education, and professional orientation of visual artists in Dalmatia. The preserved minutes offer a window into the process as it unfolded day by day: covering matters such as premises, teaching, membership, public obligations, and the Branch’s relationship with the parent body in Zagreb.

Among the defining initiatives of the Branch’s early months was the establishment of an evening course – referred to as an evening art school – which arose in response to a pressing social demand for systematic art education, and as an effort to create the foundations for future institutional frameworks of artistic training. Contemporary cultural journalism also interpreted the evening school as an ideological departure from the legacy of elitist artistic practice. Writing in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Živko Jeličić framed the school’s launch as a rejection of the decadent individualism of salon art and an affirmation of new forms of collective labour.⁸⁶ “Rather than waiting for the economic conditions necessary for a permanent school to materialise, they have come together of their own initiative to found this Evening School, so that our young people might have the opportunity to grow and develop in the field of the visual arts.”⁸⁷ He continues: “In opening this school, the visual artists demonstrate how much can be accomplished in the cultural field, even under trying economic conditions, when guided by one’s own people’s authority, bound together by comradeship and a new collective spirit of work.”⁸⁸ The evening school, viewed in this light, was far more than a temporary educational measure, it stood as a symbol of a wider reorientation of the cultural field, marking a shift from exclusivity to inclusion and from individual creation to collective cultural labour.⁸⁹ It equally attests to the resolve of the artistic

86 Živko Jeličić, “Povodom otvaranja Večernje škole za likovnu umjetnost” [On the Occasion of the Opening of the Evening School of Fine Art], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 27 January 1946, p. 3.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 A formal enrolment notice published by the Evening School of Fine Art in Split served as the public announcement of the school’s founding under the auspices of the Association of Visual Artists of Dalmatia. It laid out the curriculum in some detail – life drawing, decorative drawing, anatomy, and art

community to take an active hand in constructing the city’s new cultural infrastructure in the post-war period.

The question of whether such an initiative was needed had already been broached in December 1945, at a meeting held at the “Ivan Lozica” premises, though the precise form of instruction was not determined until later, on 19 January 1946.⁹⁰ As outlined in the adopted programme, the evening school operated five days a week, with two hours of classes each day between 6 and 8 p.m. The curriculum included drawing and modelling from a live model (three times a week), decorative drawing (once a week), and theoretical instruction in anatomy and art history (one hour each per week). A monthly fee of 100 dinars served as a token contribution towards running costs, and the school’s doors were open to any citizen wishing to gain an art education, with special consideration for those looking to continue into formal study in the visual arts. The teaching staff was made up of prominent Dalmatian artists: Marin Studin and Ivan Mirković (modelling), Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, and Živko Kljaković (drawing), Rudolf Bunk (decorative drawing), Nikola Ignjatović (anatomy), and Andro Vid Mihičić (art history), whilst the role of school secretary was taken on by Tomislav Kukoč.

The minutes of 8 February 1946 describe a “very good” turnout of pupils, with a considerable number of “highly talented students”⁹¹ noted among them. When the second plenary session convened on 12 February, Kukoč put enrolment at 41 pupils, emphasising the school’s value as a temporary yet meaningful contribution to cultural life at a time when Split had no advanced art school to speak of.⁹² In this context, the

history – and provided the practicalities of enrolment: daily between 7 and 8 p.m. from 28 January to 10 February 1946, at the premises of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Group at 5 Marmontova Street (on the ground floor of the City Library building). The decision to advertise in this manner reflects the institutional seriousness of the undertaking, as well as a clear intention to present the school as a broadly accessible educational forum in the post-war cultural landscape. See: “Večernja škola za likovnu umjetnost” [Evening School of Fine Art], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 27 January 1946, p. 3.
90 “Zapisnik I. sastanka Odbora ‘Podružnice likovnih umjetnika za Dalmaciju u Splitu’ održanog 1. prosinca 1945.” [Minutes of the 1st Meeting of the Committee of the ‘Branch of Visual Artists for Dalmatia in Split,’ held on 1 December 1945] and “Zapisnik II. sjednice Odbora ‘Podružnice likovnih umjetnika za Dalmaciju u Splitu’ održane 19. siječnja 1946.” [Minutes of the 2nd Session of the Committee of the ‘Branch of Visual Artists for Dalmatia in Split,’ held on 19 January 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
91 “Zapisnik III. sjednice Odbora ‘Podružnice likovnih umjetnika za Dalmaciju u Splitu’ održane 8. veljače 1946.” [Minutes of the 3rd Session of the Committee of the ‘Branch of Visual Artists for Dalmatia in Split,’ held on 8 February 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
92 “Zapisnik II. plenarne sjednice ‘Podružnice likovnih umjetnika za Dalmaciju u Splitu’ održane 12. veljače 1946.” [Minutes of the 2nd Plenary Session of the ‘Branch of Visual Artists for Dalmatia in Split,’ held on

evening school emerges as the earliest intimation of what would eventually become a fuller educational infrastructure for the visual arts in Dalmatia.⁹³ The evening school was equally engaged in cultivating a future audience and nurturing prospective students and potential new members of the artistic community; its significance thus reaches beyond its purely educational function and into the broader question of embedding visual culture within society over the long term. The formal opening took place on 20 March 1946, attended by representatives of the Regional and City People’s Committee and the Front, with classes getting under way the following day, on 21 March. The Zagreb headquarters, however, was keen to keep its distance from the initiative, and by May 1946 it had been made clear that the school was to be regarded as temporary in character and that neither ULUH nor the local authorities would be taking on formal responsibility for its running.⁹⁴

12 February 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

A newspaper article in *Slobodna Dalmacija* notes the following: “Seventy pupils, who responded immediately, drawn from the ranks of secondary school students, primary school teachers, soldiers, peasants, workers, and craftsmen, attest to how desirable and necessary this school was.” See: A.(ndro) V.(id) M.(ihičić), “Večernja škola za likovnu umjetnost” [Evening School of Fine Art], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 29 September 1946, p. 3.

93 Within the broader narrative of reconstruction and cultural development following the liberation, public outlets published statistical surveys of cultural progress, seeking to summarise the achievements of the people’s authority in the post-war period. One such survey from 1946 notes, for instance, that Split could boast 14 museums (compared to 11 in 1944), two art galleries (compared to one), while the number of state archives remained unchanged at two; theatres had increased fivefold (5 as against 1), and the survey also recorded three music schools, three large choral societies, and – for the first time – one art school. These figures are presented as concrete evidence of cultural advancement and institutional growth, though they are accompanied by the critical observation that the situation remains far from satisfactory. The evening school of fine art is singled out as an example of a temporary yet significant solution, with mention of its forthcoming reorganisation into a School of Arts and Crafts, aimed at the systematic development of artistic life, the training of young talent, and the revitalisation of the applied arts – wood carving, stonemasonry, ceramics, and related disciplines. See: “Dalmacija na putu obnove svoga umjetničkog i uopće kulturnog života” [Dalmatia on the Path to Renewing its Artistic and Cultural Life], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13 October 1946, p. 3.

94 The report by Frano Baće, accepted at the session of the ULUH Executive Committee on 6 May 1946, noted that the Split artists had established an art school, whilst making it clear that the initiative was regarded as temporary and that neither the local authorities nor ULUH would be taking on formal responsibility for it. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 6. svibnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Session of the ULUH Executive Committee, 6 May 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971. At the Executive Committee session of 17 July 1946, Vjekoslav Parać reported that the question of the school’s funding remained unresolved, that is, whether it ought to fall under state or regional jurisdiction, and it was recommended that the school continue to function as before. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 17. srpnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Session of the ULUH Executive Committee, 17 July 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

Subsequent archival sources confirm that the evening art school is rightly understood as the first stage of a longer process that would ultimately lead to the establishment of the School of Applied Arts in Split. A letter from the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia of October 1947 states in so many words that a decision had been reached to found such a school, and that its “foundation” had been laid by the “evening course in fine art,” which had operated in Split over the two preceding school years, though adequate material resources had not been secured in time for the new budget year.⁹⁵ The administrative documentation thus corroborates the continuity between the Branch’s early efforts and the eventual formalisation of a more lasting educational institution.

The report attached to the same letter is especially valuable in this respect, shedding light on the origins of the initiative with some precision. It notes that “immediately after the liberation of Split, plans began to take shape for the founding of a school,” that “the association of visual artists from Split drew up a detailed plan and programme for such a school and presented it to ZAVNOH,” and that at the beginning of 1946 the task of realising this vision was taken up by “the ‘Ivo Lozica’ Cultural and Arts Association,” with the backing of the Regional and City People’s Committees, the People’s Front, and other institutions.⁹⁶ This framing allows the apparent tension between the Branch’s minutes and the later administrative language to be resolved without contradiction: the original impetus, the professional conception, and the teaching core all emerged from within the circle of visual artists grouped around the Branch, whilst the “Ivan Lozica” association provided the organisational scaffolding upon which the school’s early work could rest.

It is equally telling that the same report places strong emphasis on both the achievements of the evening school and the constraints on its further development within its existing framework. It notes that over the year the school had drawn in more than forty pupils from a range of social backgrounds, that the classes had generated wider public interest, and that the results had proved convincing enough to warrant an exhibition of students’ work at the Salon Galić Gallery in early June, with cash prizes presented by the

95 Letter “Otvaranje škole za primijenjenu umjetnost” [Opening of a School of Applied Arts], sent by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Department of Education in Split (signed by Anuška Novaković, Commissioner of the Department of Education) to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 26 October 1947, no. 10299/47, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-42 – Art Education, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

96 “Referat o osnivanju škole za primijenjenu umjetnost u Splitu” [Report on the Founding of a School of Applied Arts in Split], submitted by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Department of Education, Split (signed by Anuška Novaković, Commissioner of the Department of Education), to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Belgrade, 26 October 1947, no. 10299/47, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-42 – Art Education, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

education department and the city authorities.⁹⁷ The report is equally forthright in its assessment that continuing in the existing form would lead nowhere, warning that the end result of training might be “a considerable number of artistic lumpenproletarians, without direction,” an outcome deemed harmful “both to themselves, to art and to the community.”⁹⁸ This observation is especially noteworthy, as it links the transition towards a school of applied arts not only to cultural ambition but to the perceived need for a clearer social and professional framework for art education.

The documents also paint a vivid picture of the persistent material precariousness that beset the entire undertaking. The Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY lost no time in asking whether support had been sought from the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, and subsequently requested Zagreb’s view on the validity of such a claim.⁹⁹ The Ministry of Education in turn confirmed that the school was in the process of being founded, that it had been functioning in a revised form since mid-October 1947, and that it was “struggling with serious material difficulties,” with the chances of obtaining an extraordinary credit of 100,000 dinars considered slim in light of the ministry’s constrained resources.¹⁰⁰ It was only in late January 1948 that the Ministry confirmed the school had been operating in its new capacity since October 1947 and that provision had been made for its funding in 1948 within the budget of the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, whilst the general regulation on secondary schools of applied arts was still awaiting the approval of the competent bodies.¹⁰¹ What this

material reveals is that the educational initiative, presented in the Branch’s minutes as an expression of professional self-mobilisation and cultural responsibility, gradually matured into a broader institutional project. The process, however, was one that played out under the constant pressures of scarce resources, incomplete legal groundwork, and the tangled relationships between the local, republican, and federal levels of administration.

The sources examined here demonstrate that the evening school was among the earliest ways in which the Branch took on responsibility for shaping the local artistic infrastructure. The pedagogical initiative also reveals the broader reach of its early work: the Branch was emerging as an organisational centre that brought education, public duties, and the cultural renewal of the city into a single frame. Its involvement in preparations for the May Day celebrations and competitions belongs to this same context. The minutes of 10 March 1946 note that cultural workers – visual artists included – were explicitly enlisted in the programme of national reconstruction.¹⁰² The attendance of Augustin Stipčević, the art officer, and Jelaska, head of the trade union’s cultural and educational department, speaks to the Branch’s direct links with the institutional structures of the new state. It is clear from the discussion that the May Day parade was envisaged as a visually conceived display of labour, competition, and social cohesion. Visual artists were, in this context, cast in the role of specialists in public visual expression, charged with rendering political and social content into forms that were legible, symbolically coherent, and collectively effective.

In the same minutes, Marin Studin outlines five commitments that the association had taken upon itself as its contribution to the May Day competition: an exhibition on the reconstruction of the country (addressed in the final chapter of this book), the production of a statue or relief to be presented to the local trade union as a competition gift, a *May Day Exhibition*, the opening of the evening art school, and a parade of labour “which the artists would give visual form to.”¹⁰³ This programme is especially revealing in the way it draws together, within a single active horizon, exhibition practice, pedagogical work, public sculpture, and ephemeral decorative and scenographic production. In doing so, the Branch extends its role well beyond the bounds of professional activity in the strict sense, towards a many-sided engagement in the cause of cultural and social renewal.

97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Letter “Stvaranje škole za primenjenu umetnost u Splitu – materijalna pomoć” [Establishing a School of Applied Arts in Split – Material Assistance], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Belgrade (signed by Vlado Mađarić, Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art), to the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Department of Education, Split (undated), and letter “Otvaranje škole za primjenjenu umjetnost u Splitu – materijalna pomoć” [Opening of a School of Applied Arts in Split – Material Assistance], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Belgrade (signed by Vlado Mađarić, Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art), to the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department for Culture and Art, Zagreb, 22 November 1947, no. 5343, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-42 – Art Education, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.
100 Letter “Škola za primj. umjetnosti u Splitu – pomoć” [School of Applied Arts in Split – Assistance], sent by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department for Culture and Art (signed by Josip Lukatela, Assistant Minister), Zagreb, to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Belgrade, 3 December 1947, no. 77741-VI-4-1947, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-42 – Art Education, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.
101 Letter “Škola za primijenjene umjetnosti u Splitu – odgovor” [School of Applied Arts in Split – Reply], sent by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department for Culture and Art (signed by Josip Lukatela, Assistant Minister), Zagreb, to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Belgrade, 28 January 1948, no. 4967-VI-4-1948, Archives of Yugoslavia

in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-42 – Art Education, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.
102 “Zapisnik izvanrednog sastanka plenuma ‘Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, Podružnice za Dalmaciju’ održanog 10. ožujka 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the ‘Association of Fine Artists of Croatia, Dalmatia Branch,’ held on 10 March 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
103 Ibid.

The minutes shed further light on the considerable organisational sophistication that characterised the entire enterprise.¹⁰⁴ Among the proposals discussed were the involvement of theatre workers in staging the parade (Parać), and the assignment of individual artists to take charge of the visual treatment of specific organisations, that is, the decoration of individual lorries (Franičević). What emerges is a working methodology founded on the division of labour, collaboration across cultural sectors, and the deliberate, coordinated direction of the parade’s visual effect. The imposition of a deadline for sketch submissions by 20 March 1946, along with the stipulation of a precise format for the watercolour drawing, speaks further to the administrative discipline that pervaded the project, and to a conception of artistic work as a collective, organised contribution to the trade union and political programme.¹⁰⁵

Their involvement in preparing the parade reveals that the role of visual artists in the immediate post-war years was extending into the domain of public visual culture, festivity, and political ceremony. In this context, art takes on a significant function in forging a shared imaginary of reconstruction, organising the way labour is seen, rendering social relations into legible and arresting images, and contributing to the affirmation of the values of the collective, production, and cultural advancement. It is in this same context that one can trace the origins of one of the most enduring exhibition formats of the post-war period – the *May Day Exhibition* – which took shape within a densely interwoven field of political mobilisation, trade union representation, and the institutional self-assertion of the artistic community.

The second plenary session also brought to the surface a tension between the drive towards collective unity and the efforts of certain members to form parallel, qualitatively selective groupings within the Branch.¹⁰⁶ On this occasion, the President Marin Studin underlined the importance of collectivity as the bedrock of cultural and artistic life, firmly rejecting any initiative that might lead to division. Voices calling for “the

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid. According to the parade programme, individual artists were each assigned to produce sketches for specific trade union and professional groups: Kljaković (shock force workers), Tolić (metalworkers), Bučan (builders), Franičević (shipyard), Frank (woodworkers; cobblers), Stanojević (electricity company and waterworks), Bašić (railway workers; cooperative members), Kaštelančić (seafarers and dock workers), Nakić-Kljaković (printmakers), Goić-Skelin (tailors), Parać (day labourers), Radmilović (painters and decorators), Matas (hospitality workers), Petričić (cultural workers; youth), Jauševski-Bunk-Jelaska (theatre), Skelin-Goić (office workers), Nakić (fishing), Ignjatović (butchers, millers, and pasta makers; chauffeurs). Sketches were to be submitted by 20 March 1946, in a format of 50 × 20 cm, as a watercolour drawing.

106 “Zapisnik II. plenarne sjednice ‘Podružnice likovnih umjetnika za Dalmaciju u Splitu’ održane 12. veljače 1946.” [Minutes of the 2nd Plenary Session of the ‘Branch of Visual Artists for Dalmatia in Split,’ held on 12 February 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

dissolution of the association” or the founding of “a grouping of those qualitatively superior” were recorded, but the view that carried the day held unity and the cohesion of artists as an indispensable force in the cultural construction of the region to be paramount. The discussion brings into focus one of the central questions of the Branch’s early life: how to uphold the principle of collectivity whilst simultaneously establishing criteria of artistic excellence within a single professional body.

The extraordinary plenary session of 20 April 1946 occupies a notable place in the Branch’s early institutional history.¹⁰⁷ Frano Baće attended as a delegate representing the Association’s central body in Zagreb, a visit that had itself been prompted by earlier discussions at the Zagreb headquarters, where the situation in Dalmatia had been seen as organisationally unsettled and insufficiently aligned, in normative terms, with the rules of the Zagreb ULUH. At the Executive Committee session of 18 March 1946, Oton Postružnik reported that the Split artists had set up a separate association, a development interpreted as a departure from the established regulatory framework, whilst Đuro Tiljak at the same time observed that part of the responsibility lay with the central body itself, given its tardiness in drawing up and confirming the rulebook. In early April, Živko Kljaković shed further light on the provisional nature of the Split association, underlining that it was effectively waiting for the rulebook to arrive from Zagreb and that this status had been duly noted in the minutes of the constitutive session.¹⁰⁸ In any case, Baće made clear at the extraordinary plenary session that he had been dispatched to take part in the formal constitution of the Branch in accordance with rules that were to be shared by ULUH and its branches throughout the federal unit.¹⁰⁹ This remark reveals that the

107 “Zapisnik izvanrednog plenarnog sastanka održanog 20. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting held on 20 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

108 At the ULUH Executive Committee session of 18 March 1946, Oton Postružnik reported on an “irregular” situation in Split, noting that an independent association had been founded there and that it had admitted individuals whom the central body did not consider to be artists. It was resolved that Oton Postružnik and Frano Baće should travel to Split with the requisite Rules, in order to bring together artists of appropriate artistic standing and establish a Branch of ULUH before the Congress. In the same discussion, Đuro Tiljak pointed out that part of the blame lay with the Zagreb Association, which had been slow to draw up and ratify the rules. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 18. ožujka 1946.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Session, 18 March 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971. At the subsequent session of 1 April 1946, Živko Kljaković reported that the situation in the Split provisional association had improved, but considered it useful for someone from the central body to come with the Rules. He also emphasised that the Split association was temporary in character, pending the arrival of the Zagreb Rules, and that it had 44 members of varying artistic quality. See “Zapisnik Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 1. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee, 1 April 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

109 At the Executive Committee session held on 11 April 1946, the Branch Secretary Živko Kljaković reported

institutional shaping of the Dalmatia Branch was unfolding as part of a wider process of normative standardisation and centrally coordinated organisation of artistic life.

In his address, Baće set out the principles of the new rules, which envisaged a two-tier membership structure – “members” and “full members” – designed to allow for a more precise assessment of artistic quality. All members were to enjoy equal rights in their external relations, but the status of full member would be awarded on the basis of artistic progress and could be withdrawn should the quality of a member’s work decline. The principles articulated at this session found their fuller normative expression later in 1946 in the new *ULUH Rulebook*, which received official confirmation on 14 December 1946 through a *Decision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia*.¹¹⁰ Their adoption gave the Association’s institutional structure a more clearly defined regulatory framework, bringing together within a single document the organisation’s internal structure, its professional divisions, and the criteria for membership of the artistic community. The *Rules* also introduced a division of membership into sections – painting, sculpture, and applied arts – lending greater definition to the distinct fields of artistic practice within a single professional organisation. The division into sections signals a growing internal specialisation within the visual arts field, which was being structured along lines of medium and professional distinction while preserving the overarching principle of belonging to a shared artistic community. This internal differentiation reflects both a process of professionalisation within the Association and a drive to make the visual arts field more legible and administratively stable.

Of particular note is the manner in which the *Rulebook* defined the membership categories themselves. They specify that the Association is composed of full members, members, and honorary members:

on the discussions he had conducted with members of the Association’s leadership in Zagreb and on the establishment of contacts between the Branch and the central administration. On this occasion he also noted that he had brought back from Zagreb all the necessary printed forms and stamps that the Association had prepared for the Branch, and announced the forthcoming visit of a delegate from Zagreb to the upcoming plenary meeting. See: “Sjednica Upravnog odbora održana 11. travnja 1946.” [Executive Committee Session held on 11 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the ‘Branch of the Association of Visual Artists’ for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

110 See: *Rješenje Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Narodne Republike Hrvatske* [Decision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia] (no. 59723-II-1946.), Zagreb, 14 December 1946, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 38: Rules and Statutes 1945–1977. The reasoning set out in the decision reads as follows: “By Decision of 25 November 1945, no. 6941/45, the founding and operation of the association of visual artists was approved, within the limits of the rules approved by the same decision. Since the rules approved on 25 November 1945 were drawn up immediately after the liberation, and at that time not all the problems of the Association’s work and the organisational forms provided for by the new rules were yet known, it was necessary to issue a decision as set out in the operative clause.”

- “a) Full membership is open to any visual artist who actively contributes to the advancement of art through their artistic work. b) Membership is open to any visual arts practitioner who does not yet fulfil all the conditions for admission to full membership but may come to do so in time. c) Honorary membership may be conferred on any person whom the Association, acting on the proposal of the Executive Committee, sees fit to honour in recognition of their services to the Association.”¹¹¹

This regulatory formulation makes it clear that membership of the Association was founded on a dynamically understood relationship between artistic activity, professional development, and institutional recognition. The distinction between “member” and “full member,” first announced at the extraordinary plenary session of April 1946, here finds its full normative expression; membership is conceived as a category defined by development and progression, whilst one’s status within the Association is linked to continuity of work and contribution to the advancement of art. The *Rulebook* therefore performed a dual function, at once integrative and evaluative: it opened the door to a wider circle of visual arts practitioners, including those who had yet to achieve full professional recognition, whilst at the same time establishing a hierarchy of artistic legitimation within the organisation. This model reflects an effort to bring together, within the post-war institutional framework, professional representation and a system of internal assessment, with artistic quality as the object of organised and continuous scrutiny. Full membership was not, in keeping with this approach, permanently assured: it could be lost if the quality of a member’s work was deemed to have fallen, a provision that further underscores the understanding of membership as an active and binding engagement with one’s own artistic practice.

This understanding of membership is corroborated by other provisions of the *Rulebook* as well.¹¹² The rules further stipulate that no one, with the exception of honorary members, could simultaneously belong to a similar association in another people’s republic, a provision that reflects a concern for administrative clarity and a more precise delineation of professional affiliation within a cultural system organised along republican lines. No less indicative are the provisions relating to expulsion from the Association, which, alongside breaches of the rulebook’s obligations, also include professional passivity, in other words, the neglect of one’s own artistic practice. The *Rulebook* states that expulsion could be applied to “any member who, even after a written warning, fails to fulfil their other obligations under the provisions of the Association’s Rules, or who abandons their artistic activity

111 See: *Pravilnik Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske* [Rulebook of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia], 14 December 1946, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 38: Rules and Statutes 1945–1977.

112 Ibid.

for an extended period without justification.”¹¹³ This formulation shows that members were expected to maintain uninterrupted creative and professional activity, with artistic work appearing in the language of the rules as both a duty towards the profession and an expression of responsibility towards the community. Artistic practice is thus implicitly folded into the wider post-war ethos of labour, continuity, and social usefulness. In a broader sense, provisions of this kind mirror the post-war cultural and political climate in which art was conceived as an integral part of organised social labour, and the professional organisation as a space for the disciplining, appraisal, and direction of artistic output.

An arts jury was formed on the same occasion, charged with evaluating all public works of art in Dalmatia, whether in the context of exhibitions, commissions, or other forms of artistic production.¹¹⁴ The creation of such a body marks a significant step in the institutionalisation of artistic evaluation, through which the quality of public artistic output was to be regulated. By entrusting this function to a collective body, the question of artistic value was removed from the realm of individual judgement and placed within a formally constituted and collectively authorised professional framework. The remit of the arts jury encompassed the assessment of works shown at exhibitions and other public presentations, the evaluation of works submitted by candidates seeking admission to the Association, and the continuing responsibility of ensuring that artistic quality “remained at the requisite level.”¹¹⁵ Its function was therefore evaluative, regulatory, and legitimating in equal measure. The jury was composed of: Emanuel Vidović, Marin Studin, Vjekoslav Parać, Živko Kljaković, Andrija Krstulović, Antun Zupa, Rudolf Bunk, and Joko Knežević. A list of full members forming the core of the Branch was proposed at the same time: Emanuel Vidović, Marin Studin, Vjekoslav Parać, Andrija Krstulović, Antun Zupa, Živko Kljaković, Milan Tolić, Joko Knežević, Ivan Mirković, Rudolf Bunk, Antun Petričić, Vinko Foretić, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Bartul Petrić, Branko Kovačević, and Ante Franičević.¹¹⁶ The fact that the proposed full members are referred to in the minutes as “the backbone of the association by artistic quality” suggests that the new structure was built on a clearly articulated premise regarding the existence of an internal hierarchy of professional and artistic authority. This hierarchy was soon ratified by the Zagreb headquarters, which in early May 1946 approved the selection of full members of the Split Branch, following additional deliberation over certain disputed names.¹¹⁷ The unanimous

113 Ibid.
114 “Zapisnik izvanrednog plenarnog sastanka održanog 20. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting held on 20 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
117 At the ULUH Executive Committee session of 6 May 1946, Frano Baće reported that he had delivered the Rules in Split, that a Branch Committee had been constituted, and that “the contradictions and irregularities had been resolved.” The report notes that those elected in Split were: honorary president

appointment of Emanuel Vidović as honorary president of the Branch served as a further symbolic affirmation of continuity with the older generation and the cultural authorities of the pre-war era. The decision bespeaks the newly established institution’s endeavour to harness the symbolic capital of the older generation whilst channelling the energy and organisational ambitions of its younger members.

In the end, a new committee was elected to oversee current affairs until the first general annual assembly: Vjekoslav Parać as president, Živko Kljaković as first secretary, Tomislav Kukoč as second secretary, and Ante Kaštelančić as treasurer.¹¹⁸ The central body, however, did not accept the composition of the Split branch’s leadership in its entirety, it refused to approve Tomislav Kukoč as second secretary owing to his lack of full member status, and suggested that he take on administrative duties instead.¹¹⁹ Notably, four out of five of the proposed lists named Marin Studin as their candidate for president, with only one putting forward Vjekoslav Parać. Studin, however, asked to be withdrawn from the running, citing the weight of his existing obligations, not least his organisational responsibilities within the Club of Cultural Workers of Croatia for Dalmatia, and Parać was duly appointed president

Emanuel Vidović, president Vjekoslav Parać, secretary Živko Kljaković, and treasurer Ante Kaštelančić. The core of the Branch was identified as Vidović, Parać, Studin, Zupa, Bunk, Kljaković, Knežević, and Kaštelančić, whilst the full members were listed as Vidović, Studin, Parać, Kaštelančić, Mirković, Krstulović, Foretić, Kljaković, Zupa, Kovačević, Knežević, Bunk, and Gojak. The name of Stojanka Strajnić appears crossed out in the minutes, and the names of Bartul Petrić, Antun Petričić, and Ante Franičević are flagged as contested. The ULUH Executive Committee approved the selection of the full members as listed, and Baće received formal acknowledgement for his work. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 6. svibnja 1946.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Session, 6 May 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.
118 “Zapisnik izvanrednog plenarnog sastanka održanog 20. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting Held on 20 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
119 At its session of 24 June 1946, the Executive Committee of ULUH considered a letter from Split regarding the constitution of the Committee, which had taken place on 20 April in the presence of Frano Baće. The appointments of honorary president Emanuel Vidović, president Vjekoslav Parać, secretary Živko Kljaković, and treasurer Ante Kaštelančić were confirmed, along with the election of the jury. Tomislav Kukoč had been elected second secretary in Split, but the central body withheld its approval on the grounds that he was not a full member, proposing instead that he be engaged in an administrative capacity. At the same session, the following were approved as full members: Vidović, Parać, Zupa, Ivan Mirković, Kaštelančić, Živko Kljaković, Vinko Foretić, Joko Knežević, Bunk, Tolić, Gojak, Branko Kovačević, and Krstulović, whilst the question of Stojanka Strajnić’s membership was referred to the Split Branch. The Executive Committee declined the membership applications of Antun Petričić, Bartul Petrić, and Ante Franičević. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 24. lipnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Session of the Executive Committee of ULUH, 24 June 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

in his stead.¹²⁰ This detail speaks to the broader reality that the institutional shaping of the Branch drew heavily upon a tight-knit circle of cultural figures who were simultaneously active across multiple organisational and administrative structures of post-war cultural life. The decision on the constitution of the committee, together with the new regulations, was to be published in the daily press and forwarded to the central body in Zagreb. Yet even once the Branch had been formally constituted, its relationship with the central body continued to be hampered by practical administrative difficulties: in July 1946 Parać pressed for correspondence, competition notices, and exhibition announcements to be sent through more swiftly, while the tariffs and Rules remained pending confirmation.¹²¹

Between Creative Ambitions and Organisational Challenges: A Recapitulation of the Branch’s First Year of Activity

The year 1946 clearly illustrates how the formation of the Split Branch was shaped in equal measure by the drive towards institutional consolidation and the practical organisational difficulties that beset it at every turn. The process can be followed from the provisional establishment of the Branch towards the end of 1945 through to the formal constitution of its leadership in April 1946, at which point the Split initiative gradually came into alignment with the rules of the Zagreb central body. Even within this brief span, two characteristic features of the Branch’s early activity are already discernible: the effort to bring artistic practice into line with the socio-political conditions of the post-war era, and an unrelenting struggle with organisational, material, and staffing limitations. This dynamic is consistent with the wider pattern of post-war institutionalisation of cultural life in Yugoslavia, whereby local artistic initiatives were progressively incorporated into a centralised system of professional organisations.

Over the course of that year, the Branch was involved in a broad range of exhibition and applied activities – from the *May Day Exhibition*, the production of caricatures

and posters, contributions to cultural events organised by the navy and the trade unions, and a notable retrospective exhibition in Zagreb. And yet, for all the apparent richness of its programme, a set of persistent concerns began to make themselves felt: a lack of meaningful engagement on the part of most members, irregular settlement of membership fees and stipulated percentage from association-handled sales, and a poor attendance at meetings. Particularly indicative was the criticism directed at the artistic quality of works presented to the public, which raised uncomfortable questions about the professional calibre of the membership and the very legitimacy of the institution as a representative body.

The General Annual Assembly of 26 January 1947 represented something of a watershed moment for the Branch, offering an opportunity for critical self-reflection.¹²² In his address to the assembled membership, President Vjekoslav Parać took stock of the preceding year’s work whilst making clear that a fundamental reorientation would be necessary to meet the prevailing political and ideological demands of the era.¹²³ Though measured and collegial in tone, Parać’s address sits firmly within the wider discourse of socialist cultural policy, which assigned artists the role of cultural workers whose foremost obligation was to contribute to the construction of a new society. In his opening remarks, he spoke favourably of the association’s existence as such, a point of considerable significance at the time, contending that the formation of a working collective held intrinsic value, as it fostered the conditions necessary for nurturing a “sense of mutuality, a social sense of comradeship.”¹²⁴ Such an insistence on collective cohesion and comradeship is telling of the ideological framework in which art was coming to be understood as a structured mode of social engagement, displacing the conception of it as a neutral domain of personal expression. Artistic practice was thus gradually shifting from the sphere of individual creativity and into that of socially organised cultural work, as a cornerstone of socialist cultural policy during the early post-war period.

In keeping with this spirit, Parać drew attention to the contributions of Branch members in service of “the general national cause,” most notably in the realm of applied arts – poster production, agitational materials, decorations, and collaboration with various social organisations. His tone shifted markedly, however, when he came to address what he considered the central problem: a “stagnation” in creative, fine-art practice.

120 “Zapisnik izvanrednog plenarnog sastanka održanog 20. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting Held on 20 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

121 At Executive Committee session of ULUH held on 17 July 1946, Vjekoslav Parać gave an account of affairs within the Split Branch. He urged that correspondence, competition notices, and exhibition announcements be sent in a timelier fashion. On the matter of the painting school, he pointed out that its funding arrangement remained unresolved, specifically, whether it was to fall under state or regional jurisdiction, while the central body indicated that the tariffs and Rules would be sent once they had been confirmed. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 17. srpnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Session of the Executive Committee of ULUH, 17 July 1946], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

122 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.” [Minutes of the General Annual Assembly of Visual Artists of Dalmatia Held on 26 January 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

This formulation implicitly lays bare the tension between the expectations placed upon politically committed cultural work and the imperative of upholding professional standards within the visual arts. Self-criticism here is explicit: the artists of Split, in Parać’s judgement, have failed to meet the expectations of the people or the ideals of the revolution, a conclusion further borne out by the modest results of recent exhibitions and the critical tones articulated in newspaper articles. This “stagnation” exceeds the level of mere technical or organisational difficulty and, according to Parać, it carries the risk that the people’s struggle and the “working zeal of the popular masses” may fail to leave their mark on artistic expression. Art must therefore serve as a mirror of the new social order, and the artist is obliged to find ways of bringing his own practice into alignment with the historical task at hand.

Furthermore, Parać urges the membership towards a form of moral and political introspection, placing particular emphasis on “self-improvement,” on resolving tensions collegially within the collective, and on maintaining a disciplined attitude towards both one’s work and one’s peers. Such rhetoric of self-examination and collective moral conduct is unmistakably redolent of Party discourse from the period, where “inner development” was invariably refracted through the prism of the collective and political correctness.

In the closing lines of his address, Parać turns once again to the role of the authorities. He makes no secret of his conviction that “people’s power” and its institutions will furnish the conditions required for “serious and concentrated artistic work.”¹²⁵ The remark serves as a further reminder that, true to the prevailing spirit of the age, the professional autonomy of the artist was contingent upon his integration into the political project of the state.

Parać’s speech is a telling document of a transitional moment: one in which a residual appreciation of artistic autonomy, partly a legacy of the pre-war era, was being steadily worn down by the mounting pressure of ideological instrumentalization. Parać’s speech still betrays an effort to preserve art as a spiritual and aesthetic act, even as its social purpose becomes ever more explicitly tied to “the general interests of the people” and the “elevation of the new man.” His calls for “discipline” and “constructive work” bear witness to the extent to which cultural activity had become saturated with moral and political responsibility. In short, the president’s address provided an impetus for a process of reorganisation and critical introspection within the Branch itself.

Of particular analytical value is the annual report submitted by the secretary, Živko Kljaković.¹²⁶ Its scope and clarity of expression make it an exceptionally useful document

125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.

for reconstructing the early institutional practices of the Split Branch, as well as for understanding how artistic production in post-war Dalmatia was weighed against the intertwined demands of social utility, professional responsibility, and internal organisational discipline. Kljaković is careful to distinguish between two distinct phases in the founding of the Branch: first, the provisional establishment on 25 November 1945, conceived as a transitional structure pending the setting up of the Zagreb central body (“Such a form was put in place because the possibility of a connection with the Association of Fine Artists in Zagreb had been envisaged...”), and the subsequent institutional reorganisation at the end of April 1946, when the rules of the central body were formally adopted.¹²⁷ This draws a clear administrative boundary line between spontaneous initiative and formal incorporation into a centralised model of cultural administration.

Further in the report, Kljaković characterises the Branch’s activities during 1946 as having been largely oriented towards the demands of “applied” arts, which were both persistent and urgent: ranging from caricatures and posters to decorations, agitational materials, and exhibition work. He further observes that the members’ involvement preceded the formal constitution of the association, which lends tacit weight to the idea that artistic engagement under the new social conditions was essentially organic in nature. Running through this period, meanwhile, is a discernible undercurrent of tension between the traditional understanding of artistic labour as an autonomous creative act and the nascent model of the artist as a socially committed cultural worker.

Particular mention is made of the exhibition organised on the occasion of the Dalmatian festival, the decorations produced for the trade union dance in January 1946, the contribution to the design of posters and badges for the maritime workers’ unions, and above all the involvement in the reconstruction exhibition and the *May Day Exhibition*. Yet despite this broad range of activities, the report takes on an increasingly critical tone as it moves towards an assessment of the Branch’s artistic output and internal dynamics. Kljaković openly acknowledges that the contribution to the fine arts – the association’s core area of activity – had been unsatisfactory. Assessing the artistic merit of the works shown at the *May Day Exhibition* and the retrospective exhibition in Zagreb, he arrives at the conclusion that the overall balance is a negative one: “In that respect, we could not justify our existence, neither to ourselves, nor to the Association, nor to the people.”¹²⁸ This rhetorical triple address (institution – individual conscience – social responsibility) sits firmly within the ideological discourse of the age, while also bearing witness to the internal tension between creative aspirations and the day-to-day realities of institutional and administrative life. Such a statement calls the professional performance of the membership into question and casts doubt on the very *raison d’être* of the institution.

127 Ibid.
128 Ibid.

Amongst the more revealing aspects of the report is its quantitative accounting of member participation. Despite the Branch’s roster of 46 members, those genuinely active in applied art tasks amount to no more than ten, with a core of five or six bearing the brunt of the work. The fact that artistic engagement is being rendered in such numerical terms suggests that cultural activity was increasingly coming to be judged through the prism of organisational discipline -a characteristic trait of the early socialist model of cultural management. This throws into still sharper relief the disproportion between the organisation’s formal structure and its actual operational effectiveness. Such a disparity between administrative machinery and the genuine level of membership engagement was far from uncommon in the early stages of institutionalising cultural organisations in the post-war years. The dysfunction is compounded when Kljaković draws attention to additional warning signs: members failing to pay their dues, failure to attend meetings, and disregarding the obligation to remit a percentage of earnings from sold works.

Towards the end of his report, the secretary calls for the imposition of order, making clear that the task of the newly constituted working committee is to instil discipline and bring members into compliance with their statutory duties. Such an insistence on discipline and membership accountability reflects a broader tendency towards the institutional regulation of artistic work, whereby artistic activity is steadily incorporated into the framework of an organised social project. This appeal to accountability, both within the organisational hierarchy and towards “the people” as the ultimate recipients of artistic work, confirms once again how thoroughly artistic practice had become permeated by the political and moral imperatives of the age. Kljaković’s report thus transcends its technical function as a record and opens up broader questions concerning the role of the artist in society, professional standards, and the internal consolidation of the collective. At the same time, it demonstrates that in the early post-war years the Branch had assumed the role of the principal institutional framework for artistic life in Split, bringing together educational, productive, exhibitional, and organisational functions under a single roof.

In analytical terms, the contributions of the assembly’s guests merit particular attention, as their addresses lent further weight to the case for broader collaboration.¹²⁹ Speaking on behalf of the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Association, Professor Jakša Ravlić called for closer cooperation between the association and other cultural institutions. Cvito Fisković, for his part, sought to situate the present moment within a wider historical framework, invoking a line of continuity stretching from the Ragusan Republic to the contemporary era. Ceremonial as they were, these speeches nonetheless evoke the broader cultural and ideological coordinates within which the Split branch conducts its work.

129 Ibid.

Be that as it may, after President Parać’s presentation and Secretary Kljaković’s detailed report, a discussion ensued that brought to light complex internal tensions within the Split branch. While no formal motion of no confidence was on the table, the debate increasingly shifted towards a fundamental questioning of the organisation’s governance and operations. Criticism was directed at low member participation, the ineffective distribution of responsibilities, and a perceived lack of equality among members. Of particular note was the dissatisfaction felt by those members who considered themselves excluded from the decision-making process, a grievance that was further aggravated by a rulebook widely regarded as ill-suited to the specific circumstances and requirements of the Split milieu.

As stipulated by the rules of the central Association of Fine Artists of Croatia, membership was divided into two categories – full members (the so-called group “A”) and other members (group “B”). Given that the Split branch had only ten full members and upwards of forty in Group B, this structure rendered stable and functional governance practically impossible, as Group B members were ineligible for election to the executive bodies. This situation further illustrates the extent to which the normative organisational model, conceived at the republican centre, was resistant to straightforward transplantation onto regional artistic communities with markedly different professional compositions. A division that existed on paper yet proved barely viable in the particular conditions of Split gave rise to institutional deadlock, declining motivation, and a creeping sense of futility that cast its shadow over the branch’s artistic output more broadly. It also exposes the underlying tension between criteria of artistic quality, institutional hierarchy, and the lived professional realities of the local scene.

In light of these circumstances, it was resolved that the existing leadership be dissolved, while postponing the formation of a new one until such time as the question of potential amendments to the Zagreb central body’s rulebook had been clarified. A subsequent review of the Zagreb central body’s minutes reveals that this conclusion reached in Split was met with a prompt administrative response from Zagreb. At its session of 10 March 1947, the ULUH Executive Committee discussed the Branch’s recent correspondence and ruled that the annual assembly of 26 January 1947 was not to be recognised, further determining that Marijan Detoni, in his capacity as ULUH representative, and Franjo Mraz, representing the Cultural and Artistic Committee (KUO), should be dispatched to Split.¹³⁰ Rather than forming a new executive committee, a working committee was

130 The minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee meeting of 10 March 1947 note the receipt of a letter from the Split Branch, reference no. 3/47 and dated 4 March 1947, which reported on the annual assembly convened on 26 January. The Split Branch flagged the fact that Dalmatia counted only a small number of full members, ten belonging to Group A, whilst the bulk of the membership, forty-two individuals in total, were classified as other members under Group B. The letter underscored that this state of affairs was undemocratic and had proven to be a source of friction, causing a decline in working

appointed and charged with the interim responsibility of managing the branch, along with the task of forwarding to Zagreb a proposal for revisions to the rulebook, with a view to aligning it more closely with the genuine needs and organisational realities of the Split environment. This course of events reveals that the institutionalisation of artistic life in Split was conditioned in equal measure by centralised models of cultural administration and by the concrete organisational capacities of the local artistic community.

Those elected to serve on the Working Committee were: Ivan Mirković, sculptor; Joko Knežević, painter; Ante Franičević, painter; Ante Zupa, painter; and Ljubomir Nakić, painter, (acting in the capacity of secretary).¹³¹ The composition of the working committee likewise points to a gradual handover of organisational responsibilities to a younger generation of artists, who were taking on an ever more prominent role in shaping institutional life under the new social conditions. The Zagreb central body, however, declined to recognise this interim working arrangement as a legitimately constituted administrative structure, as evidenced by the minutes of 7 April 1947, in which the correspondence from Split is attributed to a “self-appointed working committee”, while a decision was simultaneously taken to offer the Branch financial assistance once its reorganisation had been completed and to allow its membership fees to remain at its disposal.¹³² This somewhat mitigates a one-sided view of the central body as purely repressive in nature. While it disputes the legitimacy of the Working Committee, it also

131 morale, and a mood of despondency at art events and exhibitions. During the Executive Committee discussion, Vanja Radauš declared the assembly irregular, whilst Detoni drew attention to the disorder that Živko Kljaković had previously spoken of, encompassing the failure to pay membership fees and the percentage due from exhibition sales, and it was resolved that the Split assembly should not be recognised. It was decided that Marijan Detoni, in his capacity as ULUH representative, and Franjo Mraz, representing the Cultural and Artistic Section of Agitprop, should travel to Split. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 10. ožujka 1947.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Session, 10 March 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

132 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.” [Minutes of the General Annual Assembly of Visual Artists of Dalmatia held on 26 January 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika“ za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

133 At the ULUH Executive Committee session of 7 April 1947, Detoni read out a letter from Split which, according to the minutes, had been sent by the “self-appointed working committee of the branch”, and which concerned the extension of the competition “For the Fallen Fighters of Vela Luka”. The need for an urgent visit to Split was discussed, and it was proposed that the thirteen full members recognised by the central body be invited to a meeting in writing. At the same time, Tiljak cautioned that account should be taken of the Branch’s financial hardship, whereupon it was decided that, following reorganisation, the Split Branch should be given financial assistance and that the membership fees should remain entirely at the Branch’s disposal. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 7. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Session, 7 April 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

acknowledges the Branch’s material difficulties and signals its intention to provide financial assistance.

The ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split in 1947: Formation, Organisational Problems and Institutional Positioning

The year 1947 proves to be a watershed moment in the founding and stabilisation of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch, with its seat in Split. What the preserved minutes reveal is a period of intense organisational activity, though one shadowed by persistent tensions that accompanied attempts to bring the local artistic community into conformity with the standards and expectations set by the ULUH central body in Zagreb. The Branch was, at this time, gradually cementing its role as the organisational centre of gravity for Dalmatian artists, with the *May Day Exhibition* at the Salon Galić Gallery emerging as one of the foremost occasions for its public and institutional recognition. The exhibition also became a testing ground for models of governance, criteria of artistic legitimacy, and the Branch’s capacity to establish itself as a stable actor in cultural policy under post-war conditions. By early March 1947, the Branch’s Working Committee was already functioning as an operational body, concerned above all with mobilising the broadest membership possible. At the meeting held on 2 March, Antun Zupa – in his capacity as a member of the Working Committee – appealed to members to turn out in force for the *Second May Day Exhibition* at the Salon Galić Gallery, which was conceived as a representative showcase for Dalmatian visual artists.¹³³ This appeal alone signals a central tension between the symbolic ambition of representation (to present the region’s artistic community in a manner commensurate with its significance) and the practical constraints of artistic work, which was largely conditioned by employment commitments, competing demands on artists’ time, and duties towards other institutions. The organisational parameters of the exhibition were clearly defined at the same meeting, including a limit on the number of works per artist, a stipulation that works be framed, an allocation of responsibility for transport costs, and the Branch’s assumption of the obligation to cover the return of any works that went unsold or were not accepted. The elaboration of such technical rules extends well beyond routine administrative procedure and stands as a marker of incipient professionalisation. In the course of this process, the Branch was building a rudimentary exhibition infrastructure, instilling a discipline around the production and submission of works, and putting in place a clear delineation of responsibility between individual artists and the institution.

133 “Zapisnik sjednice održane na poziv Radnog odbora dana 2. ožujka 1947” [Minutes of the Session Held at the Invitation of the Working Committee on 2 March 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

Particularly instructive is the resolution that the Working Committee would need to intercede with various state and military bodies in order to secure temporary release from professional obligations for artists during March and April, a pointed reminder of the very real difficulties of reconciling artistic work with the institutional entanglements of the post-war order.¹³⁴ This detail therefore carries more weight than mere anecdote and opens up an important interpretative avenue: in this context, artistic activity assumes the character of publicly relevant work, one that demands institutional recognition in the distribution of time, obligations, and working conditions. The Branch, in other words, was pressing for artistic labour to be acknowledged as a form of socially useful work. By mid-March, efforts were made to raise the exhibition’s professional standing still further. At the Working Committee meeting on 17 March, committee member Zupa brought forward a proposal for the production of an illustrated catalogue for the *Second May Day Exhibition*, featuring reproductions of submitted works, with the financial obligations of participating artists clearly stipulated and copyright reserved to the organising committee.¹³⁵ The catalogue was envisaged as something more than a record of a single event, it was to serve as a lasting document of the exhibition and a meaningful instrument of the Branch’s public visibility. The reproduction of works, the provisions governing copyright, and the arrangements for handling proceeds from catalogue sales all bespeak an intention to convert the exhibition into a permanent record, a medium at once of public visibility and of professional documentation of the artistic scene. Ante Franičević and Nikola Ignjatović were designated as editors. The venture would, however, prove difficult to carry through in practice, undone by technical and financial impediments, a circumstance that speaks once again to the limited material means at the Branch’s disposal. This throws into sharp relief the disparity between the aspiration to stage the exhibition at a higher professional level and the practical realities of what the post-war cultural environment could actually sustain.

The question of the Branch’s internal structure came to the fore in mid-April, particularly during the meeting held on 12 April, attended by the ULUH delegates from Zagreb, Marijan Detoni and Franjo Mraz.¹³⁶ Detoni’s address traced the origins of ULUH’s foundation in the period following liberation and outlined the considerations that had led to a revision of the membership criteria. Considerable emphasis is placed on

the distinction between full members and members, a differentiation justified by the perceived need to safeguard the quality of artistic production and to guard against the ‘outvoting’ within the Association. From a theoretical standpoint, this reveals how the ‘democratic’ character of membership was shaped by a tension between inclusion on the one hand and qualitative control on the other: the rules were presented as permissive (allowing for advancement from member to full member), whilst nonetheless instituting a hierarchy of responsibility and legitimacy in matters of decision-making. In this context, the figure of as many as 52 registered members of the Split branch is openly held up for scrutiny, with doubts expressed regarding their genuine level of activity and their ability to rise to the demands of the new cultural policy, including, for example, participation in youth labour actions.¹³⁷ Detoni links the question of membership size directly to concrete forms of social engagement and to the matter of state investment in the arts. The minutes note that the people’s authorities had earmarked 9,000,000 dinars for the visual arts, with organised artists expected to meet such investment with “work in the visual arts field,” a formulation understood as denoting a public obligation and a form of reciprocal contribution to society.¹³⁸ Against this backdrop, a rhetorical yet revealing question is posed: whether all 52 registered members of the Split branch would truly be in a position to participate in youth labour schemes – railway construction among them – and to produce from such experiences at least two works of adequate quality for exhibition purposes. This makes it apparent that the problem of membership numbers goes well beyond an administrative concern and raises the question of members’ genuine mobilisation in terms of labour, production, and ideological commitment. The criterion of artistic relevance is here shown to be inextricably bound up with the criterion of social usefulness. Genuine commitment to one’s work is taken to mean a willingness to engage in collective effort, to work in the field, and the capacity to connect artistic production to the concrete projects of socialist construction. It is on these grounds that Detoni draws the conclusion that the Branch must “approach its work more seriously,” a demand that implies the reduction of passive members and the consolidation of a leaner but more functionally effective core. The Branch thus takes on, alongside its representational purpose, a pronounced productive dimension. Artists are expected to be mobile, disciplined, and contributory through their labour, and quality is measured not in aesthetic terms alone but through the equally weighted lens of work ethic, social function, and capacity for participation in collective tasks. Franjo Mraz lends additional weight to the broader social context, stressing the imperative to combat kitsch and to elevate the visual culture of the people through organised and disciplined artistic work. This moment is significant, for it shows that art in the post-war context was being articulated as a form of public pedagogy: the exhibition and the Branch served as instruments of cultural modernisation, while the “anti-kitsch” criterion functioned as a moral-aesthetic filter that

134 Ibid.
135 “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. ožujka 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Session Held on 17 March 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
136 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 12. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Session Held on 12 April 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

137 Ibid.
138 Ibid.

legitimised the need for selection and control. The day after, at the plenary session on 13 April, the debate grew more pointed still. Branch president Vjekoslav Parać informed the membership that the Split branch’s petition seeking amendments to the rulebook had not been accepted, whereupon Marijan Detoni gave a detailed account of the grounds for its rejection.¹³⁹ It was stressed in particular that the rules had received the approval of the Ministry of Education and were not subject to revision at this stage, and that the authority to govern the Association and its branches resided solely with full members. This clearly establishes a vertical hierarchy of legitimation: the rulebook is set up as a normative framework ratified by the state, and the debate over membership thus becomes a debate about the relationship between professional autonomy and state cultural administration. Room is nonetheless left for individual members to be brought into administrative roles out of necessity. The central resolution of this meeting concerns the proposal that, during the *Second May Day Exhibition*, a jury composed of full members be formed to carry out a new categorisation of membership, and potential exclusions, on the basis of the quality of works exhibited – a proposal that was adopted unanimously.¹⁴⁰ In practice, the exhibition is thus transformed into a mechanism of institutional verification, whereby public appearance becomes an examination of membership credentials and aesthetic judgement takes on the function of a managerial instrument through which the organisational structure is regulated. It should be noted here that Marijan Detoni’s report to the ULUH Executive Committee on 14 April 1947 further corroborates that the central body’s April intervention served a twofold purpose: the settling of organisational tensions and the institution of a new mechanism for the professional scrutiny of membership.¹⁴¹ Detoni and Mraz held two separate meetings in Split, one with the full members and another with the broader membership, in the course of which it came to light that the Branch did

139 “Zapisnik plenarne sjednice održane 13. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Plenary Session Held on 13 April 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of the Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

140 Ibid.

141 According to the minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee meeting on 14 April 1947, Detoni reported that he had travelled to Split with Franjo Mraz in order to put the affairs of the Branch in order. Although it had originally been decided that the journey to Split would take place on 28 April, the departure was brought forward at the request of the Committee for Art and Culture attached to the Regional People’s Committee. On 12 April, Detoni and Mraz held a meeting with full members, and on 13 April a meeting with all members. At the first meeting it was noted that the Branch had no accurate list of members and that the full members found themselves in an awkward position, due in part to their limited participation in front-line painting work. At the second meeting, Detoni set out the organisation’s plan and responsibilities, as well as the question of dual membership. The participants withdrew their own rules and acknowledged them as a mistake. It was decided that an exhibition be arranged for May Day, after which the status of full members and members would be reviewed. Emanuel Vidović, Vjekoslav Parać, Antun Zupa, Joko Knežević, Rudolf Bunk, Milan Tolić, and Ivan Mirković were elected to the jury. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 14. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Session of the ULUH Executive Committee, 14 April 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

not in fact possess an accurate list of its members, and that the misunderstandings were connected in part to varying degrees of participation in front-line painting activities. It was agreed within this framework that the *Second May Day Exhibition* be used as an occasion to review the status of both full members and the general membership, a decision that invested the exhibition with a dual character: that of an artistic showcase and an instrument of institutional revision.

It is against this backdrop that the nucleus of the Branch crystallises. The thirteen full members explicitly designated in the minutes as the backbone of the Split branch – Emanuel Vidović, Vjekoslav Parać, Antun Zupa, Ivan Mirković, Ante Kaštelančić, Živko Kljaković, Vinko Foretić, Joko Knežević, Rudolf Bunk, Milan Tolić, Antun Gojak, Branko Kovačević, and Marin Studin – undertook to elect from among their number a smaller operational group of five, which would perform the functions of the Executive until the convening of the annual general assembly, whilst concurrently jurying works for the *Second May Day Exhibition* “equally for all members without distinction,” and, in conjunction with the newly elected Executive, proposing to the ULUH central body a reclassification of the membership into full members, members, and those potentially liable to exclusion.¹⁴² The first proposal put forward a list of five members: Vidović, Parać, Zupa, Bunk, and Krstulović. The minutes, however, make clear at once that this initial line-up required modification in the face of practical contingencies of a transfer and the need for a balanced professional composition: Kukoč proposed that Zupa, whose transfer to Zagreb rendered his participation impracticable, be replaced by Joko Knežević, and that Ivan Mirković be added alongside Krstulović to ensure “a better outcome in the jurying of sculptural works.” The voting that followed reveals a nuanced interplay of assent and abstention (Knežević: 13 in favour, 2 abstentions, 2 against; Mirković: 13 in favour, 3 abstentions, 1 against), whilst on Bučan’s proposal Milan Tolić was further admitted to the jury (15 in favour, 2 against), whereby the operational body is shaped through practical corrections designed to guarantee both the functionality and the legitimacy of the adjudication process, rather than through principled decisions alone.¹⁴³ That the backbone of the Branch is defined through the naming of full members is itself revealing: it shows how the Branch was constructing an internal structure of authority resting not only on formal position but also on presumed professional standing and the prior “recognition” of one’s work by the central body, while simultaneously establishing a procedural framework within which the jurying of the exhibition functions as a tool of institutional self-regulation. Through a succession of votes, proposals, and adjustments

142 “Zapisnik između 13 redovitih članova Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnica u Splitu” [Minutes of a Meeting Among the 13 Full Members of the Association of Visual Artists of Croatia – Branch in Split], undated (probably 14 April 1947), book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

143 Ibid.

prompted by practical circumstances (transfers, health reasons, professional balance), an operational body gradually took shape, assuming the key functions of managing the exhibition and conducting the jurying process. This confirmed a practice in which institutional structure is established not through declaration but through a process of adaptation and functional verification. The process was brought to a conclusion at the end of June 1947, when the ULUH Executive Committee, having compared the report of the Zagreb delegates Kršinić and Mujadžić with that of the Split jury, confirmed the new structure of full members and members of the Branch.¹⁴⁴

The organisation of the *Second May Day Exhibition* brings to light a series of practical difficulties: members were financially undisciplined (fees and registration dues went unpaid), while the arrangements governing the sale of works remained poorly defined.¹⁴⁵ These issues suggest that the Branch was simultaneously in the process of establishing a moral economy of membership. Fees and dues carried a significance beyond the merely financial, acting as markers of belonging and commitment, whilst the sale of works represented a contested terrain in which the organisation found itself compelled to protect its institutional interests and forestall the appropriation of a shared platform for private ends. The Working Committee was obliged to introduce stringent controls over sales and the collection of payments, while Ante Franičević assumed the role of acting treasurer. The plan for an illustrated catalogue was ultimately abandoned, with only lists of exhibitors and works going to print. This shift from an ambitious to a minimal catalogue may itself be read as an expression of strategic adaptation. The Branch prioritised the realisation of the exhibition and its public function, even at the cost of reducing its representational format.

As indicated by its title, the exhibition opened on 1 May 1947, with the judging of entries carried out in late April. Notably, a delegate from Dubrovnik, Branko Kovačević, was

involved in the adjudication of works by Dubrovnik-based artists, pressing for a strict selection process so as to guarantee the exhibition’s high artistic calibre.¹⁴⁶ A regional dynamic within the Dalmatian context is also discernible here, with the involvement of a Dubrovnik delegate suggesting a deliberate attempt to counter any impression of Split’s dominance, while simultaneously legitimising the selection process as a collective standard rather than an expression of local bias. The jury operated exclusively on the basis of artistic merit, and the arrangement of the exhibition likewise took on an adjudicatory function. The concept of quality was thus broadened beyond the mere acceptance or rejection of works to encompass the manner of their display, with the exhibition’s layout becoming an extension of critical judgement and a further layer of institutional appraisal.

Once the *Second May Day Exhibition* had closed, further deliberations took place regarding the quality of works in relation to the membership status of their authors, and a decision was reached to transfer the exhibition in full to Dubrovnik (and subsequently to Zadar). This step was interpreted as a sign of the exhibition’s emancipation from its exclusively May Day framework and an affirmation of its independent artistic merit.¹⁴⁷ The transfer of the exhibition can accordingly be interpreted as a transition from a ritual function (as a component of the May Day calendar) to a more autonomous exhibiting life, pointing towards the idea that artistic production might find legitimacy beyond the symbolic boundaries of state ceremony.

A far more persistent and layered concern, however, proved to be the Branch’s relationship with Ivan Galić, owner of the Salon Galić Gallery, regarding the terms under which the exhibition space was made available.¹⁴⁸ Despite its formal status as a

144 At the ULUH Executive Committee meeting on 30 June 1947, it was decided to “put the Split branch in order,” and, following a comparison of the report of the delegates Frano Kršinić and Omer Mujadžić with that of the Split jury for the May Day Exhibition, the full members and members were confirmed. Confirmed as full members were Rudolf Bunk, Vinko Foretić, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Ivan Mirković, Andrija Krstulović, Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, and Ante Zupa. Confirmed as members were Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Antun Masle, Ljubomir Nakić, Ante Petričić, Bartul Petrić, and Ivan Sikavica. At the same meeting it was recorded that Antun Zupa had submitted his resignation from the Split Branch and requested a transfer to Zagreb membership. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 30. lipnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Session of the ULUH Executive Committee, 30 June 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

145 “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 15. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Session held on 15 April 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

146 “Zapisnik jurya ‘Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnice za Dalmaciju’ koji se sastao u ‘Salonu Galić’ 27. – 28. travnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Jury of the ‘Association of Fine Artists of Croatia – Dalmatia Branch,’ convened at the ‘Salon Galić Gallery’ on 27–28 April 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

147 “Zapisnik sjednice jurya održane 19. svibnja 1947. nakon zaključenja II. Prvomajske izložbe” [Minutes of the Jury Meeting held on 19 May 1947 following the closure of the *Second May Day Exhibition*]; “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 21. svibnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting held on 21 May 1947]; “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. lipnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting held on 17 June 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

148 On the history of the Salon Galić Gallery, its exhibition function and the role of Ivan Galić in shaping Split’s artistic life, see the exhibition *One Hundred Years of Salon Galić* (Salon Galić, Split, 7 May – 1 June 2024), curated by Jasminka Babić and Sandi Bulimbašić, and the accompanying exhibition catalogue. The most comprehensive recent treatment is provided by the monograph *Salon Galić 1924–2024*, ed. Sandi Bulimbašić, Split: HULU – Split and the Museum of Fine Arts, 2025.

private gallery, the Salon Galić Gallery functioned in post-war Split as a prominent and structurally indispensable site of public exhibition, which naturally rendered it a crucial partner of the Branch in the organisation of the *Second May Day Exhibition*. During several sessions of the Working Committee, a range of payment arrangements were examined, among them a daily hire fee, a fixed sum for the entirety of the exhibition’s run, and a scheme whereby the owner of the premises would receive a portion of the income generated from the sale of works and admission tickets.¹⁴⁹ The minutes suggest that Galić based his expectations on a practice by which a dedicated exhibition space, the upkeep and taxation of which falls to the owner throughout the year, is sustained through a stake in the financial outcomes of the events it accommodates, chiefly in the form of a percentage of income derived from the sale of works and admission charges. Such a conception is reminiscent of earlier exhibition models in which the owner of the space took part in the economic life of the exhibition as a permanent stakeholder, rather than occupying the role of a passive lessor of premises. The institutional logic of the Branch, by contrast, relied upon a statutorily defined share of sales proceeds as its primary means of self-financing, seeking both to avoid placing undue financial strain upon exhibiting artists and to safeguard the organisation’s economic viability. The deliberations over the payment arrangement, ranging from Galić’s initial demand for 10 % of works sold, through proposals for a fixed daily hire fee, to attempts at apportioning revenues from entrance tickets, went beyond the mere question of the sum to be paid, and gave rise to a more fundamental question about the distribution of both the economic and symbolic returns of a public exhibition. The Working Committee’s refusal to accept Galić’s original proposal ought primarily to be seen as an effort to protect the Branch’s institutional position and prevent any erosion of its limited but clearly defined income streams, rather than as a repudiation of legitimate private interest. The agreement on a final sum of 15,000 dinars for twenty days’ use of the premises, reached only by way of compromise at the end of June, speaks eloquently to the structural sensitivity that had come to characterise the relationship between the Branch and the owner of the Salon. The Salon Galić Gallery thus remained an indispensable spatial condition for the public art event, while remaining far from a neutral setting in which that event simply took place. These negotiations reveal, in fact, that the institutionalisation of the visual arts field in Split proceeded through a complex negotiation between inherited private models of exhibition practice and emergent collective, professional forms of organisation, rather than through the simple suppression or mutual exclusion of one by the other.

149 “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 21. svibnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting held on 21 May 1947]; “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 17. lipnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting held on 17 June 1947]; “Zapisnik sjednice Radnog odbora održane 30. lipnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting held on 30 June 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

All of the above makes it abundantly clear that the ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split in 1947 functioned not only as an administrative extension of the parent body, but as an active field in which the meaning of artistic work, the criteria of professional practice, and the relationship between the local scene and state cultural policy were actively negotiated. The *May Day Exhibition* at the Salon Galić Gallery stands out in this context as a crucial instrument of consolidation: simultaneously an exhibiting event, a mechanism for the vetting of membership, and a platform through which fine art sought and obtained public legitimacy in post-war society. It is precisely for this reason that the minutes are far from a dry administrative record, documenting as they do a process in which the visual arts field was institutionally shaped through three interrelated registers: the aesthetic (the criterion of quality and the adjudication of works), the organisational (the structure of governance and the discipline of membership), and the infrastructural-economic (the catalogue, sales, and the rental of premises). The Branch thus emerges as a site in which an artistic public is simultaneously produced, a professional standard established, and the boundary between professional autonomy and the cultural-political function of art is actively negotiated. The ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split in 1947 may accordingly be understood as an early form of regional cultural infrastructure, serving not only the promotion and distribution of artistic works, but equally the production of norms: norms of professionalism, norms of public presentation, and norms of cultural relevance within post-war society. Through the tensions surrounding membership, the judging of works, financial discipline, and access to exhibition premises, it becomes clear that what was taking shape here was not simply a local organisation, but an operational model of the visual arts field, one in which aesthetic judgement, institutional governance, and the socio-political horizon of culture mutually inform and reinforce one another. The sequence of decisions taken between March and June 1947 reveals that the *Second May Day Exhibition* amounted to considerably more than an annual showcase of artistic output. In institutional terms, it came to serve as a testing ground for the reorganisation of the Split Branch. The act of participation, the judging of submitted works, and the evaluation of artistic quality provided the foundation for a renewed categorisation of membership. Exhibition practice was thus brought into direct alignment with the governance mechanisms of ULUH, while artistic quality acquired an administrative weight in shaping the structure of the Branch.

ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split in 1948: Jurying, Institutional Crisis and Redefinition of Its Position (Including Developments in Early 1949)

In 1948, the ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split entered a remarkably dynamic period, yet one fraught with structural tension. The intensive preparations for the *Third May Day Exhibition* proceeded in parallel with an open crisis over the Branch’s legitimacy and institutional position, including proposals for its dissolution and attempts to reorganise it in line with the new regulations of the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia. This dual dynamic alone signals the simultaneous overlapping of

professional, administrative, and political registers of activity. This dynamic centred on two interlocking sets of issues. In the narrower operational sense, these concerned the exhibition organisation and the jurying of works; in the broader political and institutional sense, they touched on the Branch’s reputation, its administrative effectiveness, and the perceived “correctness” of its conduct vis-à-vis the central body and the newly established federal framework.¹⁵⁰

The organisational groundwork for the *Third May Day Exhibition* was laid early, with a relatively precise division of labour established within the Branch. At the meeting of 3 April 1948, the exhibition topped the agenda, and responsibility for its various components was assigned to specific members: Ivan Mirković was tasked with the poster, Ljubomir Nakić and Ante Kaštelančić with invitations and the question of venue, and Vjekoslav Parać and Ante Franičević with the catalogue and labels.¹⁵¹ The same decision laid down the terms of participation: branch members were to be notified and invited to submit works, with each contributor limited to a maximum of 4 oils, 4 watercolours, or 4 prints. Works were to be delivered to the Salon Galić Gallery no later than 20 April, with the exhibition itself planned to run from 1 to 15 May.¹⁵² Even at this level, it is apparent that the Branch approached the exhibition as a disciplined organisational undertaking, one that required the coordination of production, logistics, and public presentation, and that served once again as a key instrument through which the Branch asserted its professional competence. That the *Third May Day Exhibition* also carried direct institutional weight is confirmed by the minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee dated 13 April 1948, which reveal that the central body had temporarily deferred its decision to dissolve the Split Branch precisely because of the upcoming exhibition.¹⁵³

150 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly held on 9 May 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

151 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 3. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Session held on 3 April 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

152 Ibid.

153 The minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee meeting of 13 April 1948 note that a letter from the Split Branch requesting the postponement of the Branch’s dissolution on account of the *Third May Day Exhibition* was discussed. The Executive Committee resolved to accede to this request, with the proviso that the Branch be dissolved following the exhibition and that the group be integrated with the other cultural and artistic associations in Split. This detail indicates that the question of the Branch’s dissolution was already open prior to the Annual General Meeting of 9 May 1948, and that the *Third May Day Exhibition* functioned as a temporary reason for deferring the institutional decision. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 13. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Meeting, 13 April 1948], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

Within the exhibition’s organisational framework, jurying carried exceptional weight, both as a technical process of selection and as a mechanism for producing institutional legitimacy. It became the point at which aesthetic criteria, procedure, and the internal relations of the collective intersected. At the meeting of 22 April 1948, Parać proposed that three of the five jury members be chosen by lot; the proposal was accepted.¹⁵⁴ This selection mechanism suggests an effort to ensure procedural fairness and to pre-empt any objections to an agreed composition, especially given that jury decisions could affect the Branch’s more prominent members. The minutes also reveal that the jury was structured in several tiers, or at least took several functionally distinct forms: for painters, the lot fell on Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, and Ante Kaštelančić; for sculptors, on Ivan Mirković, Andrija Krstulović, and Emanuel Vidović; while responsibility for the arrangement of the exhibition was assigned to Branko Kovačević, Rudolf Bunk, and Emanuel Vidović.¹⁵⁵ This structure reflects a conception of the exhibition as a complex, multi-dimensional process in which artistic value is inseparable from the context of presentation.

The crisis, however, came to a head precisely over the jurying of a work by Branko Kovačević, one of the Branch’s more prominent members, specifically, a painting titled *The Breakthrough of the Third Encirclement of the Fifth Offensive*. The minutes of 25 April 1948 note that the inner jury was unable to reach a verdict on the painting’s inclusion, citing the impression of “an old-fashioned museum piece” so pronounced that “the personal expression of the artist and the artistic interpretation” appeared “perceptibly suppressed.”¹⁵⁶ The very formulation “old-fashioned museum piece” betrays the implicit aesthetic and ideological criterion at work. What is at issue is not the subject matter (which is, after all, drawn from recent revolutionary wartime experience), but the manner of its artistic treatment, deemed regressive or insufficiently “authorial,” as though the work had reduced artistic interpretation to a merely illustrative, already codified formula. To avoid a decision that might appear narrow, personal, or procedurally wanting in legitimacy, the jury proposed that “the remaining 4 full members of the Branch present in Split” also be consulted, with the final verdict left to the expanded jury.¹⁵⁷ This transfer of the decision to a broader body may be interpreted as a strategy for distributing responsibility and reinforcing the institutional authority of

154 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Session held on 22 April 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

155 Ibid.

156 “Zapisnik jurya III. Prvomajske izložbe od 25. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Jury of the Third May Day Exhibition of 25 April 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

157 Ibid.

the eventual ruling, precisely in view of the prominence of the member whose work was under consideration.

The expanded jury convened as planned on 27 April 1948 at the Salon Galić Gallery. According to the minutes, it comprised “the full members, painters of the Branch who are present in Split,” with the sole exception of Emanuel Vidović, who communicated his view indirectly via Milan Tolić.¹⁵⁸ After discussion, the expanded jury accepted the inner jury’s objections (by five votes to one), concluding that the painting should not be exhibited.¹⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that the signatories included Parać, Tolić, and Kaštelančić,¹⁶⁰ suggesting that formal responsibility for documenting the decision remained with the inner jury core, even as it drew legitimacy from the broader debate and vote. The jurying process of 1948 thus vividly illustrates the Branch’s attempt to reconcile the authority of its prominent members, procedural correctness, and the ability to deliver a contentious verdict carrying potential consequences for both interpersonal relations and the Branch’s reputational capital.

The exhibition was barely over before the Branch was plunged into open institutional crisis. The Annual General Meeting of 9 May 1948, chaired by Executive Committee president Vjekoslav Parać, was also attended by Đuro Tiljak in his capacity as a ULUH delegate.¹⁶¹ Tiljak’s intervention raised the stakes considerably, as he observed that the Branch had not been adequately informed of the latest resolutions and statutes of the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia, and that it had yet to receive the relevant materials.¹⁶² The situation is best understood in the context of ULUH’s broader normative realignment towards the new federal framework, given that the central Association had, in April 1948, set in motion a process of revising its own Statutes to conform with those of the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of the FPRY.¹⁶³ At this

158 „Zapisnik jurya od 27. travnja 1948.“ [Minutes of the Jury of 27 April 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid.

161 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly held on 9 May 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

162 Ibid.

163 On 20 April 1948, the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia submitted a request to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department of General Administration in Zagreb, seeking approval for an amendment to the Association’s statutes. The letter states that the annual assembly of ULUH, held on 22 March 1948, had resolved, in connection with its accession to the Union of Visual Artists of the FPR of Yugoslavia, to align the 1946 statutes with those of the Union. See: letter “Promjena Pravila Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – molba za odobrenje” [Amendment of the

junction, the Branch’s administrative shortcomings is already registered as a structural problem. The lack of information and weak administrative activity in Split hampered the revision of membership which, under the new framework, had to be carried out within three months, with Tiljak warning that errors were particularly likely in the Split case given that the Executive Committee was insufficiently informed about the work and circumstances of individual members.¹⁶⁴ That the question of membership soon began to be resolved through individual decisions by the central body is confirmed by the minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee of 25 May 1948, in which a letter from Split concerning proposals for the admission of certain artists is discussed.¹⁶⁵

The crux of Tiljak’s assessment, however, was the question of “reputation.” He stated plainly that it had been concluded that the Branch “did not enjoy any real reputation,” and that things had taken place which were at odds with the rules and which would warrant its “dissolution.”¹⁶⁶ The minutes specify none of these concrete “things,” yet the formulation itself suggests that the Branch’s activities in Split were being assessed through the prism of institutional reliability and political-organisational “propriety,”

Statutes of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia – Request for Approval], sent by the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in Zagreb (signed by president Đuro Tiljak and secretary Zlatko Prica) to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department of General Administration in Zagreb, 20 April 1948, no. 278/48, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 38: Rules and Statutes 1945–1977. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia approved the new statutes by decision no. 17984-IV-1948 of 14 May 1948, with the note that this decision rendered null and void the statutes of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia previously approved by the same Ministry’s decision no. 59723/46 of 14 December 1946. See: letter “Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, izmjena pravila” [Association of Fine Artists of Croatia, amendment of statutes], sent by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People’s Republic of Croatia in Zagreb (signed by deputy minister Josip Gržetić) to the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in Zagreb, 14 May 1948, no. 17984-IV-1948, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 38: Rules and Statutes 1945–1977.

164 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly held on 9 May 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

165 At the ULUH Executive Committee meeting of 25 May 1948, a letter from Split was discussed reporting on the conclusions of the assembly and requesting that certain artists be admitted to membership on the basis of their artistic work, quality, and practice. It was resolved that Milan Tolić and Ante Gojak be admitted to membership, while Ljubomir Nakić and Ante Petričić were required to submit works at the next exhibition. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 25. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Meeting, 25 May 1948], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

166 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly held on 9 May 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

with reputation invoked as a basis for potential sanction. Tiljak nonetheless allowed for flexibility, observing that matters need not be viewed “strictly and rigidly,” and that should the plenum consider it necessary for the Branch to survive, the central body of ULUH should be notified to that effect.¹⁶⁷ His recommendation was however unequivocal: the expedient course would be for the Branch to dissolve, with its membership affiliating as a group to a cultural and artistic association, specifically the “KUD ‘Ivan Lozica’”, and to nominate one or two delegates for direct liaison with the ULUH.¹⁶⁸ The proposed model amounted to a de-institutionalisation of the Branch and its reconstitution as a group within a broader social body, a move that would simultaneously curtail its professional autonomy and subject it to tighter control through the structures of the wider social order.

The same address made the normative matrix of the new Union more explicit: the duty of its members was, “first and foremost,” to uphold the association’s reputation and to demonstrate both artistic competence and political maturity, with the “artistic advancement of Dalmatia” defined as the Branch’s particular sphere of responsibility.¹⁶⁹ The Branch’s survival, in other words, was contingent on a dual criterion – qualitative and political – with the organisational form (branch or group within a cultural and artistic association) cast as a tool for disciplining and “elevating” the membership.

Those present responded to Tiljak’s address by opting for institutional delay. The Annual General Meeting was adjourned indefinitely, with the Executive Committee continuing in its existing composition “as before.”¹⁷⁰ This move indicated that the crisis had entered a phase of temporary suspension, the Branch settling into a period of waiting and negotiation with the central body.

The crisis was reactivated and formally resolved at the Annual General Meeting of 7 July 1948, which Parać presented as a resumption of the interrupted May assembly.¹⁷¹ He reported on the suggestions received from Zagreb concerning the Branch’s dissolution, prompting a lengthy discussion in which all members present took part.¹⁷² The outcome was clear: it was decided that the Branch should not be dissolved and should continue to function as a branch.¹⁷³ At the level of the local collective, at least, this confirmed

167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
171 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly held on 7 July 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
172 Ibid.
173 Ibid.

both a will for institutional continuity and a resistance to the proposed reduction to a group within the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Association. The immediate election of a new Executive suggested that the decision to survive was understood as necessitating a renewal of both legitimacy and operational structure. Voting by slate, the assembly elected the following Executive: president Vjekoslav Parać; first secretary Ante Kaštelančić; second secretary Joko Knežević; treasurer Ante Franičević; board members Rudolf Bunk and Andrija Krstulović.¹⁷⁴ These details matter, for they reveal who stepped forward to assume institutional responsibility at the very moment the Branch’s existence was under threat.

The same minutes further note an important economic and organisational dimension: Parać reported on a letter concerning the formation of the cooperative “Likum,” stressed the importance of its activities for artists, and urged members to join; Franičević was appointed as the Branch’s representative to the cooperative.¹⁷⁵ A proposal that Ivan Galić be recommended for membership of the cooperative “Likum” was also unanimously accepted.¹⁷⁶ This detail reveals that the Branch, in parallel with the institutional crisis, was actively building an infrastructure of material support and professional mediation (cooperative, supply of materials, networks), which in post-war conditions was evidently perceived as a crucial precondition for the sustainability of artistic work. The same concern with professional mediation and quality control runs through the ULUH Executive Committee minutes of 24 August 1948, which discuss the case of works by two unnamed Split members commissioned for the Naval Command and at the time in the process of reproduction by the *Nakladni zavod Hrvatske*. Judged to be below the required standard, the works prompted the central body to resolve that the Association’s view be communicated to the members in question through the Split Branch, and that the Committee for the Arts be petitioned to advise all commands, authorities, and institutions to place future fine art commissions through the ULUH. The question of artistic quality was thereby directly tied to professional accountability and institutional oversight of public commissions.¹⁷⁷

174 Ibid.
175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
177 The minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee meeting of 24 August 1948 note a letter from secretary Frano Baće concerning works by two Split members commissioned for the Naval Command, which had been reproduced by *Nakladni zavod Hrvatske* in Zagreb but had failed to meet the required standard of quality. Following discussion, it was resolved that, in order to prevent similar breaches of professional responsibility, the Association’s assessment of the quality of the commissioned works be conveyed to the members in question through the Split Branch. It was also decided that the Committee for the Arts be petitioned by special submission to issue an appeal to all commands, authorities, and institutions directing that future commissions for works of fine art be placed through the ULUH. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 24. kolovoza 1948.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Meeting, 24 August 1948], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’

Finally, the minutes also note that the *Third May Day Exhibition* travelled to Dubrovnik,¹⁷⁸ confirming both the continuity of the itinerant exhibition practice and the Branch’s regional reach, and its need to consolidate its legitimacy beyond Split, across the wider Dalmatian area.

At the meeting of 12 October 1948, the Statute of the Union of Visual Artists’ Associations of Yugoslavia was read out and individual clauses discussed.¹⁷⁹ This shows that the Union’s new normative framework was being internalised through collective reading and discussion, pointing to a degree of pedagogical effort by the Branch directed at its own membership. At the same time, Franičević, as the Branch’s representative to “Likum,” was charged with looking into the procurement of painting materials for the forthcoming exhibitions – the retrospective showcase in Zagreb and the *May Day Exhibition*.¹⁸⁰ The episode confirms once more that the Branch’s survival was substantially tied to the logistics and economics of production, that is, the availability of materials and access to organised supply networks.

The minutes of the session of 22 January 1949 serve as a kind of summary and continuation of the preceding year. The chairman reported that the assembly of 7 July 1948 had voted by a majority to keep the Branch in operation, and that the ULUH had written to say that its plenum would reach a definitive conclusion on the matter, which had yet to materialise.¹⁸¹ In the meantime, however, verbal information from the ULUH secretary Frano Baće indicated that the Branch or group could continue its work in practice regardless of what it was called, provided that a single member (in this case the president) acted as the official representative and commissioner to the ULUH.¹⁸² This formulation is significant: it points to a logic of compromise on the part of the central body – formal status was left unresolved, but practical continuity was permitted, with a minimal degree of vertical representation towards the centre kept in place.

178 Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971. “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 7 July 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

179 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 12. listopada 1948.” [Minutes of the Session held on 12 October 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

180 Ibid.

181 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. siječnja 1949.” [Minutes of the Session held on 22 January 1949], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

182 Ibid.

The minutes also set out the financial arrangements in some detail. The Branch was allowed to maintain its own operational fund, but the monthly membership fees of all members were to be forwarded to the ULUH treasury; it was decided that both membership and registration fees for 1948 be sent to the ULUH (100 dinars registration, 20 dinars membership per member), while the Branch fee remained at 30 dinars, of which 10 dinars per member per month were to be retained in the Branch treasury to cover unforeseen expenses.¹⁸³ Institutional autonomy was thereby established in a very tangible sense: as the fiscal and logistical capacity to meet operational costs, balanced against an obligatory financial link to the central body.

Particularly noteworthy is the section dealing with the purchase of works for the refurbishment of “Vila Dalmacija.” The chairman reported that works totalling 313,000 dinars had been acquired through the Branch Executive, which had retained a commission of 5% rather than the customary 10%, on the grounds that the works had not been sold through an exhibition. The valuation had been conducted by a committee comprising Kaštelančić, Fisković, Prijatelj, Radovičić, and the architect Vesanović.¹⁸⁴ Two observations follow from this detail: first, that the Branch was taking on a mediating role in public commissions and acquisitions, and in doing so providing a degree of material stability for its members; second, that the appraisal of works was entrusted to a named committee, suggesting the institutionalisation of evaluative mechanisms operating independently of the exhibition context. The minutes go on to record a series of members’ activities presented as evidence of “activity” and work performed “beyond regular working hours”: Rudolf Bunk arranged the stage for the Lenin commemoration, Kaštelančić and Tolić took part in exhibitions of the AFŽ and “50 Years of Sport in Split,” and so forth.¹⁸⁵ This enumeration served as an implicit rebuttal of the charges levelled in 1948 concerning the Branch’s poor reputation and inadequate political and professional maturity, so the Branch was putting on record its contribution to public and social life.

The minutes also opened a new line of concern: the protection of copyright and the Branch’s marginalisation in the allocation of public works. Ante Kaštelančić noted that ULUH members enjoyed copyright protection, “which is not the case in this branch,” and called for action to be taken. It was further observed that the authorities were routinely bypassing the Branch and its members when commissioning public works of a painterly or sculptural nature, the decoration of the foyer of the National Theatre, carried out by house painters from the painting cooperative “Obnova,” being cited as a concrete instance of work that “by rights” ought to have gone to a professional painter.¹⁸⁶ It was

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 Ibid.

also noted that monuments and commemorative plaques were being installed without consulting the Branch Executive, and that payment disputes were common due to the lack of a price list and poor communication with individual members.¹⁸⁷ These specific cases pointed to a structural problem of institutional representation: the Branch was pressing to be recognised as the professionally “most competent” body for assessing, standardising, and mediating public commissions. In response, a letter on copyright was to be sent to the Regional Cultural and Educational Department and the “Ivan Lozica” association, while Tolić and Bunk were authorised to draft a letter on the theatre foyer decorations and “works of a more significant character in general,” to be forwarded to the Regional Committee for Culture and Art and the Municipal People’s Committee.¹⁸⁸ A committee composed of Franičević, Kaštelančić, and Knežević was also appointed to provide professional assessments of quality or works and conduct valuations as needed, and to invite institutions wishing to decorate their premises with works of art to contact the Branch directly.¹⁸⁹ These decisions reflect the Branch’s attempt to move from a position of reactive marginalisation to one of recognised professional authority, that is, to establish itself as an indispensable interlocutor for public institutions.

Finally, the same minutes also expanded the Branch’s programmatic scope, resolving that each year, in addition to the *May Day Exhibition*, an exhibition of prints should be held in the first half of December.¹⁹⁰ Parać reported on the Fourth ULUH Exhibition in Zagreb, held in honour of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which had focused on contemporary problems in the fine arts, a review of debates around Socialist Realism, and the “clarification of elements of formalism.” Also noted were the presence of Branko Šotra, secretary of the Union of Associations of Fine Artists of Yugoslavia, as was Knežević’s proposal that a separate meeting be held to discuss these issues.¹⁹¹ The January 1949 minutes thus confirm that 1948 did not end for the Branch with administrative survival alone, but with its incorporation into the wider ideological and aesthetic framework of the Union and the central body, that is, into debates over the criteria of “ideological correctness” and formal procedures in contemporary art.

Where 1947 might be described as the year of institutional construction, through exhibition activity and the settlement of basic organisational questions, 1948 appears as the year in which the Branch’s legitimacy was put directly in question, and in which a series of procedural and political-organisational episodes set in motion attempts to redefine its status. The jurying of Kovačević’s painting shows how aesthetic judgement in the post-war context had acquired the character of an institutionally sensitive

187 Ibid.
188 Ibid.
189 Ibid.
190 Ibid.
191 Ibid.

procedure, one requiring procedural safeguards given the standing of the parties involved and potential repercussions.¹⁹² Tiljak’s proposal to dissolve the Branch and redirect its members to the “Ivan Lozica” Cultural and Arts Association raised questions of reputation, administration, and the political and qualitative standards that the Union and the central body expected of regional structures,¹⁹³ whilst the decision against dissolution and the July election of a new Executive reflected a local commitment to continuity and a renewed sense of institutional responsibility.¹⁹⁴ The January 1949 minutes reveal the central body’s “practical compromise” and confirm that the Branch continued to operate, tied to the ULUH fiscally and in terms of representation, while seeking to widen its social role through acquisitions, copyright protection, the standardisation of public commissions, and involvement in broader ideological debates on Socialist Realism and formalism.¹⁹⁵

Culture During Reconstruction: Visual Artists Between Profession and Administration in 1949

During 1949, the Branch’s work took on an ever more defined character at the intersection of professional needs and local administrative structures. The presence of municipal department representatives at its meetings indicates that interest in fine arts activity was being articulated within the administrative framework of post-war cultural policy as well.

The meeting held on 2 March 1949 in the ground-floor premises of the Museum of Fine Arts immediately raised the question of the material scarcity in which artists were working. A public letter of thanks to the Splivalo brothers for a consignment of paints sent from America, published in the daily newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* on 13 February

192 “Zapisnik jurya III. Prvomajske izložbe od 25. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Jury of the Third May Day Exhibition of 25 April 1948]; “Zapisnik jurya od 27. travnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Jury of 27 April 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
193 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 9. svibnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 9 May 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
194 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine održane 7. srpnja 1948.” [Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 7 July 1948], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
195 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 22. siječnja 1949.” [Minutes of the Session held on 22 January 1949], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

1949, points to the fact that the procurement of basic painting materials was a matter of existential importance.¹⁹⁶ The usual distribution of materials through “Likum” reveals a supply system that was both centralised and considerably constrained, with the result that any direct donation assumed the character of an exceptional intervention within a framework of planned allocation. That the problem extended well beyond Split is confirmed by the earlier letter from the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia to the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade, in which the shortage of painting materials was described as a threat to the very survival of fine arts activity.¹⁹⁷ Such details expose the fragile economy underpinning artistic work, in which paint, canvas, and frames constituted the most basic conditions for the profession’s continued existence. The same minutes show, however, that this material precariousness coexisted with an ambitious public programme. The plans encompassed an exhibition of prints at the Salon Galić Gallery (Kaštelančić, Bunk, and Nakić); expert guided tours and discussions of the Museum of Fine Arts’ collections for educational and cultural workers (Parać); a lecture on the role of the art school in contemporary social reality (Kljaković); guided tours of the Meštrović Collection with technical explanations of the sculptural works (Krstulović, Ružić, Kukoč, Ivanišević); and, as part of the *May Day Exhibition*, guided interpretation for organised groups (Joko Knežević).¹⁹⁸ The programme reflects a clear conception of art as an integral component of the city’s educational and cultural infrastructure. What it represents, in other words, is a systematic effort to cultivate an informed audience and to embed visual culture within the broader social fabric, in line with the prevailing educational ideals of the period, rather than a simple presentation of artistic output.

The meeting of 23 March 1949 sheds further light on the institutional context in which the Branch was operating. Alongside its own members, those present included representatives of the municipal Education Department and the municipal

196 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 2. ožujka 1949.” [Minutes of the Session held on 2 March 1949], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

197 In a letter from the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department of Culture and Art, addressed to the Committee for Culture and Art in Belgrade under the subject heading “Shortage of Painting Materials,” it was noted that the consequences of a shortage of painting materials were being felt in Croatia, and that without imports or production orders to the domestic chemical industry, work in that branch of artistic activity risked being “completely halted.” See: letter “Pomanjkanje slikarskog materijala” [Shortage of Painting Materials], sent by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, Department of Culture and Art in Zagreb (signed by the head of the Department of Culture and Art Grgo Gamulin) to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 31 May 1946, no. 39625-V-4-1946, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-41 – Fine Arts, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department of Culture and Art, year 1946.–1948., fasc. 11.

198 Ibid.

People’s Committee Department for Agitation and Propaganda.¹⁹⁹ The Branch took the opportunity to acquaint them directly with its activities and concerns, drawing artistic work into an administrative and political field of vision. The presence of these representatives was far from ceremonial, it bespoke a mutual interest, but also the imperative to secure legitimacy for artistic practice within the framework of the newly established social order. Among the most pressing matters raised was the question of studio space. A concrete initiative took shape whereby members would identify suitable premises for conversion, with the Executive then taking the requisite steps in consultation with the authorities. The possibility of converting the attic of the former Bishop’s Palace into studio space was also discussed. The delegates pledged their support.²⁰⁰ At the same time, it was noted that many of the painters scheduled to participate in the *May Day Exhibition* had neither stretcher frames nor picture frames, and that previous approaches to the authorities on the matter had yielded no results. These were the most elementary technical preconditions for exhibiting, which speaks plainly to the infrastructural fragility of the artistic system at that moment.²⁰¹ Such records reveal a certain everyday struggle for working space and basic means of production, situating artistic activity in a sphere of patient acquisition and negotiation rather than autonomous self-determination. Also noteworthy is the resolution to hold a meeting with the people’s authorities and representatives of mass organisations before the exhibition opened, specifically with a view to the acquisition of works. This anticipated a model of institutional purchasing and organised presentation to public-sector buyers, and points to an embryonic acquisitions policy that turned the exhibition into a site of encounter between artistic production and state patronage.

The minutes of 6 April 1949 confirm the continued involvement of representatives from the educational authorities and the regional People’s Committee.²⁰² The minutes addressed the organisational and financial arrangements for the *May Day Exhibition* at the Salon Galić Gallery in detail. The venue rental was set at 12,000 dinars, with tasks assigned as follows: arrangement of the rooms (Nakić); wood for stretcher and picture frames (Franičević); glass procurement (Tolić); promotional activities (Joko Knežević); catalogue printing in a run of 1,500 (Franičević and Knežević); 200 posters (Kaštelančić); 200 invitations (Tolić and Petrić). The jury was to name those responsible for the hang.

199 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 23. ožujka 1949.” [Minutes of the Session held on 23 March 1949], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid.

202 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 6. travnja 1949.” [Minutes of the Session held on 6 April 1949], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

The decision against selling works before the official close reflects a wish to preserve the institutional structure of the presentation and regulate the pace of sales. The precise figures – 1,500 catalogues, 200 posters, 200 invitations – point to ambitions extending well beyond the professional circle, reaching towards a broader public; in these numbers one reads a desire for visibility and representational reach. Catalogue, poster, and invitation thus became paratextual agents of the exhibition, part of its symbolic economy and communicative fabric.

Read as a whole, these minutes offer a multi-layered picture of the reality confronting fine artists in Split in the early post-war years. Material scarcity, the lack of studio space and basic equipment, and dependence on distribution channels and administrative decisions coexisted with the energetic organisation of exhibitions, lectures, and expert guided tours. The attendance of municipal and regional authority representatives at meetings points to a clearly articulated state interest in visual arts production as an integral part of cultural policy. The ULUH Branch thus emerges as a mediating institution that, under often arduous conditions, simultaneously defended the professional interests of its members and contributed to the formation of a public space for art in post-war Split. In this interplay of professional and administrative concerns one can discern the germ of an enduring tension, but also of a productive working relationship, that would prove decisive for the artistic life of the city in the years to come. The annual May Day exhibitions would offer the clearest window onto how these organisational, professional, and ideological questions were translated into the Branch’s public exhibition practice.

4 MAY DAY EXHIBITIONS AND THE FORMATION OF THE BRANCH EXHIBITION MODEL (1946 – 1952)

May Day Exhibitions

This section of the book turns its attention to the May Day exhibition as the defining exhibition project of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch during the period from 1946 to 1952. It is precisely through this exhibition format that one can most clearly trace the process by which the Branch’s exhibiting activity became stabilised, as well as the manner in which, during the early post-war years, the relationship took shape between the local art scene, the institutional organisation of artistic life, and broader cultural policy. Within this framework, the May Day exhibition may also be understood as a site at which the Branch’s organisational capacities were simultaneously consolidated and models of public visibility for artistic production were defined. The May Day exhibitions represented the Branch’s first continuous and recognisably structured exhibition framework. Conceived as retrospective showcases of current production in Split and Dalmatia, they offered an insight into the state of the local art scene whilst simultaneously reflecting the dominant social and ideological coordinates of the era, marked as it was by state reconstruction, collectivism, social progress, and engagement. In this way, they also functioned as a space in which local artistic practice was drawn into the broader patterns of post-war cultural representation. Whilst originally closely tied to the May Day festivities and their representative function within the broader socio-political calendar, over time the exhibitions developed a more independent exhibition character, and grew into a significant mechanism for the public presentation, valorisation, and institutional legitimisation of artistic production.²⁰³ Their importance is further underscored by the practice of purchasing works directly from the exhibitions to augment the holdings of Split’s museums and other public institutions, in particular the Museum of Fine Arts in Split.²⁰⁴ From 1951, such acquisitions can be traced within

203 For the broader context of political rituals in the early socialist period, see: Reana Senjković, “Politički rituali” [Political Rituals], in: *Refleksije vremena 1945.–1955.* [Reflections of the Age 1945–1955], ed. Jasmina Bavoľjak, Klovićevi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 2012, pp. 202–227.

204 The documentation of the Museum of Fine Arts in Split shows that several artworks from the *May Day Exhibitions* staged at the Salon Galić Gallery became part of the Museum’s permanent collection:

the framework of a more clearly regulated republican system, following the adoption of the *Instructions on the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts* in January of that year, which established procedures governing the selection, appraisal, and allocation of funds.

First May Day Exhibition
Salon Galić Gallery, 1 – 15 May 1946

Exhibitors: Ljubo Bašić, Ante Bučan, Rudolf Bunk, Ante Franičević, Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Ivanišević, Joko Knežević, Andrija Krstulović, Krešo Mateljan, Ante Masle, Milan Minić, Ivan Mirković, Ljubo Nakić, Mirko Ostoja, Vjekoslav Parać, Bartul Petrić, Ante Petričić, Ivan Sikavica, Jovanka Strajnić, Marin Studin, Ante Šitić, Milan Tolić, Ljubomir Videka, Emanuel Vidović, Elsa Vučetić, Ante Zupa.

The Salon Galić Gallery began hosting this important event in 1946, organised by the ULUH Dalmatia Branch. The May Day exhibition formed part of the May Day celebrations, that is, large-scale May Day competitions intended to gather and affirm the unity of cultural and other workers, and employees across various enterprises. From the outset, the exhibition thus exceeded a narrowly professional scope, acquiring broader social, representative, and symbolic significance by connecting artistic production with the collective rituals of post-war reconstruction and socialist legitimation. In this sense, the *First May Day Exhibition* served as a cultural contribution to the new social order, one in which art was called upon to engage with the wider processes of public representation, political affirmation, and collective identification, rather than being valued for its aesthetic merit alone.

Rudolf Gerhart Bunk, *Girl at a Window*, 1947 (oil on canvas, 79 x 67.5 cm, inv. no. 909; purchased by the Education Department of the People’s Committee for the Museum of Fine Arts in Split from the second *May Day Exhibition* of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch), Ante Kaštelančić, *At the Worksite*, 1947 (ink on paper, 36 x 57 cm, inv. no. 126; purchased from the artist at the second *May Day Exhibition* of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch), Vjekoslav Parać, *Work on the Youth Railway*, 1947 or 1948 (oil on cardboard, 104 x 89 cm, inv. no. 46; purchased by the People’s District of Split from the third *May Day Exhibition* – donated to the Museum of Fine Arts in Split in 1952), Ante Franičević, *The Return of the Partisans* (oil on canvas, 68 x 81 cm, inv. no. 2091; purchased by the People’s District of Split from the fourth *May Day Exhibition* of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch – donated to the Museum of Fine Arts in Split in 1952), Ivan Joko Knežević, *Stonecutters*, 1949 (oil on canvas, 104 x 82 cm, inv. no. 133; purchased by the People’s District of Split for the Museum of Fine Arts in Split from the fourth *May Day Exhibition* of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch); Ante Kaštelančić, *The Painter and His Subject*, before 1949 (oil on canvas, 69.5 x 54 cm, inv. no. 1126, from the fourth *May Day Exhibition* – donated by the Municipality of Split), Vjekoslav Parać, *At the Construction Site*, before 1949 (oil on cardboard, 130 x 89 cm, inv. no. 45; purchased by the People’s District of Split for the Museum of Fine Arts in Split from the fourth *May Day Exhibition* of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch). The data regarding acquisitions and the entry of paintings into the permanent collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Split was kindly provided by Jasminka Babić.

That the exhibition was regarded as a matter of particular importance is also apparent from the Branch’s meeting minutes.²⁰⁵ By the end of April, the *First May Day Exhibition* at the Salon Galić Gallery had already appeared on the agenda, with discussion encompassing concrete organisational questions: the number of works individual members would be able to submit, the arrangement of the exhibition space, and the securing of the technical prerequisites for the installation. It was proposed, in this context, that the City Front be requested to arrange for the repainting of the Salon Galić Gallery exhibition rooms, and that the City People’s Committee be asked to approve an allocation of glass for the paintings. These requests alone indicate that the realisation of the exhibition was contingent on the direct logistical and material support of the local authorities, further confirming the dependence of exhibition activity on the wider institutional framework of post-war reconstruction. It was further decided that works were to be delivered to the Salon Galić Gallery by noon on Sunday, 28 April at the latest, whilst it was proposed that the exhibition jury consist of three members, one sculptor and two painters. The installation of the exhibition was assigned to Zupa, Parać, Kaštelančić, Studin, and Mirković, entrusting the preparation and visual articulation of the display to a core group of prominent Branch members. The advance determination of the jury’s composition and the imposition of a submission deadline reflect the Branch’s effort to establish elementary mechanisms of professional exhibition procedure, that is, standards capable of conferring institutional seriousness upon its exhibiting activity.

To secure the widest possible participation, the ULUH Dalmatia Branch sent an open invitation to all artists in Dalmatia, published in *Slobodna Dalmacija*,²⁰⁶ reflecting the ambition to shape the exhibition as a broad retrospective of artistic production across the region. The *First May Day Exhibition* can thus be seen as an attempt to bring together different generations, poetics, and experiences within a shared institutional framework. Of the 26 exhibitors, however, only two were women, which is equally telling about the gender composition of the art scene at the time. The ceremonial opening of the exhibition was attended not only by artists and art enthusiasts but also by representatives of the people’s authorities, the army and navy, trade unions, and antifascist organisations, making it, by any measure, an event of considerable importance. The exhibition was commercial in nature, with prices available on enquiry and an admission charge of five dinars.²⁰⁷ This combination of ceremonial significance, public representation, and market function marks the exhibition as a cultural event, a

205 “Zapisnik izvanrednog sastanka članova održanog 24. travnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Extraordinary Members’ Meeting Held on 24 April 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

206 “Poziv likovnim umjetnicima Dalmacije” [An Invitation to the Visual Artists of Dalmatia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12 April 1946, p. 3.

207 “Izložbe” [Exhibitions], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15 May 1946, p. 4.

politically relevant occasion, and a potential site of material recognition for artists. In other words, the exhibition space emerges here as a site where cultural policy, public prestige, and economic interests converge, a point of particular importance given the circumstances of post-war scarcity and reconstruction.

The exhibition was opened by the President of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch, the painter Vjekoslav Parać. Placing emphasis on the need for artists to participate in all areas of public life and reconstruction, Parać described the *First May Day Exhibition* as a meeting point for older and younger artists alike. Fully aware, however, of the diversity of artistic approaches represented at the exhibition, and of the large number of works that bore little relation to the demands of the current moment, he offered a subtle word of caution:

Do not be surprised that the majority of works do not reflect the dynamism of our times. Most of the exhibited works are of an earlier date, they are visual realisations of past artistic emotions, an indulgence in form and colour, sometimes of considerable artistic merit. New impressions and new emotions are already beginning to make themselves felt and are on their way to finding powerful artistic expression. But here one must be patient. In every true artist, the work of art is constantly taking shape and developing. It will be born mature and strong when it must be born. The new impetus, the new impressions and emotions, are as yet only in the artists’ sketchbooks. The artistic realisation of such themes demands considerable time, sustained effort, and material resources. It should come as no surprise, then, that in the absence of these prerequisites and means, the exhibited works do not yet bear the imprint of the harrowing drama and monumental struggle of the days so recently behind us, nor do they convey sufficient dynamism of the contemporary impulse, or even the exuberant joy of the present moment. In this respect, the exhibition carries more symbolic weight as a date, chosen by the Association to hold all forthcoming annual May Day exhibitions. It is our hope that future exhibitions will be of increasing quality, and will offer an ever more complete expression of our national and universal human sentiments and progressive ambitions. In the conviction that art will develop freely under conditions of freedom, we trust that our age, tumultuous in its events, far-reaching in its new ideas, and profound in the intensity of human emotion, will find powerful expression in the visual arts.²⁰⁸

Parać’s opening speech inscribes into the exhibition a certain tension between the symbolic function of the occasion and the actual state of the material on display. On the one hand, the exhibition is affirmed as a new annual landmark and as a meeting

208 “Svečano otvorenje izložbe likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije” [The Ceremonial Opening of the Exhibition of Visual Artists of Dalmatia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3 May 1946, p. 4.

point for artists of different generations; on the other, it is made clear that a large proportion of the exhibited works do not yet fully meet the demands of the new age. Such a formulation simultaneously softens potential criticism of the exhibition and establishes a programmatic framework within which art is expected to gradually align itself with the social realities of the post-war world. Parać interprets the situation he finds, without dismissing it, as transitional: the exhibited works belong to different temporal and experiential strata, whilst a new artistic sensibility is only beginning to take shape. It is precisely in this awareness of transitionality that an important dimension of the exhibition resides, since it reveals that the cultural policy of the new order had not yet fully stabilised within artistic practice. A similar assessment would be offered, with the benefit of hindsight, by the branch secretary Živko Kljaković in his annual report of January 1947.²⁰⁹ The *First May Day Exhibition* is described in the report as the fruit of considerable organisational effort and as an event that achieved a measure of public and material success, whilst it is simultaneously noted that it did not “exude the freshness of the present day.” This retrospective judgement confirms that the tension between the symbolic importance of the exhibition and the insufficient alignment of the exhibited works with contemporary social expectations was not merely a matter of press criticism, but formed part of the Branch’s own internal self-assessment.

As had been the case with the previous year’s group fine art exhibition, the press reviews struck more directly critical notes, since no exhibition had in fact fully measured up to the standards set by the *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*, in which the artists had expressed “their profound identification with the fate of the people, providing valuable testimony of the suffering, struggle, and heroism of our freedom-loving masses.”²¹⁰ The exhibition had accordingly failed to meet all expectations, and the dominant impression was that it depicted and represented a different reality, one detached from the contemporary moment and held fast in a time already gone. This reception makes clear that by the mid-1940s art was expected to offer more than formal quality or individual expression: thematic, ideological, and social relevance were demanded in equal measure. The capacity of a work to engage with “our great epoch” was becoming one of the key criteria of public valuation – a standard stated with considerable directness in one critical review:

In the first post-liberation exhibitions, and in the Exhibition of Partisan Artists in particular, in which many of these painters and sculptors participated, they

209 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.” [Minutes of the Annual General Assembly of the Visual Artists of Dalmatia Held on 26 January 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

210 A.(ugustin) Stipčević, “Prvomajska likovna izložba” [The May Day Fine Art Exhibition], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 May 1946, p. 3.

expressed their profound identification with the fate of the people, providing valuable testimony of the suffering, struggle, and heroism of our freedom-loving masses. The sheer scale of their experiences, impressions, and subjects imposed itself as the only possible theme, and it appeared that they would be unable to move beyond it in their creative practice, so deeply had it saturated our consciousness with its blood-soaked tragedy and dramatic beauty. This fact is thrown into especially sharp relief when viewed in relation to the present May Day exhibition (excluding the exhibition held during the Dalmatian Festival, which was staged too early and therefore comprised largely older works) since this exhibition does not meet our expectations to the extent we had anticipated: firstly, given the active engagement of these artists in the life of the people, and secondly, in comparison with the first exhibition. The May Day exhibition is dominated by still life and one-dimensional landscape, while only a few works draw on contemporary reality, only a handful bear the hallmarks of our great epoch, and these come chiefly from those artists who had already ventured in that direction at the Partisan exhibition. (...) Engagement with the life of the people offers artists, in the broadest sense, a wealth of experience, enriching their inner world, nourishing their creative powers, and presenting itself as an essential condition and foundation for sound artistic practice; it alone enables their proper development, the proper channelling of creative energies, a correct view of things, and an appropriate mode of expression. This fact is the foundation of all artistic endeavour, and it found its artistic justification at considerable length, I repeat, at the Exhibition of Partisan Artists, whilst at the present exhibition it is reflected to a wholly insufficient degree. It is precisely for these reasons that it strikes us as strange that still lifes and landscapes should make up the majority of works shown at this May Day exhibition. If fully realised compositions are beyond us for the moment, it is curious that there are not even drawings that might represent at least an attempt, an engagement with, a search for, something new in the expression of our reality, as drawings too can be mature works of art. It appears that many have failed to experience an inner renewal as artists in the new age, that they struggle to abandon old formats and mistakenly interpret such abandonment as a repudiation of our past artistic achievements. (...) This does not mean, however, that landscape or still life cannot serve as subjects of artistic treatment; but they should not become an exclusive content in their own right and the sole territory of artistic practice, for this can easily lead us into empty one-sidedness and, inevitably, into pure formalism. Rather, such subject matter must be bound to social reality, to the human being who inhabits it. It is here that the fundamental question of how we look at things, at social life, imposes itself as essential, for it simultaneously determines our artistic vision and understanding, defines the meaning of art, and shapes the purpose of the exhibition. (...) This exhibition, whose role in this May Day is only to symbolise the unity of the creative and working consciousness of our people, can persuade us, through the combined strengths of the older and younger

artistic talents assembled here, that at the next May Day exhibition all the positive qualities will find expression, endowing these collective exhibitions with the character of the working artistic spirit of our people.²¹¹

Within this evaluative framework, Stipčević singles out Joko Knežević, Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Franičević and Vjekoslav Parać above all others, recognising in their work the clearest echo of contemporary concerns and the closest affinity with the demands of the new social moment. In contrast to these figures, Stipčević turns his attention to Rudolf Bunk, though in a markedly critical manner. Whereas with most artists Stipčević confined his objections to the question of thematic aimlessness and the predominance of still life or landscape, in Bunk’s case his criticism deepens to encompass the very handling of the work itself. Beyond the choice of motif, the manner of its treatment becomes equally contentious, one that Stipčević identifies as modernist, formalist, and ultimately out of step with the social and aesthetic demands of the age. This is clear from the passage in which he writes:

Standing in sharp contrast to all the other works in the exhibition are the watercolours and drawings of Rudolf Bunk, at odds with the rest by virtue of their modernist pictorial language, so much so that the painting “*Grieving Woman*” tips over into outright Cubist extremity. This painter, possessed of considerable artistic ability, has gone astray in his approach, losing himself in empty formalism, in stylisation for its own sake. Stylisation of the subject is perfectly admissible, provided it retains a natural relationship to the object, to its forms and its actual appearance. To take stylisation as an end in itself, however, as a means deployed purely for effect, is altogether hollow; and this is to say nothing of his Cubist-inflected painting “*Grieving Woman*”. His modernism constitutes an exercise in obsolete experimentation: obsolete, in the first instance, relative to our own earlier modernism, and still more so relative to the European tradition; and in the second instance, not merely dated but incongruous with the demands of the present moment. He must at some point abandon this modernism and redirect his considerable colourist sensibility towards a new orientation and a new engagement with life, particularly given that his “*Nude*” demonstrates the level of pictorial ability he in fact possesses.²¹²

This passage reveals that, in Stipčević’s assessment of the exhibition, the question of “contemporaneity” is not exhausted at the level of iconography or subject matter alone. It encompasses pictorial expression itself. Bunk’s works are “at odds” with the other exhibits precisely because Stipčević discerns in them an aesthetic isolation, but also

211 Ibid.
212 Ibid.

– and this deserves emphasis – an expression of an artistic outlook he regards as both historically superseded and socially inappropriate. Modernism, from this vantage point, takes on the character of anachronistic, outmoded experimentation: a formal procedure that has forfeited both its aesthetic and its social legitimacy.

It is particularly telling that Stipčević does not deny Bunk his talent; on the contrary, he acknowledges his “considerable pictorial abilities” and points to the exhibited *Nude* as evidence of his true potential. This only sharpens the critique, for it proceeds from the conviction that the artist possesses genuine pictorial gifts but is directing them the wrong way. The problem, then, lies in the choice of poetics, not in any absence of talent. Bunk is not dismissed for want of artistic strength, but because, in the critic’s judgement, he has remained bound to a formalist mode of expression that the new age can no longer accept as relevant. In broader terms, Stipčević’s commentary on Bunk exposes one of the central tensions present at the *First May Exhibition*: the conflict between the modernist autonomy of pictorial language and the requirement that art maintain a more direct relationship with social reality, with human experience, and with the historical moment. It is for this reason that Bunk’s case exceeds the scope of an individual critical judgement and functions as a symptom of a wider reorientation of the value horizon in post-war art criticism.

Such critical tendencies correspond, moreover, to what was recorded in the internal discussions of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch. Particularly significant is the plenary meeting of 10 June 1946, at which it was openly stated that a “comradely discussion” was needed to “resolve the contradictions” that had surfaced over the *First May Day Exhibition*.²¹³ The formulation itself shows that the exhibition elicited a public response whilst opening up tensions among the membership, its impact therefore extending well beyond the exhibiting level. It proved, rather, to be an event that raised broader questions of professional relations, hierarchy, criteria of judgement, and the purpose of artistic practice within the new social order. The minutes also shed light on the ways in which the artists retrospectively processed the event as a whole. Following the exhibition, dissatisfaction emerged over the manner in which certain members had spoken about the work of their fellow artists; the Branch secretary Živko Kljaković noted that some comrades were “expressing themselves inappropriately about other members of the association in relation to their artistic work,” and requested that such remarks be brought before the membership at formal sessions in future.²¹⁴ This passage is particularly indicative, since it suggests that discussion of the exhibition had extended beyond official frameworks, continuing in informal exchanges, mutual commentary,

213 “Zapisnik plenarnog sastanka održanog 10. lipnja 1946.” [Minutes of the Plenary Meeting Held on 10 June 1946], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.

214 Ibid.

and private criticism. Although the content of these exchanges was not recorded in any detail, it is evident that the disputes arising from the exhibition had consequences for the interpersonal relations among the artists. The minutes thus offer an important insight into the social dimension of artistic life, demonstrating that the reception of the exhibition was formed both in the public sphere and within institutions, as well as within the very community responsible for producing it. Fragments of this kind are particularly valuable precisely because they permit the reconstruction of both the official history of the exhibition and its informal, affective, and interpersonal life.

The artists also addressed the programmatic character of the exhibition in the aftermath of its closing. Kljaković notes that many prospective buyers had declined to acquire works from the exhibition on the grounds that they were not “contemporary in subject matter.”²¹⁵ This observation points to one of the central criticisms directed at the exhibition and its exhibits, since the problem encompassed not only artistic quality in the narrower sense but also ideological orientation, specifically, the expectation that artistic production should engage with the current social and political moment. In this sense, it becomes possible to speak of a tension between individual artistic poetics and the requirements imposed upon publicly exhibited art in the post-war period. This suggests that some artists, along with some potential buyers or patrons, felt a discrepancy between what was expected of post-war art and what had actually been presented at the exhibition.

The minutes, on the other hand, also note a positive public reception of the exhibition. Kljaković acknowledges Živko Jeličić and Augustin Stipčević for their considerable efforts in raising public awareness of the exhibition and in promoting the sale of works.²¹⁶ This detail indicates that the exhibition enjoyed a degree of visibility in the public sphere and that it also possessed a concrete commercial dimension. The success of the exhibition was thus measured, in part, by its capacity to secure the sale of works and to establish a relationship with its audience. This further confirms that post-war exhibitions were simultaneously sites of symbolic representation, cultural legitimation, and, to some extent, the material livelihood of the artists.

A particularly interesting aspect of the discussion concerns the regularity of the jury process and exhibition procedure, which emerges as one of the main sources of the subsequent disputes. Ante Bučan draws attention to the fact that, on the occasion of the *First May Day Exhibition*, works had been brought in after the jury had sat and had nonetheless been accepted.²¹⁷ Parać responds that the matter should be attributed to the fault of Ivan Galić, since certain works had not been submitted for jury consideration

215 Ibid.

216 Ibid.

217 Ibid.

despite having been delivered to him considerably earlier.²¹⁸ This exchange bears witness to the fact that some members felt the procedure had not been applied equally to all, whilst others interpreted the problem as the consequence of an organisational oversight. In both cases, confidence in the regularity of the process had been undermined, which is a matter of considerable importance for a professional association. Dissatisfaction deepens in the remarks of Milan Tolić, who holds that the jury had not judged with complete objectivity, given the disparity between works accepted and rejected.²¹⁹ He notes specifically that some artists had two of three submitted works refused, whilst jury members had as many as a dozen accepted.²²⁰ The perception of inequality within the artistic community comes clearly to the surface here, along with the suspicion that the reputation and standing of certain artists may have influenced the outcome of the selection. Parać accounts for this by suggesting that jury members, as more senior and established artists, will generally tend to produce somewhat better work.²²¹ This reasoning raises questions of hierarchy within the Branch and of the legitimacy of authority held by older, more established members. Behind the dispute lies a broader question about the relationship between experience, reputation, and the right to adjudicate within a professional community, not merely a disagreement over specific works. The meeting also produces an attempt to draw a lesson for the future. Studin proposes that a committee be established before which an artist could discuss his work with the jury.²²² This proposal shows that, in the wake of the *First May Day Exhibition*, members felt the need for a more transparent and dialogue-based decision-making process. Its significance lies in the assumption that decisions could be accounted for and that an institutional space for discussion could be established, reflecting an effort to resolve future conflicts within a clearer procedural framework rather than through informal dispute. The proposal equally confirms that awareness was growing within the Branch of the need to formalise mechanisms of professional evaluation.

The minutes document one concrete incident: it was noted that a work by the sculptor Mirko Ostoja had been removed from the exhibition, and that this action was considered irregular.²²³ The detail is telling, as it reflects the tensions accompanying both the event

218 Ibid.
219 Ibid.
220 Ibid.
221 Ibid.
222 Ibid.
223 Ibid. According to the exhibition catalogue, entry number 32 lists a plaster sculpture, *Girl Reading*, by Mirko Ostoja. However, Augustin Stipčević, in his review of the *First May Day Exhibition*, notes: “However, through the jury’s error, Ostoja is not represented, even though he is listed as an exhibitor in the catalogue. If even weak still lifes were shown, it is beyond doubt that more space ought to have been given to this young and talented sculptor of ours, who has already demonstrated through his previous works the seriousness with which he approaches artistic creation.” (“Prvomajska likovna izložba” [May Day Art Exhibition], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 May 1946, p. 3.) The available sources do not fully

and its immediate reception. Although the record is brief, it is significant for the insight it provides into the breadth of the issues involved, spanning aesthetic and procedural disputes on one hand, and elementary questions of responsibility for exhibited works and adherence to exhibition norms on the other.

When all these fragments are considered together, it becomes clear that the *First May Day Exhibition* was a great deal more than an ordinary exhibition event. It takes shape as a convergence of the Branch’s organisational efforts, the expectations of the new cultural policy, questions of contemporaneity in artistic expression, the commercial fate of the works, and the delicate relationships among the artists themselves. On one hand, it was a publicly prominent and ceremonially conceived manifestation within the broader May Day celebrations, with a clear ambition to bring together the artists of Dalmatia and consolidate their social visibility. On the other hand, both the public and internal reactions showed that this was an event which exposed a series of open questions: ranging from the thematic contemporaneity of the exhibited works and their social function, to the legitimacy of the adjudication process, the authority claimed by the older generation of artists, and the limits of permissible discourse within the professional community. The exhibition may thus be understood as a condensed point of intersection between the multiple registers of post-war cultural life: institutional, aesthetic, ideological, generational, and interpersonal.

The subsequent debates reveal that the artists experienced the event with a degree of ambivalence, as an important public manifestation demanding collective engagement, but equally as an occasion for dispute over selection, criteria, mutual regard, and the right to speak publicly about a fellow artist’s work. In this sense, the exhibition takes on the character of a symptomatic site at which the internal tensions of the post-war artistic scene can be traced and observed. Particularly telling is the passage in which members speak of one another in terms deemed “inappropriate,” for it lays bare the emotional and social afterlife of the exhibition once its doors had closed. This is where one sees most clearly that the exhibition lived on well beyond its physical closure, persisting in the interpretations, grievances, and personal relationships of its participants. It may also be concluded that the *First May Day Exhibition* left a strong mark on the artists involved, raising questions that cut to the heart of professional life: who has the right to judge quality, under what conditions works gain entry to an exhibition, how far subject matter must keep pace with the contemporary moment, and where a professional community draws the line between legitimate criticism and gossip.

account for why the work was removed from display, though the minutes point towards the artist having removed it himself, a course of action the minutes characterise as improper. What is clear, in any case, is that by the time Stipčević sat down to write his review, Ostoja’s work was no longer in the exhibition space; he lays the blame for this squarely at the jury’s door, most probably drawing on information from the artist himself, whose practice he evidently knows well and keeps a close eye on.

Second May Day Exhibition
Salon Galić Gallery, 1 – 15 May 1947 (extended)²²⁴

Exhibitors: Rudolf Bunk, Ante Bučan, Vinko Foretić, Ante Franičević, Antun Gojak, Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Krstulović, Antun Masle, Milan Minić, Ivan Mirković, Ljubomir Nakić, Vjekoslav Parać, Ante Petričić, Alfred Petričić, Bartul Petrić, Gabro Rajčević (19 February 1943), Miše Račić, Ivan Sikavica, Jovanka Strajnić, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, Elsa Vučetić, Ante Zupa.

The *Second May Day Exhibition* brings no substantial change with respect to the controversies that characterised the previous year. What becomes apparent, once again, is that the discussion on the visual arts is being conducted around a wider problem: the social function of art, the question of engagement with the contemporary moment, and the legitimacy of the modernist legacy within new political and cultural circumstances. In this context, individual artistic quality remains only one element of a far more comprehensive dispute over values and ideology. In this respect, the *Second May Day Exhibition* can be understood as a continuation of the process whereby exhibition space became a site for articulating broad cultural expectations, with art criticism functioning as a key mediator in their formulation and codification. In addition to its public reception in the press, the exhibition fulfilled a distinct internal institutional role. Delegates from the Zagreb central body examined it precisely because it was to serve as the basis for a reclassification of the membership. Kršinić’s report to the ULUH Executive Board, dated 26 May 1947, assessed the exhibition as a presentation “of a considerable standard”; its most consequential effect, however, was that it provided the concrete grounds for categorising exhibitors as full members, associate members, disputed cases, or those to be excluded before the following exhibition.²²⁵

224 The extension of the exhibition appears to have been connected with the intention of the Zagreb central body to send delegates to review the display. At the meeting of the ULUH Executive Committee on 12 May 1947, it was stated that the notification from Split regarding the duration of the exhibition had been sent too late, and it was decided that a telegram should be dispatched to the Branch: “Extend the exhibition, or if you close it do not take it down, await the ULUH delegates, who will arrive no later than the 20th of this month.” See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 12. svibnja 1947.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Meeting, 12 May 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971. Furthermore, at the meeting of 19 May, attended also by Antun Zupa, discussion was held regarding the Branch members exhibiting at the Split May Day Exhibition, and it was decided that Frano Kršinić and Omer Mujadžić would travel to Split to review the exhibition and submit a report. See “Zapisnik sjednice Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 19. svibnja 1947.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee Meeting, 19 May 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

225 At the meeting of the ULUH Executive Committee on 26 May 1947, Frano Kršinić presented his report on the Split exhibition, rating it as having reached “a fairly high level.” The report further proposed membership statuses for the exhibitors in question: Rudolf Bunk, Vinko Foretić, Ante Gojak, Ante

In *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Šime Vučetić publishes his assessment and analysis of the exhibition, a text that can be read as an attempt to construct a typology of the contemporary art scene, or more precisely, as an effort to identify the fundamental ideological and poetic tendencies operative within current artistic production.²²⁶ Clearly well versed in the writings of Grgo Gamulin,²²⁷ Vučetić in effect distinguishes three orientations in contemporary practice. He frames these in terms of an opposition between a modernist lineage running from Vjekoslav Karas through Josip Račić, Miroslav Kraljević, and Emanuel Vidović, and newer, socially aware tendencies which, following in the footsteps of the *Zemlja* group and the *Exhibition of Partisan Artists*, aspire to be “more historically specific, closer to the fate of the people and to fateful events.”²²⁸ In doing so, Vučetić provides an overview of stylistic possibilities whilst simultaneously establishing the evaluative horizon within which contemporary art is assessed according to the degree of its historical currency and social sensitivity. The division also reveals that, in the criticism of the period, the history of modern art is not rejected wholesale,

Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Ivan Mirković, Vjekoslav Parać, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, and Antun Zupa were recommended as full members; Ante Franičević, Antun Masle, Ljubomir Nakić, Ante Petričić, Bartul Petrić, and Ivan Sikavica as associate members. Nikola Ignjatović, Ante Bučan, and Elsa Vučetić were classified as disputed cases, whilst Milan Minić, Miše Račić, and Jovanka Strajnić were removed from the rolls. Ružić, Kukoč, Franko, Sikić, Razimilović, Ivanišević, and Skelin were noted as ineligible until the following exhibition. Radauš proposed that the delegates’ joint recommendation be accepted, and this was duly agreed. See “Zapisnik Upravnog odbora ULUH-a, 26. svibnja 1947.” [Minutes of the ULUH Executive Committee, 26 May 1947], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945–1971.

226 Š.(ime) Vučetić, “Uz Drugu prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika” [On the Second May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11 May 1947, p. 5.

227 Among the most prominent voices in the art criticism of the period, the art historian Grgo Gamulin occupies a place of particular significance. Serving, at the time, as head of the cultural and artistic department at the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia, his early post-war texts played a considerable part in forging the critical language through which art’s position within the new social order was being negotiated. In “Uz idolatriju Cézannizma” [On the Idolatry of Cézannism], published in *Republika* in 1946, Gamulin engages polemically with the modernist tradition, which in the context of post-war socialist realist discourse was legible as an expression of the formalist autonomy of the painted image. Much the same set of preoccupations runs through “Umjetnost na zaokretu” [Art at a Turning Point], published in 1947, where the case for a new relationship between art, reality, and the social imperatives of the post-war moment is given fuller expression. In this respect, Gamulin’s critical practice is significant both as an expression of the prevailing socialist realist rhetoric and as a symptom of the broader transformation of Croatian art criticism. For a wider view of Croatian art criticism in the mid-twentieth century, and in particular its transition from post-war ideological prescriptiveness towards the more problem-oriented debates of the 1950s, useful points of reference are the anthology edited by Ljiljana Kolečnik and Jasna Galjer’s synthesis of the history of Croatian art criticism up to 1951. See: Ljiljana Kolečnik (ed.), *Hrvatska likovna kritika 50-ih. Izabrani tekstovi* [*Croatian Art Criticism of the 1950s: Selected Texts*], Croatian Society of Art Historians, Zagreb, 1999; Jasna Galjer, *Likovna kritika u Hrvatskoj 1868. – 1951*. [*Art Criticism in Croatia 1868–1951*], Meandar, Zagreb, 2000.

228 Š.(ime) Vučetić, “Uz Drugu prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika” [On the Second May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11 May 1947, p. 5.

but rather subjected to a new process of hierarchisation, one in which preference is accorded to those forms of expression that can be brought into closer relation with collective experience and social reality. Such hierarchisation speaks both to the aesthetic preferences of the individual critic and – of no less importance – to a shift in the very criteria by which it is determined what may be accepted as relevant contemporary art in the post-war moment. A new reality, a new audience, new people demand new themes, Vučetić insists, noting that the writings and reviews of Grgo Gamulin constitute the finest “stylised articulation of the demands and tastes of the new age, his articles on the visual arts and on artists represent a new mode of thinking, expressed with considerable knowledge, with considerable tactical command of the critical pen, and with the necessary sharpness imposed by reality itself.”²²⁹ This formulation confirms that criticism is assuming the role of an active corrective force and an instrument for directing artistic production, thereby transcending the boundaries of peripheral commentary on artistic life. Critical discourse thus figures as one of the key mechanisms by which the desirable horizon of artistic activity is shaped.

Vučetić, then, identifies three distinct lines within Yugoslav artistic practice. The first is constituted by those artists who are responsive to the voice of the new audience and who treat “Grgo Gamulin’s articles as a serious admonition, a path, and an aid in orienting themselves, making their selections, and pursuing their artistic explorations.”²³⁰ As he puts it figuratively, these artists harbour the ambition of becoming at least “the first letter of a new artistic alphabet.”²³¹ They endeavour to bring their themes and artistic methods into alignment with those posed by contemporary society. This group, in other words, comprises those practitioners who accept the necessity of transforming artistic language in accordance with new social experience, and who recognise in the post-war moment a demand for a fundamentally different thematic and ideological orientation. Their ambition is to shape a new visual idiom suited to the age, with artistic innovation understood as the effort to forge a closer bond between the work of art and collective reality. This line most clearly embodies the aspiration to bring aesthetic modernisation and social relevance into alignment. Worth noting is the care with which Vučetić describes the second line – his criticism remains incisive and direct, yet is evidently calibrated so as not to brand these artists as enemies of popular aspirations – and the passage deserves to be quoted directly:

Aligned with the second line are those artists who are attentive to prevailing demands, who are sympathetic to the people’s aspirations and are genuinely moved by the achievements of the country’s reconstruction, yet who regard

229 Ibid.
230 Ibid.
231 Ibid.

discussions and writing about new themes as mere “literature”; all of this “gets in the way” of their efforts in the studio, and one must speak only through visual means regardless of subject matter, for everything else, they repeatedly insist, is literature. Confident in their own autonomy, they dismiss all such noise as mere barking, whilst they themselves are the caravan steadily making its way towards its destination upon the backs of resilient artistic camels which, admittedly, are at present traversing a desert, yet will eventually arrive at an oasis, and a mirage, moreover, cannot be ruled out altogether in such conditions. At this point, one encounters the objection that every era has had its watchwords, and that today’s watchword, “Socialist Realism,” is simply a new imposition upon the autonomy of the visual arts.²³²

This passage reveals with considerable precision that the debate of the period extended beyond the evaluation of individual works to encompass the very concept of artistic autonomy. In his characterisation of the second line, Vučetić identifies a group of artists who accept change in principle, yet resist the demand that the thematic and ideological orientation of a work become an object of explicit critical articulation, while stopping short of designating them as overtly antagonistic to the new social order. It is precisely here that one of the central tensions of the post-war art scene resides: the question of whether art could sustain its autonomy in the modernist sense while at the same time responding to the demands of an epoch that called upon it to fulfil a more clearly defined social function. In other words, Vučetić’s characterisation of the second line exposes the fracture between the inherited understanding of artistic autonomy and a new model of cultural production in which motif, message, and social context can no longer be readily separated from artistic value proper. At this point it becomes unmistakably clear that the debate about art was simultaneously a debate about the reach of autonomy, the limits of modernism, and the legitimate forms of cultural participation in social reconstruction. Vučetić’s formulation further suggests that even amongst those artists inclined towards preserving autonomy, a certain degree of ideological accommodation was present, a circumstance that complicates any reductive classification of the scene.

The third line, by contrast, consists of eclectics who combine elements of both the first and the second, their work marked by considerable oscillation: “they favour a motif from the Fifth Offensive, but equally landscape and still life.”²³³ In this third group, Vučetić identifies a certain wavering and inconsistency, an inability to assume a clearly defined position with respect to the aesthetic and ideological demands of the period. These artists seek at one and the same time to respond to the expectations of the new social reality and to preserve older thematic and formal patterns; their practice consequently

232 Ibid.
233 Ibid.

registers as a compromise, but also as a symptom of the transitional character of the epoch as such. This third line reveals that the transition from one value system to another proceeded through oscillations, accommodations, and incomplete shifts. It is precisely in this instability and hybridity that the group’s documentary value is located: it bears witness to a period in which new criteria had not yet been fully consolidated and older models of expression had not yet been wholly abandoned. Eclecticism thus figures less as an individual weakness of particular artists and more as a sign of the broader transitional configuration of the post-war art scene. For these reasons, Vučetić’s third group is perhaps the most faithful reflection of the actual condition of the exhibition, in that a substantial portion of the production on display moves between the programmatic demand for innovation and the persistence of already adopted painterly habits.

Similar observations, albeit in a formally more differentiated register, are advanced by Andro Vid Mihičić, who publishes an extended critical essay across three consecutive issues of *Slobodna Dalmacija* titled “Art on New Paths (A Review of the Second May Day Exhibition of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia – Dalmatia Branch).”²³⁴ Unlike Vučetić, whose approach tends towards a synoptic typologisation of general orientations, Mihičić devotes considerably more attention to individual works and artists, endeavouring to assess the degree to which they genuinely depart from the inherited “Cézannist” and modernist repertoire. Although Mihičić too proceeds from the common premises of post-war criticism concerning the new function of the work of art, his text is of interest for the way in which these general positions are consistently refracted through formal analysis, through commentary on colour, draughtsmanship, composition, and the relationship between figure and ground. Put differently, even when arguing for a new social orientation in art, Mihičić does not abandon the language of traditional art criticism. Therein, in fact, lies the particular quality of his text: the programmatic imperatives of the new age are brought together with a highly detailed, occasionally almost pedantic, evaluation of the formal qualities of the exhibited works.

In the opening section of his essay, Mihičić clearly establishes the normative framework of his own critical judgement, returning to the Partisan exhibition as the decisive turning point of post-war art:

The Partisan exhibition marked the moment of our artistic watershed. However modest in material terms, it demonstrated that life itself can provide the basis for a work of art. Tiljak, Herman, Postružnik, Šimaga and others proved, through their striking drawn renderings from the lives of fighters and displaced persons,

that it is possible to produce good art without recourse to a French template. They demonstrated, moreover, that subject, colour, lifeblood, thought, spirit, rhythm, form, melody, and the very substance of an artwork can all be drawn from real life. There is but one condition: to immerse oneself in reality and to be an artist. If the earlier “*Zemlja*” artists did not succeed, it was because they approached life guided by the idea of idealistic deformism.²³⁵

Mihičić thus confirms the same fundamental premise encountered elsewhere in the criticism of the period: that the genuine value of a contemporary work is to be measured by its capacity to engage directly with life, the historical moment, and social reality, without recourse to outmoded formal models. Particularly significant is the fact that the negative horizon is once again identified in the “French template,” that is, in the type of modernist orientation perceived as aesthetically imported and insufficiently grounded in local and historical reality. It is from this perspective that he interprets the two May Day exhibitions. The first presents itself to him as a site of insufficient change, whilst in the second he detects a degree of movement, albeit one that remains uneven and incomplete:

It seems, however, that our artists, most notably those from Dalmatia, assumed that some compromise between established practice and new demands would ultimately be possible, and at their first May Day Exhibition, last year, they appeared before us with an unchanged repertoire of the old technical and thematic, by then already academicized, Cézannism. The new reality found almost no reflection whatsoever. The second May Day Exhibition has shown our artists setting out on new paths. The joyful efforts of our people to break with the past, rebuild homes, revive hearths, raise cities on the ruins of burnt villages, bring light into cottages, joy into life, and justice into society have found their reflection in the works of our artists. But, sadly, not in all of them and not across the board. In some, because life is leaving them behind and their eye wanders beyond the horizon of living reality; in others, because they are artistically blind.²³⁶

This passage is important because it clearly reveals that Mihičić regards the *Second May Day Exhibition* as indicative of a degree of movement, while also recognising it as an event that continues to carry pronounced traces of older painterly habits. His assessment is consequently more nuanced than might initially appear to be the case. To be more precise, even where he discerns a shift towards “new paths,” Mihičić is describing a process still encumbered by compromises and internal inconsistencies.

234 Andro Vid Mihičić, “Umjetnost na novim putovima (Osvrt na II. Prvomajsku izložbu Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – podružnice za Dalmaciju),” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18 July 1947, p. 5 (part 1), 19 July 1947, p. 5 (part 2), 20 July 1947, p. 5 (part 3).

235 Ibid (part 1).
236 Ibid.

Further in his essay Mihičić turns to individual artists, and it is clear that he expects them to align their artistic language with the new thematic and social horizon. Emanuel Vidović is acknowledged as a master, but also as a painter who does not turn his exceptional painterly sensibility towards the demands of the age. “The old atmosphere of dusk and the heavy, soot-laden skies that had confused us for years have disappeared.”²³⁷ Mihičić particularly stresses the discrepancy between Vidović’s mastery and his choice of motif:

In all the exhibited works Vidović is discernible as a master; in “*Rocking Horse*,” as a great master. What a pity that this seasoned admirer of life’s pleasures does not reach, even once, into the life that surrounds him and with which he has made himself so intimately acquainted. A painter who is capable of imbuing a wooden toy with life, and of transforming an old child’s doll into one of the purest and most emotionally resonant works in contemporary art, both ours and European, would surely succeed just as brilliantly were he to attempt to render in paint a human figure, one that presents itself to him with far greater richness of both inner and outer content.²³⁸

Such a judgment is typical of the post-war critical horizon: painterly skill alone is not sufficient unless it finds a fitting subject in contemporary life. For Mihičić, Vidović thus becomes a paradigmatic example of an artist whose technical superiority fails to receive adequate affirmation at the level of thematic choice, and for precisely this reason, he remains partly outside the mainstream of expected contemporaneity.

Much the same applies to Milan Tolić, whom Mihičić describes as an artist “full of aspiration, striving, and unsettledness,” adding that “each of his works reveals an aesthete, none an artist who has found himself.”²³⁹ The criticism targets his subject matter, insufficient inner consolidation of his painterly hand, unstable sense of artistic identity, and an over-reliance on historical models. Parać too, despite turning towards figurative and contemporary concerns, falls short of full achievement in Mihičić’s estimation: “Vjekoslav Parać has stepped forward with new subject matter, predominantly figurative and contemporary. His canvases introduced the figure of the contemporary man – the worker, no longer as decorative element or a replacement for idyllic milkmaid motifs, but as the primary locus of the painter’s ideational and compositional concerns. The problem was novel and rewarding in its promise, yet considerable in its difficulty. Parać did not succeed in mastering it.”²⁴⁰ Especially

237 Ibid.
238 Ibid.
239 Ibid.
240 Ibid.

significant, in this context, is the critic’s observation that “the worker, maker of the present day and builder of tomorrow, is not solely an optical and pictorial problem,” for it articulates, with notable economy, the governing demand of the era: the representation of contemporary man requires capacities that transcend mere compositional or colourist proficiency.²⁴¹

The second part of the essay sees Mihičić directing especially pointed criticism at Rudolf Bunk, extending a line of inquiry that other critics had already opened regarding his relationship with modernist models. His commentary on specific works – ranging from *Road by the Sea* to *Girl at the Window* – culminates in a wholesale repudiation of the constructivist-cubist inheritance as an expression rendered anachronistic and socially incongruous:

Bunk has remained arrested within a surviving decorative Constructivism, that is, within a purely cerebral problematic, and that is hardly a point in his favour. Cubism belongs to the past. Picasso no longer leads the way. To follow him is not to engage creatively with the present, but to rehearse an outmoded and curious lesson, one at which Picasso himself has not infrequently been amused. In conversation with our painter Rein, he once remarked: “Do not forget, I am not an artist, I am a philosopher...” Picasso remains, nonetheless, a great artist, though in the first instance and above all a revolutionary. As such, he introduced into the art of his time a measure of air, of light, and of ferment. Today, however, he rests upon laurels that are withering. He has halted at the revolutionary statement, whilst we are in the midst of the revolutionary act. And where life lies ahead of us, what lies before him is, at best, a museological necropolis. What purpose, then, does he serve? To create is to live, and living is possible only in the present and in the future. If the eye of the “*Girl at the Window*” were not illuminated by the light of life, and her lips not reddened with the colour of blood, she would amount to nothing more than a wooden mannequin: yet as rendered, she is life itself.²⁴²

This passage is notable because, beyond its critique of one artist, it entails a sweeping rejection of an entire constellation of modernist reference points that had until recently passed as legitimate signs of painterly currency. Mihičić’s treatment of Bunk thus moves beyond individual judgement and becomes a symptomatic flashpoint between an older modernist legitimacy and new criteria of socially useful art.

Mihičić’s critical rigour remains unrelenting throughout his other evaluations. In Branko Kovačević he identifies a high level of technical skill alongside notable shortcomings in draughtsmanship; Ante Kaštelančić is censured for his treatment of both colour and

241 Ibid.
242 Ibid (part 2).

line; whilst Antun Gojak is taken to task for an approach to colour that borders on the abstract, and for what Mihičić terms an “uncritical veneration of all that passes under the name of ‘progressive’ French painting.”²⁴³ The text is, in this regard, markedly polemical in register, occasionally inclining towards the pamphlet, yet this quality renders it all the more valuable as a documentary record of the tensions surrounding questions of artistic direction that were being played out in the public sphere of the period.

In the third and final part, Mihičić writes considerably more favourably of the sculptors Ivan Mirković and Andrija Krstulović, singling out in particular Krstulović’s relationship to nature as “the touchstone of the artist, for whilst nature confounds the skilled non-artist, it excites and reveals the true one.”²⁴⁴ The essay’s conclusion, however, once again abandons the level of individual analysis and shifts into a programmatic, almost exalted register, in which the new social reality is presented as a space of hitherto uncharted possibilities for the development of art:

We are still in the early stages of renewal, and yet the paths to a new art have already been cleared, wide and bright, brighter than ever before. Promises that only a year ago provoked sceptical ridicule are today a reality. Works of art are fetching handsome prices. Purchases from the May Day Exhibition in Split have exceeded the sum of half a million. The people’s authorities, led by the Regional People’s Committee and its cultural representatives, were the principal buyers. And a great deal was sold, indeed, perhaps too much. Works of art are in demand! Sound works of art, naturally. In the future, demand will grow still further, for the consumer and enjoyer of art is no longer a small circle of culturally puffed-up and capricious bourgeois patrons, but the people. The collective! The collective of the working people has at last won the right to life; it now claims the right to beauty as well. It falls to the artist to provide it. Indeed, it is his national duty – but no longer in the form of the lascivious little nude painted to titillate a corrupt imagination, nor in Martian deserted landscapes and still lifes executed in a technique and thematic register of lunatic somnambulism. The work of art that the people demand must be beautiful, lucid, and wholesome, drawn from life, built upon life, and created for life. New Yugoslavia offers its artists the same possibilities that the Italian commune offered the Renaissance masters, that Periclean Athens offered Pheidias, that the cities and chapter houses offered the middle-aged Gothic master craftsmen. It offers them everything, and will offer them still more. It asks of them one thing only: that they be artists. Experiment is permitted, as is technical freedom, but there is no longer room for solipsism.²⁴⁵

243 Ibid.
244 Ibid (part 3).
245 Ibid.

This concluding accent makes unmistakably legible a strongly idealised conception of the artist’s new position within socialist society. It constitutes less a faithful representation of actual conditions than an expression of normative aspiration and programmatic projection, and is all the more significant for that: it reveals the degree to which art criticism at this juncture was thoroughly permeated by a conviction in the possibility of comprehensively transforming the visual arts field, together with its functions, its audience, and its system of values. Mihičić’s essay thus complements Vučetić’s text in two important respects: on the one hand, it reaffirms the same fundamental demands addressed to contemporary art, whilst on the other it elaborates them through a considerably more concrete and formally precise analysis of individual artists and works.

The archival material held in the Archives of Yugoslavia opens an additional perspective on the *Second May Day Exhibition*, affording insight into the formation of critical judgements on the exhibited works through reviews, newspaper coverage, public polemics, and the concrete procedures of institutional acquisition. From the correspondence of the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, it is evident that the exhibition was perceived as an event of broader cultural significance. In its letter of acknowledgement to the ULUH Dalmatia Branch, the Committee notes its wish to acquire “certain of the better works from your exhibition” in order to support “individual and general artistic progress in the territory of your branch.”²⁴⁶ The very next day, the City People’s Committee in Split was requested to compile, in consultation with specialists from the City Museum and other knowledgeable individuals, a proposed selection of works accompanied by a list of titles and prices.²⁴⁷ It thereby becomes clear that the exhibition had been conceived from the very beginning as a locus of cultural policy, one in which aesthetic appraisal was directly linked to material support for artists and the formation of a preferred artistic horizon.

More telling still is the letter from the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia of 16 June 1947, which stresses that this year’s exhibition surpassed the previous one, and

246 Letter “Zahvalnica na pozivu za izložbu” [Letter of Thanks for the Exhibition Invitation], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade (signed by the Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art, Vlado Mađarić) to the ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split, 18 May 1947, no. 2635, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.
247 Letter “Otkup radova sa izložbe Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske – Podružnica za Dalmaciju” [Acquisition of Works from the Exhibition of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia – Dalmatia Branch], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade (signed by the Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art, Vlado Mađarić) to the City People’s Committee, Education Department in Split, 19 May 1947, no. 2635, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

that the works “both in artistic quality and in the subject matter treated, represent a serious attempt by our visual artists to set their work definitively on the path of Socialist Realism.”²⁴⁸ The same letter also claims that “the jury applied a fairly strict and objective criterion in carrying out the selection,” so that the chosen works held value both collectively and individually.²⁴⁹ On the basis of this assessment, three works were reserved for federal acquisition: Andrija Krstulović’s *Flight* at 60,000 dinars, Ante Kaštelančić’s *On the Embankment* at 18,000 dinars, and Vjekoslav Parać’s *Telegraph Worker* at 16,000 dinars, amounting to a total of 94,000 dinars.²⁵⁰ This figure is of particular importance when set alongside the reply from the Committee in Belgrade, which stated that it had at its disposal a credit of only 30,000 dinars for the acquisition of works from the *Second May Day Exhibition*.²⁵¹ In other words, the originally proposed selection exceeded the available sum by 64,000 dinars, that is, by more than three times the amount allocated for purchase. Krstulović’s *Flight* alone was twice the price of the total credit at the Committee’s disposal. This disproportion alone makes clear that the question of acquisition encompassed aesthetic evaluation, ideological suitability, and the financial capacity of the state to translate its own cultural priorities into practice.

Equally important is the manner in which the Committee responded to the proposal put forward by the Dalmatian commission, which comprised Mladen Koritnik, Commissioner of the Education Department in Split, Cvito Fisković, conservator, and Vid Mihičić, curator of the Museum of Fine Arts in Split. In its letter of 26 June 1947, the Committee noted that the prices of the proposed works were “in any case too high,” and went on to issue the precise instruction that in making its selection the commission must also be guided by artistic quality, and that only “the finest works” were to be considered for acquisition.²⁵² This letter is of particular value because, from an administrative perspective, it confirms one of the central tensions discernible in the art criticism of the period: even within a heavily ideologized cultural field, thematic

suitability was not in itself sufficient, given that artistic quality was also insisted upon as a distinct criterion of judgement. The archival material thus directly complements the texts of Vučetić and Mihičić: what appears in the critical writings as a theoretical and polemical problem surfaces in the official correspondence as a practical matter of selection, price, and the justifiability of purchase. A brief telegram from the City People’s Committee of Split further heightens the sense of urgency and significance surrounding the entire process: “Have carried out acquisition of Krstulović’s *Flight*, Kaštelančić’s *On the Embankment*, and Parać’s *Telegraph Worker*. Written explanation to follow.”²⁵³

Of particular interest, moreover, is the Dubrovnik letter requesting that the Committee acquire Kovačević’s *Portrait of the Historian K. S.*²⁵⁴ The work is commended as “an extraordinarily accomplished portrait,” and simultaneously as “one of the first serious realisations of the artistic reorientation towards Socialist Realism in that region.”²⁵⁵ The rationale is instructive on multiple levels: the portrait is valued both as a successful work and as an example of a preferred artistic direction, intended to encourage other artists to devote themselves to “realistic and humane observation and representation,” whilst the acquisition is envisaged at once as support for the artist himself and as a contribution to the newly established Museum of Modern Art in Dubrovnik.²⁵⁶ The Committee ultimately rejected the proposal, citing “limited”²⁵⁷ acquisition credits, a reminder that whilst the acquisition network was an important instrument of cultural policy, it operated within very clear financial constraints. Taken together, this material allows the *Second May Day Exhibition* to be seen as a space in which the normative demands of the new order were tested through entirely concrete decisions about purchase, price, representativeness, and the institutional legitimation of individual works.

248 Letter “Otkup radova s ‘II. Prvomajske izložbe’ dalmatinskih umjetnika” [Acquisition of Works from the ‘Second May Day Exhibition’ of Dalmatian Artists], sent by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Education Department in Split (signed by the Commissioner of the Education Department Mladen Koritnik) to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 16 June 1947, no. 5816/47, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid.

251 Letter sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade (signed by the Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art, Vlado Mađarić) to the City People’s Committee, Education Department in Split, 26 June 1947, no. 3271, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

252 Ibid.

253 Telegram sent by the City People’s Committee, Education Department in Split to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 12 June 1947, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

254 The reference is to Kosta Strajnić.

255 Letter “Moli se da se odkupi slika sa izložbe” [Request for the Acquisition of a Painting from the Exhibition], sent by the City People’s Committee, Education Department in Dubrovnik (signed by the Commissioner of the Education Department Baro Kriletić) to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 11 June 1947, no. 18672/47, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

256 Ibid.

257 Letter “Otkup slika” [Acquisition of Paintings], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade (signed by the Secretary of the Committee for Culture and Art, Vlado Mađarić) to the City People’s Committee, Education Department in Dubrovnik, 26 June 1947, no. 3186, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

In any case, the exhibition drew two thousand visitors, according to media reports, with a total of eighteen collective visits recorded.²⁵⁸ This public response testifies to the broader social reach of the *Second May Day Exhibition*, which evidently commanded attention extending well beyond the narrow professional circle of specialists and artists. The number of visitors and organised group attendances indicates that the exhibition was received as a relevant public event aimed at a wider audience, rather than for an exclusively professional constituency. The considerable level of interest prompted an extension of the exhibition by several days.²⁵⁹ Taken together, these circumstances suggest that the *Second May Day Exhibition*, despite its persistent aesthetic and ideological tensions, functioned as a significant public event and as a key site of negotiation over the question of what art should be within the new social order. In other words, whilst it left the fundamental controversies surrounding art’s social role unresolved, the exhibition succeeded in rendering them more legible and more fully articulated within the public sphere.

Third May Day Exhibition
Salon Galić Gallery, 1 – 15 May 1948

Exhibitors: Ante Bučan (guest exhibitor), Rudolf Bunk, Ivo Dulčić (guest exhibitor), Ante Franičević, Ante Gojak, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Krstulović, Ljubomir Nakić, Antun Masle, Krešo Mateljan (guest exhibitor), Ivan Mirković, Vjekoslav Parać, Bartul Petrić, Petar Ružić (guest exhibitor), Ivan Sikavica, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, Ivan Žmire (self-taught sculptor, guest), Petar Zrinski (guest exhibitor)²⁶⁰

The *Third May Day Exhibition* follows a comparable set of requirements regarding artistic participation in the emerging reality of reconstruction, continued prosperity, and the newly adopted Five-Year Plan; however, public reception suggests that this orientation is now perceived as considerably more persuasive and stable than in preceding years. To put it plainly, what earlier exhibitions treated as demand, expectation, or programmatic aspiration is, in the *Third May Day Exhibition*,

increasingly rendered as an already discernible and tangible development within artistic production proper. The press likewise takes note of a number of works portraying productive effort, among them the construction of the Youth Railway, a cement factory, a harbour, and related projects, thereby indicating clearly that the merit of exhibited works is increasingly being judged by their ability to document scenes of labour, construction, and collective work. Crucially, what is being foregrounded here is not merely a general affinity with contemporary life, but a highly specific engagement with identifiable local and state-led reconstruction initiatives, which lends the exhibition a considerably stronger documentary character.

In press reviews, this thematic orientation is interpreted as the result of a deliberate rapprochement between artists and the new social imperatives of the day. Especially significant in this context is a notice published to coincide with the exhibition’s opening, which underlines that the “Youth Railway, shipbuilding, and the quarries of Dalmatia, factories, ports, and arable land are the themes from which the visual artists of Dalmatia drew their inspiration, and which give this year’s May Day Exhibition and their works its defining character.”²⁶¹ This inventory of motifs attests to the redirection of artistic imagination towards spaces of labour and production, that is, towards precisely those sites where the new social reality was considered most visible and most meaningful. The choice of motifs must accordingly be understood as deeply ideological and representational in character, given that art was expected to affirm the visibility of labour as the defining experience of the post-war community. More significant still is the fact that the same article stresses the artists’ direct, personal contact with such scenes of work, noting: “Our artists have grasped the efforts of our people in the reconstruction and building of the country, and have felt the need to reflect that spirit of labour and to enrich the beauty of our material life through their art. And so, they go out to the Youth Railway, follow the construction of roads, bridges, schools, and homes, and join our workers in the factory, the quarry, the port, the fields, and on every worksite.”²⁶² This passage is valuable precisely because it makes clear that artists were expected not only to orient themselves thematically towards the contemporary moment, but also to immerse themselves, in a quite literal and experiential sense, in the environments of labour. In this respect, artistic practice approaches the model of the participant-observer, that is, an artist who shapes the work through direct contact with the working collective and the building site, rather than from the detached remove of the studio. This connection was further encouraged by the broader organisational frameworks of labour actions, in which various professional and amateur associations each participated within their own domain, so that the presence of visual artists may equally be understood as part of a wider mobilisation of the cultural field.

258 “Posjete Izložbi likovnih umjetnika” [Visits to the Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 14 May 1947, p. 7.
259 “Produženje Izložbe likovnih umjetnika” [Extension of the Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 May 1947, p. 7.
260 In the copy of the catalogue held in the library of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, the name of Vinko Foretić has been added in a later hand as an exhibitor, with a note that he showed a work titled *Old Man*. In the copy of the catalogue from the Archives of Yugoslavia, alongside the prices of works and purchase notations, Foretić’s oil painting *Old Captain* is also listed, acquired for 20,000 dinars. See: Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

261 “III. Prvomajska izložba likovne umjetnosti u Splitu” [Third May Day Exhibition of Visual Arts in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1 May 1948, p. 5.
262 Ibid.

What is particularly striking is that the newspaper discourse, for all its emphasis on the social role of art, does not pass over in silence the difficult conditions facing artists themselves. The same text notes: “Unfortunately, our visual artists do not yet have the material conditions necessary for their creative work, they are not yet solely artistic workers. Each of our painters and sculptors carries out various daily tasks not always connected with the advancement of the visual arts. It is for this reason that we warmly welcome this balance sheet of our artists’ year of work as their contribution to the shared efforts of all working people.”²⁶³ This observation carries considerable weight, as it introduces a corrective into what is otherwise an affirmative account of the exhibition: whilst artists are expected to engage intensively in reconstruction and in the representation of the new society, it is simultaneously acknowledged that they operate under conditions of material hardship and professional fragmentation. The public image of the exhibition is thus constructed in part as a confirmation of artistic commitment in the face of unfavourable conditions, a framing that further augments its ideological and moral capital. The motif also resonates with the records of the Branch itself, in which the various duties and pressures that impede artists’ continuous creative work are similarly and repeatedly noted.

The *Third May Day Exhibition* was evidently conceived, like its predecessors, as a public event of considerable social importance. As part of the May Day celebrations, the exhibition was opened at the Salon Galić Gallery by Anuška Kovačević, head of the education department of the Regional People’s Committee, after Vjekoslav Parać had welcomed those gathered on behalf of the artists of Dalmatia.²⁶⁴ This protocol situates the exhibition well beyond any internal professional framework, placing it within the broader representative space of the labour holiday celebrations and of public cultural life. The presence of representatives of the people’s authorities and people’s organisations further confirms that the art exhibition was, at this moment, perceived as an integral part of the wider symbolic economy of the new state. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that over 800 citizens attended the exhibition on its opening day alone, attesting to its considerable public profile and to its integration within the wider May Day ceremonial framework.²⁶⁵

Archival sources reveal that the *Third May Day Exhibition* was significant also as a site at which local cultural interests, the representational imperatives of the new authorities, and the strictly regulated mechanisms of art acquisition intersected. In a letter from the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia to the Committee for Culture and Art of the FPRY, the exhibition is characterised in markedly affirmative terms: it is stressed that

263 “III. Prvomajska izložba likovne umjetnosti u Splitu” [Third May Day Exhibition of Visual Arts in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1 May 1948, p. 5.

264 “Otvorenje Prvomajske izložbe likovnih umjetnika” [Opening of the May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 4 May 1948, p. 2.

265 Ibid.

“the third post-war exhibition of Dalmatian painters and sculptors shows that our visual artists are approaching the new content of artistic creation ever more closely and with ever greater conviction,” that the exhibition is “fresh in colour and subject matter,” and that it has been “very well received by the cultural workers and people of Dalmatia.”²⁶⁶ The same letter encloses a catalogue with the recommendation that the Committee likewise acquire a number of works for the Gallery of Fine Arts in Zadar, which was opening at that very time. Of particular significance is the explicit statement that “several Ministries and the Presidency of the government of our republic, as well as the people’s committees and mass organisations of our city”²⁶⁷ had participated in purchases from the exhibition. This detail is instructive, as it discloses that the exhibition was integrated from the outset into a network of institutional interests and the allocation of cultural prestige, with the local level evidently relying upon broad backing from a range of governmental bodies and public institutions.

It is precisely at this point that an important tension becomes visible, one which the Split milieu appears not to have fully taken into account. The reply from the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, dated 27 May 1948, delivers a notably sharp rebuke regarding the manner in which the invitation had been issued. The Committee recalls that the previous year, too, the invitation to the opening had arrived only after the opening itself had already taken place, and adds that the same situation had now repeated itself: “You sent the invitation on 5 May, we received it on 8 May, whilst the opening of the exhibition took place on 1 May.”²⁶⁸ The problem, however, does not reduce to a matter of belated correspondence, for the Committee immediately goes on to draw attention to the fact that the catalogue made it plain that “over half of the works had been purchased.”²⁶⁹ In other words, the federal body had formed the impression that any possibility of choice had been left to it in purely formal terms, after the bulk of the relevant decisions had in practice already been taken at the local and republican level.

266 Letter “III. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika u Splitu” [Third May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists in Split], sent by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Department of Education in Split (signed by commissioner Anuška Novaković) to the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade, 5 May 1948, no. 3240/48, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

267 Ibid.

268 Letter “III. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umetnika u Splitu” [Third May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists in Split], sent by the Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY in Belgrade (signed by the secretary of the Committee for Culture and the Arts, Vlado Mađarić) to the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia, Department of Education in Split, 27 May 1948, no. 3711, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, ref. AJ-314-11-44 – Exhibitions, fond 314 – Committee for Culture and Art at the Government of the FPRY, Department for Culture and Art, 1946–1948, fasc. 11.

269 Ibid.

The most important part of this letter is its explicit demand for recognition of the hierarchical order of cultural administration. The Committee states that such conduct is “entirely tactless,” and makes clear that “the Committee is the institution which holds priority of purchase at all artistic exhibitions in the country, and that it is proper for the Committee to be invited to the opening of an exhibition in good time.”²⁷⁰ This reveals that the question of acquisition opened onto a space where financial support, aesthetic judgement, institutional jurisdiction, order of precedence, and symbolic authority all converged. The document thus records not only an administrative misunderstanding but a clash of two perspectives: the local milieu saw the exhibition as a well-organised success, backed by a broad network of buyers and institutional partners, whilst the federal level read the same proceedings as a bypassing of its own prerogatives. The consequence was clear and politically pointed: “Your office will understand that, following such conduct, the Committee cannot purchase works from your exhibition.”²⁷¹ This closing verdict reveals how important the timely recognition of the federal instance was, within the late 1940s cultural system, for the legitimisation of the exhibition and its relationship with the state acquisition mechanism.

Within this public framework, critical voices are somewhat more restrained than at previous exhibitions, a shift connected to the prevailing sense that artists’ thematic reorientation is now more visible and convincing. Newspaper reviews accordingly detect a strong “impulse of the people”²⁷² in the paintings. This formulation suggests that a work’s value is measured above all by its ability to convey collective energy, the dynamism of labour, and the optimism of social construction, whilst individual inventiveness and formal autonomy fade into the background. Other press pieces similarly focused on the necessity of a realist approach to artistic representation, singling out works most directly tied thematically to the country’s reconstruction and in which the contemporary impulse of the people could be discerned. One such piece notes:

Looking at these exhibited canvases, mostly executed in oil, one perceives the developmental path of a new artistic striving, in which our working people actively participate in building our free homeland. Life in these canvases grows more dynamic, fresher, and one senses within them the impulse of a people ready to make their homeland more beautiful, brighter, and richer through the effort and dedication of the working people, for whom nothing on that path is too great a burden. This path was taken by Vjekoslav Parać in his composition ‘Work on the

Youth Railway’, Ante Kaštelančić in all three of his exhibited canvases, Rudolf Bunk in the canvas ‘Worker’, Ante Franičević in the canvas ‘Construction on the Youth Railway’, Joko Knežević in all three of his exhibited canvases and in a drawing from the Youth Railway, and Milan Tolić in the canvases ‘Reconstruction’ and ‘Olive Harvest’.²⁷³

This review is of particular importance because it also offers a kind of internal hierarchy of the exhibition, identifying those artists and works in which the new thematic and ideological orientation is most clearly recognisable. The list of selected names shows that affirmation of a “new artistic striving” is tied above all to works depicting the worker, construction, reconstruction, and a landscape transformed by collective labour. It is equally telling that the language of development and striving persists, suggesting that criticism still operates on the assumption of an ongoing process rather than a fully formed and finished model. In the press, the *Third May Day Exhibition* thus appears as confirmation of a notable shift, but not yet as a finally stabilised pattern of post-war artistic production.

Consideration must also be given to the economic dimension of the exhibition, which is significant for an understanding of its public character. A newspaper notice points out that it was open daily from 9 to 13 and from 17 to 21 hours, with admission set at 2 dinars for young people and 5 dinars for adults, and the catalogue priced at 2 dinars.²⁷⁴ The charging of admission and catalogue fees indicates that the exhibition was structured as a publicly accessible cultural offering with a clearly defined visiting regime and an basic economy of reception. This confirms that its function was manifold, simultaneously educational, representational, propagandistic, and market-organisational.

Taken as a whole, the *Third May Day Exhibition* marks a moment at which public discourse is establishing, with growing conviction, a connection between the visual arts, labour, reconstruction, and the collective social project. Where the two earlier exhibitions were defined by sharper tensions between inherited modernist poetics and the demands of the new era, the press here more emphatically supports and legitimates those works in which it recognises an alignment of artistic expression with social reality. The public image of the *Third May Day Exhibition* is therefore of particular importance: it shows how artistic value is being articulated ever more explicitly in terms of social utility, the representation of labour, and participation in the symbolic construction of the new order.

270 Ibid.
271 Ibid.
272 “Kulturni pregled. Uz treću Prvomajsku izložbu u Splitu” [Cultural Review. On the Third May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 14 May 1948, p. 3.

273 Ibid.
274 “Prvomajska izložba” [May Day Exhibition], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 May 1948, p. 3.

Fourth May Day Exhibition
Salon Galić Gallery, 1 – 15 May 1949

Exhibitors: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Vinko Foretić – Komiža, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Andrija Krstulović – Split, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Mirković Ivan – Split, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Vjekoslav Parać – Split, Bartol Petrić – Split, Ante Petričić – Dubrovnik, Ivan Sikavica – Split, Jovanka Strajnić – Dubrovnik, Milan Tolić – Split, Emanuel Vidović – Split, Elsa Vučetić – Dubrovnik.

The *Fourth May Day Exhibition* was marked by the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and was consequently drawn more firmly than before into the broader framework of political and symbolic commemoration. As an annual showcase of Dalmatian artists, it was explicitly presented in 1949 as a contribution to the celebrations of the Party’s jubilee, a framing that further integrated artistic production into the ceremonial apparatus of the new state and its legitimating structures. The exhibition also acquired an itinerant character, being mounted not only in Split but also in Zadar, Dubrovnik, and Šibenik, a fact that points to a concerted effort to extend its reach beyond a single urban centre and to consolidate the exhibition’s public function across the whole of Dalmatia.²⁷⁵ The itinerant format signals an ambition for the exhibition, as a mobile cultural event, to connect artistic production with different local communities and extend its reach beyond a narrow professional circle.

The opening was formally announced on the front page of *Slobodna Dalmacija* and took place at 11:30.²⁷⁶ Its integration into a precisely structured May Day ceremonial is plain, one in which the visual arts were given a representative place within the public celebration of the holiday. This positioning confirms that art was understood here as part of public ritual, not as a separate or autonomous cultural practice.

The press call for submissions already indicates that the organisation of the *Fourth May Day Exhibition* was conducted with considerable precision and procedural transparency. The notice specifies that “the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia, Dalmatia Branch, is staging its May Day Exhibition this year in honour of the thirtieth anniversary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia,” and proceeds to prescribe exact deadlines for the submission of works, the number of pieces individual exhibitors might enter, the mandatory information to appear on the reverse of each work, and a series of rules

275 “Izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije u čast 30.-god. KP Jugoslavije” [Exhibition of Dalmatian Visual Artists in Honour of the 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 28 April 1949, p. 1.

276 “Raspored parade 1. Maja u Splitu” [Programme of the May Day Parade in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30 April 1949, p. 1.

governing the jury process, price regulation, the commission on sales, and the prohibition on relocating works prior to the close of the exhibition.²⁷⁷ The detailed articulation of these regulations is noteworthy in that it attests to the considerable degree of institutionalisation that exhibition practice had undergone by 1949, with the rules governing participation having become a constituent element of the event’s public presentation. Especially significant is the notice’s explicit stipulation that works “are subject to jury assessment,” that the jury holds authority to regulate proposed prices, and that no exhibited work may be relocated or withdrawn prior to the exhibition’s close.²⁷⁸ All of this reflects lessons from previous exhibitions, particularly where objections had been raised over procedural regularity, selection, and the treatment of individual works. It may therefore be inferred that the publicly stated rules also carried a preventive function: they were designed to pre-empt potential grievances and to afford all prospective exhibitors the impression of an equitable and transparently defined procedure. Equally important is the provision allowing non-members of the ULUH active in Dalmatia to participate, which shows that the event continued to present itself as a representative regional event rather than an internal showcase of Branch membership.²⁷⁹ This confirms the exhibition’s inclusive conception, lending it broader representativeness within the Dalmatian art scene.

Of particular significance for the public profile of the *Fourth May Day Exhibition* is Branko Zupa’s extensive review, published in late June 1949, which explicitly positions the exhibition within the historical and ideological horizon of the Party jubilee.²⁸⁰ As early as the opening section, the author connects the artists of Dalmatia with the antifascist struggle and the cultural front, framing the current exhibition as a continuation of wartime and post-war commitment:

Thus, in the days of the national liberation struggle, the painters and sculptors of Dalmatia knew where their path lay. Without a moment’s hesitation, they aligned themselves with those forces which, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party with Comrade Tito at their head, fought for national freedom and a socialist order. Whether on liberated territory or among activists in the occupied areas, they placed their pencils, brushes, and clay in the service of the people’s cause. They belonged to the cultural front, indivisible from the military front in a struggle of this kind, one waged for the salvation and future of the working masses of Yugoslavia.²⁸¹

277 “IV. Prvomajska izložba” [The Fourth May Day Exhibition], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12 April 1949, p. 5.

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid.

280 B.(ranko) Zupa, “Osvrt na prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije priredenu u čast 30-godišnjice osnutka KPJ” [Review of the May Day Exhibition of Dalmatian Visual Artists Held in Honour of the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30 June 1949, pp. 2–3.

281 Ibid, p. 2.

This passage is significant because it presents the exhibition both as a survey of recent production and as an affirmation of political continuity between wartime engagement and post-war cultural construction. Zupa’s discourse here establishes a long line of legitimation: from the artists’ participation in the national liberation struggle to their role in shaping the socialist present. This framework also governs his reading of the exhibition. Taking stock of the whole, he observes that it simultaneously displays “memories of the struggle” and depictions of the current efforts of socialist construction, though he immediately introduces an important nuance when he adds: “Naturally, this is expressed with greater or lesser success, insofar as individual artists have managed to rid themselves of those inherited conventions to which they had previously been compelled to submit for the sake of their livelihood.”²⁸² This formulation is especially noteworthy as it confirms that the question of a rupture with prior artistic habits was not, even in 1949, regarded as settled. On the contrary, the working assumption remains that certain artists are only partially succeeding in departing from earlier models and adapting them to new expectations. The *Fourth May Day Exhibition* thereby retains a transitional character: the critical gaze perceives movement within it, yet continues to identify residues of older manners and professionally conditioned compromises.

It is especially interesting that Zupa turns his attention to medium, that is, to the exhibition’s internal composition, remarking on the dominance of oil painting and the scant representation of printmaking. He writes:

Printmaking, as a powerful means of expression for our times, was poorly represented at last year’s exhibition as well. This is a shame, given the impact of the exhibition held immediately after the liberation of our city, where graphic works predominated. If one takes into account the scarcity of means that limits our visual artists in their work on canvas, it would have been more logical for them to avail themselves of that expressive medium which lies within easy reach, lest many precious impressions drawn from the process of our socialist construction be lost. To some extent, our visual artists, factoring in the economic potential of the exhibition, have inclined towards large-format canvases.²⁸³

This passage is valuable for the several important questions it raises at once: the accessibility of particular media, the economic conditions of artistic work, and the commercial effect of the exhibition itself. In speaking to both aesthetic choices and the material circumstances of production, Zupa points to a persistent tension between the ideologically favoured means of expression and the economic calculations of the artists. This confirms once more that the exhibition’s public image can only be understood

282 Ibid.
283 Ibid.

if concrete conditions of work and sale are weighed alongside ideological and formal criteria. Zupa’s review is in this respect particularly useful, as it reminds us that the aesthetic programme of post-war art took shape against very real material constraints.

Equally indicative are Zupa’s observations on the “arrangement” of the exhibition, which show that questions of selection and display remain a sensitive matter. He warns:

In the arrangement of the exhibition, account could have been taken – and the jury should have kept this in mind – of the need to avoid a repetition of last year’s situation, whereby certain canvases, neither thematically significant nor formally well resolved, came to occupy the most prominent wall surfaces in the exhibition rooms, thus blocking the view of those works which, by their content and artistic realisation, are of interest to the broad popular masses today. In this regard, a more careful assessment on the jury’s part would have led to the removal of certain paintings and the allocation of greater space to works of more considerable merit.²⁸⁴

This is where the continuity of problems that had accompanied earlier May Day exhibitions becomes particularly apparent: at issue are the selection of exhibited works, the manner of their placement, the prominent positions accorded to individual paintings, and the way in which the hang itself directs the gaze of the audience. This means that the criterion of social and ideological relevance extends from individual works to the spatial logic of the exhibition as a whole.

Zupa then explicitly establishes a hierarchy of artists according to their relationship to the contemporary moment, writing:

From the cross-section of the exhibition, those visual artists who have engaged with our present-day reality and given it artistic form, each according to his abilities and with an appropriate treatment, stand out above all. Second come those who have not yet fully grasped the new subject matter; and last are those visual artists in whose creative work vestiges of earlier manners continue to surface. These manners are closely tied to artistic formalism and are therefore ideologically unable to capture the attention of our working people, who are rising ever higher in cultural terms and approach paintings with keen interest, looking to find in them a part of those efforts that must be the shared goal of artist and observer alike.²⁸⁵

284 Ibid.
285 Ibid.

This passage is of exceptional importance in that it condenses the value horizon of the late 1940s: the highest esteem is reserved for those artists who have “engaged with our present-day reality,” meaning those who succeed in aligning their artistic practice with lived social experience, whilst formalism and subjective manners continue to be construed as impediments to establishing a meaningful connection between work and audience. Especially indicative is the conception of the audience itself as “working people” who are progressing culturally and who look to the painted image for a reflection of their own social effort. This formulation makes clear that the reception of art is conceived as a shared field between artist and observer, grounded in a shared social reality. It is precisely here that one sees most plainly how aesthetic judgement is transmuted into social pedagogy: a painting is valued also according to its capacity to activate a recognition of shared labour and shared goals.

Within this context, Zupa singles out a group of artists including Parać, Tolić, Knežević, Masle, Krstulović, and Mirković, dwelling at greater length on Parać’s canvas *At the Construction Site*. His description is worth quoting at some length, as it shows how a work that succeeds in uniting a labour theme, physical expression, and social symbolism is assessed:

The strongest among the first group, Parać, Tolić, Knežević, Masle, Krstulović, Mirković, and several others, emphasise in their works that present-day reality of ours which binds them to the aspirations of the working masses, and strive to render these artistic experiences in a realist manner. Parać’s canvas “*At the Construction Site*” expresses the strength and effort of our working people in the construction of socialism. The movements of muscles lifting a load on the scaffolding make a powerful impression; in them the observer sees the striving of the entire working class to build, with unbreakable will, the edifice of its better future. In this painting one feels beyond doubt that the artist has lived through this intimately in his soul and given it expressive realisation on canvas. This is certainly among his finer recent works. Its shortcoming lies only in the fact that the remainder of the composition, otherwise well balanced and satisfyingly resolved in spatial terms, is not carried through to completion in terms of colour, which to some extent lends the main motif more the character of a study.²⁸⁶

This judgement is interesting in that it reveals how, even in affirmatively valued works, the relationship between ideological content and painterly finish continues to be carefully calibrated. Parać’s painting is praised as a convincing representation of socialist construction, yet this does not preclude recognition of its formal deficiencies.

286 Ibid.

It is precisely this combination of social affirmation and formal assessment that lends the criticism its persuasive force. Also noteworthy is the fact that this is a work which would later enter the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Split, a circumstance that allows the newspaper valuation to be set in relation to the subsequent institutional endorsement the work received.

At the other end of the spectrum, Zupa continues to distinguish clearly between older masters and artists whose manner is seen as more distant from the new demands. Of Emanuel Vidović he writes in a more neutral, respectful tone:

Emanuel Vidović, one of our oldest masters, who has shaped generations of younger painters, has this time presented several oil paintings and watercolours. The master’s assured hand still shows its steadiness and command of craft. His paintings are tranquil, suffused with stillness, half-shadow, and subdued mood. The most accomplished is *the “Bridge in Trogir,”* in which the freshness of the sea comes through and which stands out notably from the rest. In his interiors, the draughtsmanship reveals the impeccable knowledge of a teacher.²⁸⁷

This formulation shows that Vidović is still viewed mainly through the lens of mastery and technical assurance, with no real attempt to place him at the centre of the desired new direction. His position points to a kind of dual valuation of older artists: respect for their status and experience remains untouched, whilst their contemporary relevance is judged by different criteria from those applied to younger or more socially engaged artists.

Zupa’s treatment of Ante Kaštelančić and Rudolf Bunk is especially interesting, for it is in their cases that one sees most clearly how part of the artistic community refused, even in 1949, to abandon its own painterly manner, despite criticism continuing to declare it difficult to understand and remote from the needs of the “working masses”. This section is worth quoting at length:

Ante Kaštelančić and Rudolf Bunk have remained aligned with their crafted manner, which cannot but be associated with formalism, and in which the motif is entirely subordinated to their personal inclination to express themselves through a technique that is not comprehensible to all the working masses. For this reason, they also take no account, in formal terms, of whether the working masses will be able to understand them. Bunk’s draughtsmanship is static, solid, but subjected to manner, which separates it from reality and leaves the observer indifferent. With the exception

287 Ibid, p. 3.

of “*Works on the Silver Gate*” by Bunk and “*Partisan Connection*” by Kaštelančić, the remaining canvases are given over to subjectivist exhibitionism, in Bunk’s case through his cubist interpretation, and in Kaštelančić’s through a handling of colourist effects that breaks down the boundaries of drawing and space.²⁸⁸

This shows that the critical censure of formalism and subjectivist exhibitionism persists at this exhibition as well, whilst at the same time confirming that certain artists remain entirely unwilling to relinquish their own expressive procedures. Alongside the shifts towards the desired realist orientation, the exhibition continues to sustain a tension generated by the durability of individual poetics that do not wholly yield to the new criteria.

Zupa’s conclusion perhaps most plainly condenses the overall public message of the exhibition:

This exhibition will serve as yet another lesson for our visual artists: that our social reality today is inseparable from cultural concerns, and that the cultural front is today one and the same as the front of labour. The working man says as much, and he is to be respected for it.²⁸⁹

Here the exhibition is explicitly defined as instruction and experience, a stage in the process of the artists’ adaptation to new social demands. The idea of the unity of the cultural and labour fronts is once again confirmed, meaning that art is understood at this moment as an integral part of the broader socialist transformation of society.

Considered in its entirety, the *Fourth May Day Exhibition* attests to a heightened institutional organisation, a pronounced political symbolism, and a critical reception that, whilst retaining the capacity to distinguish qualitative nuances between artists, is strongly directed towards the valorisation of works that succeed in expressing labour, reconstruction, and socialist construction. At the same time, it demonstrates that the debate surrounding formalism, manner, and the intelligibility of artistic language had not subsided even in 1949. It is precisely for this reason that the exhibition is significant both as a manifestation of the Party jubilee and as an important juncture at which the limits and points of resistance within the process of ideological and aesthetic reorientation of the Dalmatian art scene may be traced.

288 Ibid.
289 Ibid.

Fifth May Day Exhibition
Workers’ Hall (premises of the Local Trade Union Council), 1 – 15 May 1950
(extended to 20 May 1950)

Exhibitors: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Split, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Gojak – Makarska, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Jovan Običan – Dubrovnik, Bartul Petrić – Split, Alfred Petričić – Zadar, Milan Tolić – Split, Emanuel Vidović – Split.

The *Fifth May Day Exhibition* registers a meaningful shift at the level of its exhibition venue, relocating from the Salon Galić Gallery to the Workers’ Hall, specifically to the premises of the Local Trade Union Council.²⁹⁰ This change of location carries an unambiguous symbolic weight. It signals the exhibition’s continued approximation to the representational frameworks of workers’ and trade union institutions, as well as its more pronounced integration into the public and social space of labour. The May Day Exhibition is thus displaced from the conventional artistic environment and repositioned within a space whose associations with collectivity, organised labour, and the broader social horizon had defined this exhibition format from its inception. The press notice further emphasises that the exhibition is open daily and that, following its showing in Split, it will travel to Dubrovnik and Zadar, confirming the continuity of its itinerant character and broader public function. An extension of the exhibition until 20 May was also announced, indicating that even its temporal frame remained open to adjustment in line with the organisational and presentational demands of the event itself.²⁹¹

Yet what most distinctly sets the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* apart is not merely its new location, but a change in the very structure of the exhibition and the manner of its appraisal. In a review published in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Boris Vižintin draws attention to the fact that the number of works on show had been nearly halved compared to previous years: after 73 works in 1947, 60 in 1948, and 60 in 1949, only 33 pieces were exhibited in 1950.²⁹² This figure, as Vižintin himself acknowledges, might suggest a poor turnout or a lack of activity, yet he interprets it in precisely the opposite sense – as the result of more rigorous jury selection and a raising of the qualitative threshold. He draws particular attention to the fact that barely a quarter of the more than 130 submitted works were admitted to the exhibition, adding that the jury could, in good conscience, have rejected a few more besides.²⁹³ The numerical

290 “V. Prvomajska izložba ULUH-a” [The Fifth May Day Exhibition of the ULUH], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 May 1950, p. 4.
291 “Izložba likovnih umjetnika” [Exhibition of Visual Artists], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18 May 1950, p. 4.
292 Boris Vižintin, “V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu” [Fifth May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17 June 1950, p. 2.
293 Ibid.

reduction thus becomes a marker of shifting criteria, with the emphasis now placed on the idea of the exhibition as a more carefully composed whole, rather than on representational breadth and quantity alone. Vižintin confirms as much when he observes that “the small number of exhibited works only served to enhance the quality of the exhibition as a whole,” and that an exhibition of this kind allows for a clearer assessment of the individual merit of artists active in Dalmatia.²⁹⁴ In this respect, the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* may be understood as a moment of incipient professionalisation of exhibition standards, with the event itself increasingly configured as a selective and representative showcase, and less so as a broadly conceived annual manifestation.

The minutes of the meeting held on 18 May 1950 at the Salon Galić Gallery reveal, however, that the reception of the exhibition within the Branch itself was more nuanced and somewhat differently inflected than Vižintin’s newspaper piece might suggest. At the meeting, attended by members, representatives of regional and municipal authorities, and Branko Zupa of the city library, it was acknowledged that this year’s exhibition “is better than last year’s both artistically and thematically,” while simultaneously flagging several concerns: the absence of printmaking, the works conveying a sense of “insufficiently internalised subject matter”, and the criticism that certain painters, such as Vidović, Kovačević, Petričić, and Dulčić, had been given disproportionate prominence, at the expense of younger artists who merited closer attention.²⁹⁵ Zupa’s contribution at this meeting is particularly noteworthy, as it builds upon his earlier critical review of the *Fourth May Day Exhibition*, in which he had likewise drawn attention to the weak representation of printmaking, identifying it as an important and potent expressive medium of the contemporary moment. This clearly confirms the continuity of his critical position: Zupa does not view the exhibition solely through the lens of individual works, but also through questions of media composition, thematic conviction, and the exhibition’s own capacity to meet the social and cultural demands of the age. Particularly significant is Zupa’s consistent recognition of printmaking as a medium which, by virtue of its immediacy, economy, and expressive condensation, was singularly suited to capturing the experiences of socialist everyday life and engaging a broad public. Furthermore, as a medium defined by its reproducibility and technical accessibility, printmaking possessed the potential for a more democratic dissemination of art and for its more ready incorporation into wider social circulation.²⁹⁶ His observation regarding the underrepresentation of

294 Ibid.
295 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić” [Minutes of the Meeting Held on 18 May 1950 at the Salon Galić Gallery], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
296 It is worth bearing in mind that this was a period of more intensive production and publication of print portfolios, which makes Branko Zupa’s remark, as well as his observation about the qualitative scarcity

printmaking thus carries a weight that extends well beyond a purely technical remark. It, in fact, raises the question of the extent to which the exhibition truly makes use of those artistic forms most appropriate to the new social content, the new viewer, and the new communicative functions of art. In any case, such a record is significant in that it demonstrates that, within the Branch, questions of subject matter and its persuasiveness, that is, the degree to which artists genuinely “experience” the motifs represented in the exhibition, continue to be a matter of serious reflection. The difference from Vižintin’s text is clearly identifiable: whereas the minutes and Zupa’s intervention continue to depart from the relationship between subject matter and its genuine inner conviction, Vižintin redirects the emphasis far more decisively towards formal language, painterly rigour, pictorial concerns, and the overall quality of execution. The discrepancy, therefore, stems from differing critical priorities rather than from fundamentally opposed assessments of the exhibition.

Particularly indicative is the fact that the minutes make mention of younger artists and the need to devote greater attention to them, concluding that the association endorses an exhibition of young painters.²⁹⁷ This moment is remarkably interesting, as it may be read as an early intimation of a shift that would become far more visible several years later, when a younger generation began to assert itself more forcefully within the Dalmatian artistic milieu. In this sense, the discussion surrounding the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* is significant also as a symptom of a generational transition. Whilst older and established artists continue to occupy the centre of exhibitional legitimacy, a growing sense emerges that space must be opened to younger ones as well, even where their work has yet to reach full qualitative maturity. It is noteworthy that Parać, in the minutes, defends certain jury decisions arguing that younger painters were excluded “for reasons of quality,” while the same discussion also registers an awareness that it is precisely these artists who warrant closer attention.²⁹⁸ This tension between qualitative selection and the generational imperative to create wider access constitutes one of the more salient characteristics of this exhibition situation.

and general absence of printmaking at Split exhibitions, entirely understandable within the context of the time. It suffices to recall some of the more significant publications from the wartime period and its immediate aftermath: for instance, the graphic-poetic portfolio *The Pit* by Ivan Goran Kovačić, with lithographs by Edo Murtić and Zlatko Prica, published in 1944 in Topusko under wartime conditions in an edition of 250 copies; followed by Đorđe Andrejević Kun’s *Partisans* (20 drawings, Belgrade, 1946), Frano Šimunović’s *Under Occupation* (24 drawings, Zagreb, 1947), and Franjo Mraz’s *Youth Railway* (20 drawings, Zagreb, 1947), along with a number of other related publications.
297 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić” [Minutes of the Meeting Held on 18 May 1950 at the Salon Galić Gallery], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
298 Ibid.

An important thread in the discussion concerns artists’ working conditions, which is another recurring theme of the May Day exhibitions. In the minutes, Joko Knežević argues that all the right conditions for painting must be in place, “above all time and materials,” and that their absence is felt in the exhibition.²⁹⁹ Parać agrees, stressing that little has been achieved precisely because of inadequate working conditions, particularly time, and adding the characteristic line: “A genius must have time, let alone talent!”³⁰⁰ These remarks matter because they remind us that the question of exhibition quality cannot be reduced to aesthetic or ideological criteria alone. Underlying all of this is the persistent problem of material working conditions, professional overload, and limited opportunities for sustained creative development. This reaffirms, once more, that the post-war Dalmatian exhibition scene operates in a state of enduring tension between high public expectations and the very modest reality of working conditions.

Vižintin’s newspaper review, by contrast, opens onto an altogether different register of evaluation from that of the minutes, one in which formal qualities, the inner rigour of artistic treatment, and the positioning of individual artists within the local artistic hierarchy are brought to the foreground. The assertion alone that “the three names which form the core of quality in this exhibition are: old Vidović, his pupil Kaštelančić, and the relatively young Knežević,” with Dulčić and Kovačević joining them in the seriousness of their artistic treatment, makes clear that Vižintin is more interested in painterly language and artistic maturity than in the programmatic suitability of subject matter.³⁰¹ This hierarchy is particularly telling, as it shows an assessment grounded in a broader knowledge of individual artists’ earlier work rather than solely in what is on show. This is most visible in the case of Branko Kovačević, of whom Vižintin writes that he is “a more accomplished artist than the works he shows at this exhibition would suggest.”³⁰² This observation signals a degree of disparity between Kovačević’s current exhibition presence and the expectations that had already accrued around his painting. Having previously made his mark at the ULUH exhibition in Zagreb with his *Dead Birds*, Vižintin evidently assesses his contribution to the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* against the backdrop of that previously confirmed achievement. Kovačević thus appears as an artist of recognised potential, but equally as an example of a painter who, at this specific exhibition, has fallen short of the standard his earlier production had already indicated. Critical assessment thereby moves beyond the strictly exhibitional frame, measuring individual artists against their broader exhibition continuity and previously achieved standards, a disposition that lends Vižintin’s judgement a markedly greater complexity and art-historical consideration.

299 Ibid.
300 Ibid.
301 Boris Vižintin, “V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu” [Fifth May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17 June 1950, p. 2.
302 Ibid.

Vižintin evaluates Vidović separately, and it is particularly telling that his mature intimism is once again accorded positive affirmation. Discussing the five exhibited paintings, he identifies *In the Small Port* as the finest, and proceeds to praise the muted palette, the restrained colour relationships, the tonal modulations, and the intimate landscapes, especially *The Abandoned Shipyard* and *In the Small Port II*.³⁰³ It is worth observing that Vidović’s value is associated above all with the qualities of his formal resolutions, with atmosphere, tonality, and an inner painterly culture, whilst his thematic consonance with the current social imperatives of the time remains in the background. It is significant in this context that Vidović appears as something of an exception in the branch meeting minutes as well: whilst Branko Zupa held that certain painters, including Vidović, should have been allotted less space at the exhibition, Parać explicitly concedes in the discussion his “strong artistic quality,” which is precisely what allows him to exhibit what he personally considers his best work.³⁰⁴ Parać’s remark suggests that within the Branch, Vidović’s exhibitional standing is legitimised primarily by his artistic merit, and only indirectly by his relationship to current thematic demands. This constitutes a marked departure from earlier criticism, in which older artists were frequently urged towards greater thematic alignment with the “new reality.” In Vižintin, by contrast, Vidović’s intimism is once again accorded the status of a legitimate and highly valued painterly horizon.

A similar shift towards formal-visual argumentation is evident in the critical assessments of Kaštelančić and Knežević. Kaštelančić is characterised as possessing a “sincere painterly temperament,” with his immediacy and warmth of experience held to communicate directly to the observer; the critic singles out *Landscape from the Island* as one of the finest canvases in the exhibition, second only to Vidović.³⁰⁵ The reservation concerning inadequate attention to the spatial placement of human figures notwithstanding, the overall critical verdict remains markedly affirmative. With regard to Knežević, he places particular emphasis on the artist’s consistent progress and compositional maturity, describing *Vrisnik Village* as realistically treated, distinguished by a vivid palette, animated tonal contrasts, and a rigorous pictorial culture.³⁰⁶ Taken together, these assessments make clear that Vižintin conceives of realism as one among several viable paths towards a serious painterly synthesis, not as an end value in itself. This distinction is of particular importance, as it indicates that

303 Ibid.
304 “Zapisnik sjednice održane 18. svibnja 1950. u Salonu Galić” [Minutes of the Meeting Held on 18 May 1950 at the Salon Galić Gallery], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
305 Boris Vižintin, “V. prvomajska izložba u Splitu” [Fifth May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17 June 1950, p. 2.
306 Ibid.

formal persuasiveness is, for him, ultimately the more decisive criterion, superseding thematic suitability as such.

Some of the most revealing passages in Vižintin’s text address works that, despite their thematic conformity with the expectations of previous years, are found wanting precisely because they fall into illustrativeness. Of Franičević and Tolić he writes that their central failing is the “problem of original personal idiom,” and that their paintings (*On the Youth Railway*, *On the Construction Site*) feel decoratively drawn and subsequently filled with colour “comme des images d’Épinal” (popular, narratively simplified, coloured illustrations), weak in feeling and expressive force alike.³⁰⁷ Particularly significant is his contention that they failed to bring reality into a more intimate relationship with the visual possibilities of painting, leaving the works hovering close to “dry illustration.”³⁰⁸ This judgement is exceptionally revealing, as it reveals how formerly favoured subjects – the youth railway, the building site, labour – are no longer regarded as a sufficient guarantee of value. Where painterly immersion, formal depth, and professional conviction are lacking, such themes slide all too readily into illustrativeness. It is precisely here that one perceives how profoundly the critical horizon had shifted by 1950: subject matter remains important, but it is no longer enough to carry the work’s exhibition value by itself.

The assessment of Bunk, too, is no longer structured around the kind of ideological condemnation that had characterised previous years, though a certain reserve towards his particular way of seeing persists. Vižintin writes that *The Ironer* and *Triglav* are conceived in an expressively decorative manner, cold and remote, yet “not without certain qualities,” adding that his draughtsmanship is “assured and incisive,” influenced by Expressionism, and that his works carry “the mark of a distinctive artistic inquiry.”³⁰⁹ This judgement shows that Bunk is no longer seen primarily as a case of formalist aberration, as in earlier critical writing; his work is now positioned more precisely within a specific pictorial and stylistic tradition. It is telling that Vižintin’s text, like earlier assessments on Bunk, still allows the question about his relationship to Picasso and the broader modernist repertoire to linger in the background, but now without the earlier rhetorical sharpness, and without any need for the direct ideological disqualification of such models. Bunk’s manner of expression is thus no longer dismissed out of hand on account of its distance from a prescribed pictorial norm; it is instead regarded as a distinctive form of artistic searching, one that possesses certain qualities while remaining cold and partially closed to the observer. This confirms the impression that Vižintin’s criticism is more consistently directed towards the description and evaluation

307 Ibid.
308 Ibid.
309 Ibid.

of formal problems, and towards a nuanced treatment of individual artistic positions, with correspondingly less need for the ideological classification of artists.

Vižintin is particularly harsh towards Masle and Gojak, whose works he finds impersonal, at times unintelligible, and devoid of deeper feeling, whilst his attitude towards sculpture is almost resolutely negative. Sculpture is, as he puts it, “as usual in Split, poorly represented,” and he describes Mirković’s works as “pure craft, which has no place in an exhibition such as this,” though in the little-known Običan from Dubrovnik he at least discerns an effort to convey depth of feeling.³¹⁰ This assessment, too, is significant, as it reveals that Vižintin conceives of the exhibition as a space in which a certain level of inner pictorial ambition must be sustained. Works that remain at the level of skill or craft are, for him, no longer sufficient.

The institutional and economic dimensions of the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* are further illuminated by subsequent documentation relating to the purchase of artworks, from which it emerges that certain works had been reserved for municipal and regional institutions yet remained unpaid by the end of 1950.³¹¹ It is precisely this administrative inconsistency in the purchasing process of that year that renders more intelligible the later standardisation of procedure, which from 1951 onwards would be governed by the *Instructions on the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts* and the work of the republican commission.

310 Ibid.
311 In a letter from the ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split addressed to the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in Zagreb, dated 15 December 1950, the Branch reported on artworks sold at the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* in Split for which payment had not yet been received. The work *Bomber* by Ivan Mirković, plaster, had been purchased for the Education Commissioner’s Office of the Split Municipal People’s Committee at a price of 15,000 dinars. The following works had been purchased for the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia in Split: Ante Gojak, *Self-Portrait*, oil, 15,000 dinars; Branko Kovačević, *Head of a Woman*, oil, 25,000 dinars; Antun Masle, *From Dubrovnik Harbour*, oil, 20,000 dinars; Emanuel Vidović, *In the Small Port*, oil, 45,000 dinars. The total sum of outstanding purchases listed in the letter came to 120,000 dinars, and the Branch requested that the necessary steps be taken to settle payment for the purchased works within the current budgetary year. See “Dopis ULUH-ove Podružnice za Dalmaciju” [Letter from the ULUH Dalmatia Branch], sent to the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in Zagreb, 15 December 1950, no. 145/50, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 56: Purchase of Artworks – Executive Council. Furthermore, according to an extract from the minutes of the Commission for the Purchase of Artworks, which convened in Zagreb from 12 to 14 December 1950, the following works were recorded in connection with the purchase by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia from the *Fifth May Day Exhibition*: Ante Gojak, *Self-Portrait*, oil, 15,000 dinars; Branko Kovačević, *Head of a Woman*, oil, 23,000 dinars; Antun Masle, *From Dubrovnik Harbour*, oil, 20,000 dinars; Emanuel Vidović, *Abandoned Shipyard*, oil, 43,000 dinars. A comparison of these two documents reveals minor discrepancies in the recorded prices and in the title of Vidović’s work, which points to the need for caution in the final identification of the purchased pieces. See “Izvadak iz Zapisnika Komisije za otkup umjetnina, 18. prosinca 1950.” [Extract from the Minutes of the Commission for the Purchase of Artworks, 18 December 1950], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 56: Purchase of Artworks – Executive Council.

Considered in its entirety, the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* registers several significant developments. On the institutional plane, it undergoes a change of venue, relocating to the Workers’ Hall and thereby consolidating its ties to the public framework of labour and trade union representation. At the organisational level, it introduces stricter selection criteria, resulting in a marked reduction in the number of works shown and a corresponding reinforcement of qualitative standards. At the level of reception, however, a notable duality emerges: the minutes continue to place considerable emphasis on questions of thematic content, its lived authenticity, and the imperative of opening greater space to younger artists, whilst Vižintin’s text increasingly brings formal language, painterly rigour, and the intrinsic pictorial worth of individual works to the fore. This distinction is precisely what renders the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* of particular interest: it appears to constitute a space in which the question of pictorial quality as an autonomous critical category is reasserting itself with renewed vigour, displacing the function of the exhibition as a site for the verification of socially desirable themes. At the same time, the debate surrounding younger artists signals that a new generational paradigm is already becoming discernible in the background, one that would go on to reshape the Dalmatian exhibition scene with growing determination in the years ahead.

Sixth May Day Exhibition
House of Culture (ground floor of the former Bishop’s Palace), 1 – 15 May 1951
(extended to 20 May)

Exhibitors: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Vinko Foretić – Komiža, Ante Franičević – Split, Ante Gojak – Makarska, Ante Jović – Zagreb-Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Tomislav Kukoč – Split, Ante Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Bartul Petrić – Split, Petar Ružić – Split, Milan Tolić – Split, Emanuel Vidović, Split.

Guest exhibitors: Josip Boteri – Makarska, Ante Ivanišević – Split, Đuro Pulitika – Dubrovnik, Ranko Tolić – Split.

The *Sixth May Day Exhibition* constitutes a notable juncture in the evolution of post-war exhibition practice in Split, not least because its significance was also linked to the question of the city’s exhibition infrastructure. Press coverage from spring 1951 makes explicit that the absence of adequate exhibition spaces represented one of the principal structural impediments to artistic life in Split; the proposed solution was the conversion of the ground floor of the former Bishop’s Palace, which would go on to host the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* of visual artists of Dalmatia.³¹² This points to a growing recognition

312 “Dva savjeta za kulturu i umjetnost” [Two Councils for Culture and Art], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13 April 1951, p. 2.

that exhibition provision was a basic precondition for both the continuity and intensity of artistic life in the city. The *Sixth May Day Exhibition* should therefore be seen not only as another event in the May Day series, but as the moment that opened a new chapter in the spatial conditions of Split’s art scene, and the first time the question of space came to the fore publicly as a structural issue in local artistic life.

Newspaper coverage of the opening reinforces this point. A short notice from 1 May 1951 singles out the lack of exhibition premises as “the most painful problem of artistic life in Split,” while the opening of the exhibition in the newly fitted rooms of the former Bishop’s Palace is presented as the long-awaited resolution of that problem.³¹³ The same piece adds that the Museum of Fine Arts was to relocate there as well, and that an exhibition of Zagreb artists, then showing in Belgrade, was due to follow the *Sixth May Day Exhibition*.³¹⁴ These details confirm that the new venue was understood as an infrastructural step forward capable of transforming and intensifying the rhythm of cultural events in Split. The change of address opened up the prospect of a more stable and more frequent exhibition life. Particularly telling in this regard is the closing sentiment of the newspaper piece, which expresses the hope that, now that Split had “suitable exhibition premises,” solo and group exhibitions might be seen more regularly, “rather than, as hitherto, once a year.”³¹⁵ It is for this reason that the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* also presents itself as a symbolic threshold marking the beginning of a new institutional period. This newspaper formulation also shows that the question of space was directly tied to the frequency and variety of exhibition activity, with the new venue seen as a condition for the city’s broader cultural normalisation.

The opening on 1 May 1951 in the new House of Culture, the former Bishop’s Palace, was a notably high-profile public event. According to *Slobodna Dalmacija*, those in attendance included Vicko Krstulović, Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia for Dalmatia and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Paško Ninčević, President of the People’s Committee of the City of Split, representatives of the Yugoslav People’s Navy, the people’s authorities and mass organisations, and the British Consul in Split, George Burton.³¹⁶ The guest list makes clear that the opening went well beyond a professional cultural occasion. Senior party and municipal officials, military representatives, and a foreign consul all point to the inauguration of the new space being seen as a matter of broader public significance. The British Consul’s attendance is especially notable, suggesting the event was understood

313 “Šesta prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije” [Sixth May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists of Dalmatia], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1 May 1951, p. 5.
314 Ibid.
315 Ibid.
316 “Otvorena je VI. Prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije” [The Sixth May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists of Dalmatia Has Opened], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3 May 1951, p. 4.

as part of the city’s internationally visible urban and cultural life. The setting, a restored early twentieth-century Neo-Renaissance palace, lent the occasion additional symbolic weight, as the new exhibition infrastructure served not only the practical needs of the artists, but equally the projection of Split’s public image as a cultural centre. The mix of political officials, military representatives, and a foreign diplomatic guest shows that the opening functioned as an act of public legitimization of the new cultural space, not just of the exhibition itself.

The newspaper reports also show that the exhibition drew significant public interest. Early articles already note the strong turnout,³¹⁷ and by mid-May *Slobodna Dalmacija* reported that the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* had been visited by more people than all previous May Day exhibitions combined, over 9,000, compared to the 1,000 to 1,500 who had attended earlier editions.³¹⁸ This is a striking figure, showing that the new space gave the exhibition far greater visibility and accessibility. The press also records organised visits by trade union branches of workers’ collectives and institutions, as well as the passage of a large number of tourists through the exhibition rooms.³¹⁹ This points to the markedly heterogeneous composition of the exhibition’s audience, encompassing organised workers’ collectives, the broader public, and visitors from outside the local community. Such a reception corroborates the view that the new exhibition infrastructure was a key factor in the exhibition’s success, a claim the press itself substantiates, noting that the success was greatly aided by the fact that the exhibition “was arranged in the representative premises of the new House of Culture (the former Bishop’s Palace), whereas all earlier exhibitions had been held in the Salon Galić Gallery.”³²⁰ The exhibition was consequently extended until the end of the week, to 20 May, before travelling to Zadar and Dubrovnik.³²¹

Shifting attention, however, from the level of infrastructure and reception to the exhibition itself, it becomes apparent that public interest exceeded critical enthusiasm for the exhibition as a whole. A more substantial review published on 5 June 1951 observes that the increase in the number of exhibiting artists and works had not been accompanied by a commensurate improvement in quality. It is noted that 20 artists showed 66 works, and that whilst the exhibition had surpassed its predecessors in numerical terms, “the quality of the exhibition itself had not risen accordingly.”³²² This observation brings into

317 Ibid.
318 “Šestu prvomajsku izložbu posjetilo preko 9 hiljada ljudi” [The Sixth May Day Exhibition Attended by Over 9,000 People], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 May 1951, p. 4.
319 Ibid.
320 Ibid.
321 “Produžuje se VI. Prvomajska izložba” [The Sixth May Day Exhibition Extended], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15 May 1951, p. 4.
322 L., “VI. prvomajska izložba u Splitu” [The Sixth May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 June

focus the important question of the jury process and the criteria governing the selection of works. The critic notes that the jury “appears not to have proceeded from any firmly established criterion in its selection,” meaning that certain works could have been rejected if the aim was a quality exhibition; if, however, the objective was “mass representation,” a showcase of the full breadth of painterly activity in Dalmatia, then, he argues, a larger number of artists and submitted works should have been accepted.³²³ This observation identifies with considerable precision one of the central tensions running through the May Day exhibitions, posing the question of whether they were conceived as a comprehensive and representative regional showcase or as a strictly selective, quality-driven exhibition. In the case of the *Sixth May Day Exhibition*, the critical response demonstrates that this tension had not yet been resolved.

The critic does not, however, consider the shortcomings of the exhibition in isolation from the material and institutional conditions in which it took place, arguing:

The shortcomings of this exhibition may be excused if one takes into account the circumstances in which many artists work: the shortage of painting materials (canvas, paints, brushes), too few studios, and many other conditions that are, for the time being, unavoidable. There are other causes too. The May Day exhibition is the only art exhibition; solo exhibitions are non-existent. Artistic life proceeds in a rather sparse and modest fashion, year after year.³²⁴

In this regard, the criticism of the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* takes on a broader significance: the exhibition becomes symptomatic of the condition of the artistic scene as a whole. The review is also noteworthy for its candid claim that, over the course of the last several exhibitions, it is barely possible to speak of “any kind of development, whether individual, and still less collective,” with the cause identified in “a certain inertness among our artists to create a more intensive artistic life themselves.”³²⁵ Responsibility is thereby partially displaced from objective structural conditions onto the artists themselves and their professional ethic. This also shows how firmly the notion of artistic development in contemporary criticism was tied to continuity of work, exhibition, and visibility, conditions that a single annual group show could not provide.

The references to Delacroix, Cézanne, and Gauguin are telling in this context. The critic cites Delacroix’s journal to stress that art requires discipline, deep learning, experience, and mastery of execution.³²⁶ The invocation of canonical painterly authorities signals

1951, p. 2.
323 Ibid.
324 Ibid.
325 Ibid.
326 Ibid.

a notable shift in critical discourse: in place of predominantly ideological evaluation, the demand for professional development, artistic discipline, and the seriousness of craft asserts itself with increasing force. The *Sixth May Day Exhibition* is accordingly read in critical terms less as a test of the political acceptability of motifs, and more as a space in which to gauge artistic maturity and individual development. This shift matters because it shows that, in the early 1950s, the critical horizon was moving clearly towards questions of professional practice, sustained work, and the rigour of craft.

Through this critical lens, the author picks out three key names: Vidović, Dulčić, and Kaštelančić, who “in some sense ... make up the core of this exhibition.”³²⁷ Emanuel Vidović is assessed through the continuity of his already familiar oeuvre: Trogir motifs, hazy evening moods, subdued colours, and “inconsistent forms,” with the watercolour *From the Window* standing out as his best work, appearing fresher and “romantically more spontaneous” than the rest.³²⁸ It is important to observe that Vidović is no longer evaluated according to the criterion of thematic contemporaneity; the focus shifts instead to the internal coherence of his painterly world, his technical command, and the psychological states he varies. His mature intimism is thus effectively sustained as a legitimate value within the exhibition. Vidović’s position, as can be discerned, indicates that older masters continue to be granted authority, though increasingly on grounds less connected to the programmatic relevance of their subject matter, and more to the consistency and intrinsic strength of their pictorial language.

Kaštelančić is characterised as an artist of strong temperament who approaches the Dalmatian landscape with the intensity of an impulsive painterly experience. The critic notes that his vivid and luminous colours “restlessly interweave,” producing a degree of drama that registers immediately with the observer; at the same time, however, he takes issue with a certain monotony of treatment and with the tendency of individual paintings to fail to form a distinct, self-contained experience.³²⁹ Such an assessment is telling, for it reveals that neither painterly energy nor colourist suggestiveness is considered sufficient in itself; what is sought is variety and internal differentiation within the work. In this respect, the case of Kaštelančić reveals a growing expectation that an artist should possess a strong personal hand and the capacity to realise each work as a separately formed whole.

Ivo Dulčić occupies a special place in the exhibition. The critic describes him as “an exceptional talent” who has been drawing public attention for several years and who staged a successful solo show in Zagreb the previous autumn.³³⁰ The hallmark of his

painting is colour, “fluid, refined to the point of sensuality,” and *Children’s Restaurant* is identified as the work that most fully demonstrates the softness of his palette and the virtuosity of his tonal modulations, albeit with certain compositional shortcomings.³³¹ What matters most here is that Dulčić is judged primarily on his capacity to develop a personal and sensitive painterly voice. This critical stance confirms that the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* is, in its reception, becoming an increasingly clear-cut site of formal and artistic evaluation. Dulčić also stands out as a marker of the direction the Dalmatian scene might take, were conditions in place for more frequent and independent showings of individual bodies of work.

A similar type of evaluation is discernible in the treatment of the remaining artists. Rudolf Bunk is characterised as “an interesting painterly physiognomy,” whose intellectual development is seen to manifest in a stricter systematisation and a “recourse to formal abstractions”; the critic nonetheless observes that his studious approach “stifles the artist’s sensibility,” producing an art that has been “scientificised” and from which “all joy has vanished.”³³² This formulation is telling, indicating the degree to which criticism has grown sensitive to the tension between rational construction and the emotional depth of the work. Branko Kovačević is treated in much the same vein, assessed above all on formal grounds: *Stradun* is described as “composed with great virtuosity” but cold in colour, while *Dead Birds*, “this year, regrettably, all too dead,” are found wanting in every regard.³³³ Milan Tolić is characterised as an artist in continuous search of his own idiom, his landscapes showing genuine merit, yet undermined by a loss of control over colour, whilst *The Gypsy Woman* is identified as a particularly clear instance of stylistic incoherence.³³⁴ These assessments reveal that criticism follows artists longitudinally, evaluating their efforts, progressions, and setbacks alike. It is this same longitudinal perspective that brings into relief one of the structural weaknesses of the local exhibition system: without more regular solo presentations, the development of individual artists remains perceptible only in fragmentary form, through infrequent collective showcases.

The critic also touches on Vinko Foretić, whose large canvas *Two Worlds* is described as a literarily inflected scene from a third-class railway carriage, blue, smoky, and steeped in alcohol, which, for all its faults, retains something “warm and melancholy,” likely because it draws on genuinely felt memories from the artist’s own life.³³⁵ This assessment is noteworthy in that it discloses a critical willingness to affirm even more narrative and literarily tinged works, if they are underpinned by authentic experience and emotional persuasiveness.

327 Ibid.
328 Ibid.
329 Ibid.
330 Ibid.

331 Ibid.
332 Ibid.
333 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
335 Ibid.

At the level of the exhibition’s general character, it is important to note that it also included sculptural works, a segment the critic assesses with marked reservation. Ivan Mirković is characterised as an artist whose works attest to craft routine, most notably in his portrait of Rikardo Katalinić Jeretov, whilst the composition *The Execution by Petar Ružić* is considered stylistically uneven.³³⁶ Ante Ivanišević receives a more positive appraisal: his wooden statuette *Woman at Frontline Work* is regarded as a successful work within the limits of applied art.³³⁷ What this demonstrates is that neither the new venue nor the strong attendance were enough to produce uncritical enthusiasm for the exhibition as a whole. If anything, the moment of infrastructural progress seems to have sharpened the critical need to distinguish between public success and uneven artistic achievement.

Taken as a whole, the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* mattered chiefly because it brought the question of Split’s exhibition infrastructure to the fore and provided a concrete answer to the long-standing deficit of representative spaces for artistic presentation. The opening in the former Bishop’s Palace, the considerable public interest, the extension of the exhibition’s run, and the announcement of further exhibition programmes in the same venue all point to 1951 as the year in which an infrastructural framework for a more intensive artistic life in the city began to be established in earnest. Alongside its spatial and organisational dimensions, the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* is also significant for the more clearly visible republican acquisition. Following the adoption of the *Instructions on the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts* in January 1951, acquisitions began to be conducted through a more precisely structured procedure, encompassing pre-allocated funds, the appointment of a republican commission representative, the work of a local field commission, and the subsequent confirmation and adjustment of prices relative to those in Zagreb.³³⁸ In this sense, the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* was not merely a local annual showcase of Dalmatian artists, but a site at which the increasingly organised

relationship between republican cultural policy, local professional authorities, and the market valuation of artistic works can be observed taking shape.

At the same time, the exhibition itself remained ambivalent in critical eyes: on the one hand affirming a growing public interest and a new visibility for art in the public sphere, and on the other laying bare the persistent problems of criteria, selection, professional discipline, and uneven quality of work. The acquisition procedure further underscores this tension between public representation and professional selection. The Local Commission in Split put forward works for acquisition from the *Sixth May Day Exhibition*, and the republican commission gave its approval in principle on 21 May 1951, subject to price adjustments in accordance with Zagreb criteria.³³⁹ Acquisition thus emerges as a distinct mode of evaluating the exhibition: one that simultaneously confirms the presence of individual artists in the public domain and their institutional legitimacy within the republican framework of cultural patronage.

It is this very duality – infrastructural progress on the one hand, aesthetic unevenness on the other – that renders the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* a particularly important site for understanding the post-war art scene in Split. It demonstrates that artistic life at mid-century could no longer sustain itself without adequate physical infrastructure, while equally making clear that infrastructure in itself offered no automatic guarantee of any stabilisation in the qualitative horizon of exhibition production. Of equal significance is the fact that criticism explicitly and unambiguously flagged the inadequacy of a model in which the May Day exhibition represented virtually the only substantial opportunity for a public assessment of Dalmatian artists’ work. Given that solo exhibitions are almost

336 Ibid.
337 Ibid.
338 A distribution of Ministry of Science and Culture funds totalling 2,000,000 dinars was proposed at a meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts, attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, held on 24 April 1951. The sum of 200,000 dinars was allocated for acquisitions from the May Day Exhibition of the Split Branch of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia (ULUH). Frano Šimunović was proposed as the representative of the republican commission for the Split exhibition, whilst Cvito Fisković, PhD, Director of the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia, Kruno Prijatelj, PhD, Acting Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, and Ivan Knežević, academic painter, were proposed as members of the local commission in Split. See “Zapisnik sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 24. travnja 1951.” [Minutes of the Meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, 24 April 1951], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 55: Purchase of Artworks.

339 At the Third Meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, held on 21 May 1951, the conclusions of the Local Commission for the acquisition of artworks from the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* in Split were considered. The Commission agreed in principle with the proposed acquisitions, but resolved to reduce the prices and bring them closer to the Zagreb prices established at the second meeting of the republican commission on 10 and 11 May 1951. The following works were proposed for acquisition: Rudolf Bunk, *Self-Portrait*, tempera, 15,000 dinars; Ivo Dulčić, *Dubrovnik Square*, oil, 30,000 dinars; Ante Franičević, *Landscape from the Railway*, oil, 18,000 dinars; Ante Kaštelančić, *Trpanj Avenue*, oil, 35,000 dinars; Joko Knežević, *Northern Harbour*, oil, 35,000 dinars; Bartul Petrić, *Split Suburb*, sepia, 6,000 dinars; Milan Tolić, *Zadar Motif*, oil, 15,000 dinars; Emanuel Vidović, *From the Window*, watercolour, 15,000 dinars. The Commission additionally proposed the acquisition of Ante Gojak’s painting *Hauling the Lampara Net* for 20,000 dinars. The total sum of acquisitions amounted to 189,000 dinars, whilst the remaining 11,000 dinars of the allocated 200,000 were reserved for further acquisitions from Dalmatia upon a visit by a member of the republican commission. See “Zapisnik III. sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 21. svibnja 1951.” [Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Art attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, 21 May 1951], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 55: Purchase of Artworks.

entirely absent and the Branch has yet to organise them on a sustained basis, individual bodies of work remain accessible only in fragmentary and occasional form, glimpsed through infrequent annual showcases. This in turn means that critical evaluation cannot achieve its full depth, being denied the possibility of more systematic engagement with individual developmental trajectories. In this respect, the *Sixth May Day Exhibition* also exposes a structural paradox inherent in Split’s artistic life: at the very moment the city at last obtains a more suitable exhibition venue, it becomes all the more apparent how much is lacking in the way of a more varied exhibition rhythm, one that would afford individual artists a fuller and more regular public articulation of their practice.

Seventh May Day Exhibition
House of Culture (ground floor of the former Bishop’s Palace), 1 – 15 May 1952

Exhibitors: Rudolf Bunk – Split, Ivo Dulčić – Dubrovnik, Ante Franičević – Split, Nikola Ignjatović – Split, Ante Kaštelančić – Split, Joko Knežević – Split, Branko Kovačević – Dubrovnik, Eugen Krstulović – Dubrovnik, Antun Masle – Dubrovnik, Ivan Mirković – Split, Bartul Petrić – Split, Željko Radmilović – Split, Milan Tolić – Split, Emanuel Vidović – Split.

Guest exhibitors: Ante Boteri – Makarska, Ante Ivanišević – Split, Ljubo Kolovrat – Dubrovnik, Krešo Mateljan – Split, Vjera Matijaš – Split, Bosiljka Mijatović – Dubrovnik, Ljubomir Nakić – Split, Đuro Pultika – Dubrovnik, Vojka Ružić – Split, Ranko Tolić – Split.

The *Seventh May Day Exhibition* shows that, by the early 1950s, the May Day exhibitions were becoming an increasingly distinct site of intersection for several significant processes: the institutionalisation of exhibition life, the transformation of the relationship between centre and periphery, a growing imperative for self-reflection on the part of the art scene, and a heightened interest in questions of quality, criteria, and the commercial prospects of exhibited works. Whereas the preceding sixth exhibition had forcefully foregrounded the question of exhibition infrastructure in Split, the seventh continued to operate within that institutional framework, while at the same time signalling that the resolution of the spatial question had not, in itself, been sufficient to resolve the deeper structural problems of the local art scene. In this respect, the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* functions as an important indicator of the tension between the representational role of the event and the increasingly assertive demand for more rigorous evaluation of artistic production. The acquisition documentation from 1952 confirms the continuity of the model established the preceding year. The Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts, attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, examined the acquisition proposal drawn up in relation to the *Seventh May Day Exhibition*, with a portion of the works earmarked for purchase from republican funds and the remainder from local

sources. This distribution reflects the emergence of a more complex cultural funding mechanism in the early 1950s, with both republican and local tiers participating in the selection and material affirmation of artistic production.³⁴⁰

Particularly striking, on the eve of the exhibition, is a newspaper piece giving the Dubrovnik artists a chance to speak for themselves, articulating their position, their approach to their work, and expectations of exhibition activity.³⁴¹ The moment shows that the press at this stage served multiple purposes: announcing exhibitions, providing critical follow-up, and offering artists a direct platform to voice their own understanding of the profession and its conditions. At the same time, their statements reveal how closely the question of geographical location was bound up with that of artistic visibility and the possibilities for professional development. Branko Kovačević speaks openly on the matter: “My plan is to move from Dubrovnik to Zagreb in the near future, as I believe I will find more favourable conditions for work there. I have been living in Dubrovnik for six years now, and distance from the centre, over a longer period, can to some extent cause one to fall into obscurity.”³⁴² This statement is of particular importance,

340 At the 15th meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts, attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, held on 15 May 1952, consideration was given to the report by Frano Kršinić and S. Šeparović on the acquisition proposal of the Purchase Commission at the Seventh May Day Exhibition of the Split Branch of the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia (ULUH). Also serving on the commission were Ante Kaštelančić and Joko Knežević, academic painters, and P. Ninčević, President of the People’s Committee of the City of Split. It was proposed that fourteen works by Rudolf Bunk, Ivo Dulčić, Ante Kaštelančić, Joko Knežević, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Krstulović, Antun Masle, Željko Radmilović, Milan Tolić, Emanuel Vidović, Ante Botteri and Đuro Pultika be acquired from the exhibition, at a total value of 448,000 dinars. Five works were earmarked for acquisition from the funds of the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, at a total value of 198,000 dinars: Rudolf Bunk, *Flowers*, oil, 60 × 60 cm, cat. no. 3 (35,000 dinars); Ivo Dulčić, *Portrait of Mrs M. B.*, oil, 69 × 55 cm, cat. no. 5 (35,000 dinars); Ante Kaštelančić, *Motif from the Island*, oil, 81 × 70 cm, cat. no. 15 (53,000 dinars); Joko Knežević, *Head*, mosaic, 40 × 34 cm, cat. no. 19 (35,000 dinars); Emanuel Vidović, *Mackerel*, oil, 53 × 34 cm, cat. no. 43 (40,000 dinars). The remaining works were to be funded from local sources. See “Zapisnik XV. sastanka Komisije za kupovanje radova likovne i primijenjene umjetnosti pri Savjetu za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 15. svibnja 1952.” [Minutes of the 15th Meeting of the Commission for the Purchase of Works of Fine and Applied Arts, attached to the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Croatia, 15 May 1952], Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 55: Purchase of Artworks. These acquired works were dispatched to Zagreb. See the letter “Dostava otkupljenih slika” [Delivery of Purchased Paintings] sent by the ULUH Dalmatia Branch in Split to the Association of Fine Artists of Croatia in Zagreb on 2 July 1952, no. 83/52, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 55: Purchase of Artworks.

341 B. Kamić, “Pred VII. Prvomajsku izložbu likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije: O sebi i svom radu. Razgovor našeg suradnika s likovnim umjetnicima Dubrovnika” [Ahead of the Seventh May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists of Dalmatia: On Themselves and Their Work. Our Correspondent’s Conversations with the Visual Artists of Dubrovnik], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 26 April 1952, p. 3.

342 Ibid. Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, fond HR-HDA-1979-2. Croatian Fine Artists’ Association 1945–1992, technical unit (box) 52: Executive Committee 1945 – 1971.

as it encapsulates the fundamental problem of the relationship between the cultural centre and the cities distant from it. Artistic production was evidently still perceived as heavily dependent on spatial proximity to the principal institutional and critical centres, such that residence outside Zagreb or Belgrade could mean reduced visibility, weaker professional networks, and the risk of marginalisation. It follows that the Dalmatian art scene, for all its vitality, had yet to attain a degree of self-sufficiency that would afford its artists a full sense of professional continuity. It also becomes clear that cultural decentralisation, however desirable in principle, had not in practice been carried far enough to allow artists outside the main centres an equal professional footing.

A similar tone runs through the statements of both Dulčić and Masle. Dulčić explicitly links exhibition activity to the fundamental social function of art, asserting that “a painter who does not exhibit his work resembles an actor who declaims behind the closed doors of his room. A painter, like an actor, creates for an audience.”³⁴³ This formulation clearly reflects an awareness of public presentation as an integral component of artistic practice. At the same time, Dulčić is quick to draw attention to the material conditions that constrain such activity, adding that he has no intention of remaining in Dubrovnik permanently, as he feels “cut off from the art centres and a wider circle of professional colleagues.”³⁴⁴ The statement makes clear that professional development at this moment was still hard to conceive without closer contact with the cultural centres. Masle is even more direct. He speaks openly of his position as a drawing teacher, which leaves little room for serious painting, and calls himself a “Sunday painter” on that account.³⁴⁵ His words are especially valuable for they illuminate from within what criticism would subsequently identify as one of the key problems of both the exhibition and the scene at large: an absence of time, material resources, and uninterrupted work. Masle’s expressed desire to live in Zagreb or Belgrade whilst visiting Dubrovnik only occasionally further corroborates the perception of the centres as spaces of more dynamic artistic life, professional advancement, and opportunity.³⁴⁶ Considered together, these statements demonstrate with some clarity that artists outside the centre experienced their position as a form of professional and symbolic peripheralization, rather than as a question of spatial distance alone.

The *Seventh May Day Exhibition* itself was formally opened on 1 May 1952 at 11 o’clock in the building of the former Bishop’s Palace, across three large and spacious halls, in the presence of representatives of the people’s authorities, social organisations, and public and cultural workers of Split, along with numerous invited guests.³⁴⁷ Here too, the

343 Ibid.
344 Ibid.
345 Ibid.
346 Ibid.
347 “Otvorena sedma prvomajska izložba likovnih umjetnika” [The Seventh May Day Exhibition of Visual Artists Opens], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 May 1952, p. 2.

opening of the exhibition was conceived as a public event of wider social significance. The exhibition itself was presented as richer than its predecessors in the number of works on show, and the newspaper account draws particular attention to its character as distinguished by “choice and variety of motifs,” asserting that this “considerably raises its quality and arouses greater interest among what has so far been a sizeable audience.”³⁴⁸ The tone at this stage is markedly affirmative, suggesting that variety of motifs was taken as a sign of qualitative advancement. It is important to observe, however, that quality is here still largely validated through the breadth of the thematic range, an indication that the idea of representativeness continued to play a significant role in evaluating the overall scope of the exhibition.

It is noteworthy that as early as mid-May the exhibition was being promoted in the press through the reproduction of Bunk’s *Flowers*, a sign that the newspaper medium was being used as a kind of visual extension of the exhibition, designed to draw audiences in.³⁴⁹ This media practice attests to an awareness that interest in an exhibition is produced through a carefully constructed visual presence in the daily press, and not through critical assessment alone. In this manner, the newspaper assumed a mediating function between the exhibition and its audience, contributing to the formation of reception in advance of the physical visit itself.

The final notice announcing the closure of the exhibition, however, contains a detail that gives rise to a number of interpretative questions. The exhibition is recorded as having attracted “around 400 visitors” and that “a certain number of works” were acquired.³⁵⁰ This figure is appreciably lower than that documented for the preceding *Sixth May Day Exhibition*, prompting the question of whether this reflects a genuine decline in interest, a change in the method by which attendance was recorded, or a shift in the broader social atmosphere that accompanied the exhibition. Such a discrepancy warrants caution in interpreting newspaper figures, while also pointing to the fact that a highly representative opening and considerable media visibility did not necessarily guarantee sustained or widespread public interest. At the same time, the reference to “a certain number of works” being acquired remains deliberately vague, and this too is indicative. It suggests that the commercial dimension of the exhibition was deemed significant enough to mention, yet not sufficiently pronounced or clear to be quantified more precisely. This imprecision alone signals a degree of uncertainty around the exhibition’s market dimension.

348 Ibid.
349 “Sa VII. prvomajske izložbe u Splitu” [From the Seventh May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 14 May 1952, p. 4.
350 “Zatvorena VII. prvomajska izložba” [The Seventh May Day Exhibition Closes], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15 May 1952, p. 4.

A significant layer of the reception of the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* is a survey published on 21 May 1952, in which the artists themselves: Rudolf Bunk, Joko Knežević, and the sculptor Željko Radmilović, comment on the exhibition.³⁵¹ The approach is notable for giving the exhibition a dimension of self-analysis and self-evaluation, while bringing the artists closer to a wider public as figures who think seriously about criteria, progress, and the role of the market. It also shows that a need was already emerging within the artistic community for more articulate public discourse about its own position, which is a telling sign of the scene’s growing maturity. Bunk offers a view that places strong emphasis on quality and more rigorous selection. His words are worth quoting at length:

We must strive, by multiplying quality, to reach that stage of development at which quantity must grow into quality that must lend our exhibitions their true weight and true character. Only by raising the qualitative level of the average can we raise the standard of fundamental values alongside it. The greater the number of good paintings, the higher the criterion of judgement. Conversely, the greater the number of poor paintings, the lower the criterion must inevitably fall, and our exhibitions must consequently lose in both artistic and pedagogical significance. Good results can only be achieved through more stringent selection of the proposed exhibition material. This concerns not only the works of guest exhibitors, but equally the members of the ULUH themselves, who frequently demonstrate insufficient self-criticism. Whether the artists have advanced in their work cannot be assessed on the basis of so limited an insight into their practice as group exhibitions afford; such a judgement could only be formed on the basis of solo exhibitions by individual artists.³⁵²

Bunk’s response is of considerable importance, as it distils several of the central problems facing the scene at the time. First, he insists on the idea that an exhibition must be a place for raising standards, and not merely a showcase of collective output. Second, he explicitly calls for more rigorous selection and greater self-criticism on the part of the artists themselves. Third, and perhaps most significantly, he cautions that the development of an individual artist cannot be seriously assessed on the basis of group exhibitions alone. It is precisely this observation that brings to the fore one of the central problems of the Dalmatian exhibition scene: the absence of solo exhibitions precludes any deeper engagement with individual bodies of work. The group May Day exhibition thus assumes a function it cannot fully bear, since it is called upon simultaneously to serve as a regional showcase and as a site for the evaluation of individual artistic achievement.

351 “Što misle neki naši likovni radnici o VII. Prvomajskoj izložbi u Splitu” [What Some of Our Art Workers Think about the Seventh May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21 May 1952, p. 4.
352 Ibid.

Radmilović’s response adds further depth, particularly with respect to the market and existential implications of acquisitions. He states frankly that inadequate working conditions and financial difficulties are the primary causes of slow progress, and that acquisitions perform a dual function: securing the material means for continued work, whilst simultaneously constituting a form of recognition of the artist’s effort.³⁵³ In this context, his words are particularly telling:

In addition to furnishing the artist with the basic material means to develop their work, acquisitions, where they take place, constitute a form of acknowledgement of their effort and labour. Where acquisitions are absent, the effect is entirely contrary: it signals that the works the artist offers to the market are out of place and superfluous, which, naturally, exerts a demoralising influence and leaves its mark on all subsequent work.³⁵⁴

This passage makes clear that the exhibition was not experienced as a place of public presentation alone; it was also a space of market validation and symbolic recognition. Acquisition had far-reaching effects: it confirmed the social value of the work and at the same time made continued production possible. This is precisely why the detail that “a certain number of works” were acquired carries additional weight, as it shows that market impact was itself part of the overall meaning of the exhibition. From this perspective, the exhibition ceases to be merely a cultural event and becomes one of the few mechanisms through which an artist could achieve the economic and symbolic reproduction of their work.

Knežević’s response, for its part, introduces yet another important dimension to the discussion. He considers the exhibition very similar to the previous year’s, “only a little weaker with each passing year,” and states openly that he is “not much interested in the overall impression of the exhibition,” since that impression lasts only as long as the exhibition itself.³⁵⁵ He considers far more important those works capable of defending their “intrinsic value even after a certain number of centuries.” This position is of interest because it calls into question the very logic of the annual group showcase and the fleeting exhibition impression. Knežević thereby subordinates the exhibition to the long-term duration of artistic value, rather than to the immediate social function of the manifestation. Particularly significant is his assessment of acquisitions, which he terms “a necessary evil,” cautioning that many artistic tendencies in recent years had been “adjusted precisely to meet the requirements of acquisition.”³⁵⁶ This

353 Ibid.
354 Ibid.
355 Ibid.
356 Ibid.

assessment introduces an important corrective to the predominantly affirmative conception of acquisitions that had until then prevailed. Whilst acquisitions may sustain artistic practice, they can equally deform the creative impulse when artists begin to accommodate their work to the expectations of the market and of patrons. Knežević’s response thus introduces perhaps the deepest level of self-criticism, warning that a system of artistic support can act productively but can equally exert a normative pressure on creative practice itself.

The piece by A. N., published on 16 May 1952, provides a further important critical framework for the *Seventh May Day Exhibition*, stating plainly that the cultural and artistic life of Split had “slackened considerably of late” and that “all forces must be marshalled” to bring it back to the necessary level.³⁵⁷ The critic notes that the problem is less a matter of quantity than of quality, and that dilettantism across many fields of culture and art threatens to “dilute even those distinctive and positive qualities that already exist.”³⁵⁸ In this sense, the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* is symptomatic of the broader cultural condition of the city. Particularly significant is his contention that Split, though not a centre on the level of Zagreb or Belgrade, must not content itself with second- and third-rate artists, performances, or exhibitions, but should aspire to an artistic and scholarly quality that will not lag behind the centres.³⁵⁹ This reopens the fundamental tension between centre and periphery, but now from the perspective of the city’s cultural policy: Split refuses to reconcile itself to the role of a provincial town.

Equally telling, in the same piece, are the words that “visual art exhibitions are one of the most painful aspects of our local cultural activity,” and that this latest one too may be said to have been “a failure, both in terms of attendance and in the complete silence of criticism.”³⁶⁰ This judgement matters because it shows that the exhibition’s problems go beyond the quality of the works. Equally significant is the absence of sustained critical accompaniment, that is, the lack of public reflection that might have registered and assessed local cultural and artistic events with greater seriousness. Direct attention is also drawn to the dismissive attitude of many artists towards criticism, which further complicates the situation.³⁶¹ Criticism thus emerges as both a necessary corrective and one of the conditions of a more vigorous cultural life. At this point it becomes very clear that the art scene cannot mature without a developed and continuous critical infrastructure.

357 A. N., “Sedma prvomajska izložba ULUH-a u Splitu” [The Seventh May Day Exhibition of ULUH in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 May 1952, p. 3.
358 Ibid.
359 Ibid.
360 Ibid.
361 Ibid.

The same text goes on to elaborate the problem of working conditions. Whilst acknowledging that the lack of studios and the “primary employment” of many artists are objective constraints, the critic insists that the visitor to an exhibition need not know under what conditions a work was made, since what they assess is its artistic quality alone.³⁶² Particularly significant are his contentions that a good painting cannot be produced without “practice, uninterrupted work, artistic experience, preparatory groundwork, and one’s own searching and development,” and that it is precisely where the distinction between a dilettante and a truly creative artist resides.³⁶³ This formulation makes apparent how far critical discourse had, by the early 1950s, already undergone a decisive shift towards questions of professionalism, labour, and craft discipline.

At the level of individual artists, the criticism of the seventh exhibition presents an instructive combination of praise and reservations. Bunk’s paintings are characterised as “a positive contribution to this exhibition,” though their “cerebral, northern conception” places them at something of a remove, with the remark that *Still Life* recalls Braque and *Female Head* Picasso, yet that they nevertheless attract the viewer through their “harmony of composition, accord of colours, and individual expressiveness.”³⁶⁴ Kaštelančić is acknowledged for his temperament and accomplished composition, with a cautionary note regarding the risk of mannerism.³⁶⁵ Dulčić’s interior is described in terms of the Dubrovnik milieu and compared to Bonnard and Vuillard, thereby situating his painterly sensibility within a broader, internationally legible frame of reference.³⁶⁶ These comparisons point to a shift in local criticism away from a narrowly ideological register and towards an increasingly free deployment of formal and stylistic associations.

In the end, it should be noted that the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* brings into particularly sharp relief the limitations of the model on which Dalmatian exhibition life was at that time based. Criticism explicitly cautioned that a single group exhibition per year was insufficient for any serious understanding of individual artistic trajectories, and Bunk observed with considerable precision that an artist’s progress can only be reliably assessed on the basis of solo exhibitions.³⁶⁷ Since solo exhibitions in Dalmatia remained rare and the Branch had yet to organise them with any continuity, familiarity with individual bodies of work remained fragmentary, occasional, and dependent on the group showcase. In this sense, the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* lays bare the fundamental paradox of artistic life at the time: a single annual event was expected to

362 Ibid.
363 Ibid.
364 Ibid.
365 Ibid.
366 Ibid.
367 “Što misle neki naši likovni radnici o VII. Prvomajskoj izložbi u Splitu” [What Some of Our Art Workers Think about the Seventh May Day Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21 May 1952, p. 4.

serve simultaneously as a representative regional showcase, a site of critical evaluation, a market occasion, and an opportunity to assess the development of individual artists. Such a burden was more than any one exhibition could fully bear. It should also be particularly noted that the *Seventh May Day Exhibition* records the highest participation of women artists to date, though this detail requires careful qualification. Unlike earlier exhibitions, at which women were represented only peripherally and most frequently by no more than two names, three women artists appeared among the exhibitors in 1952 – Vjera Matijaš, Bosiljka Mijatović, and Vojka Ružić. This figure, however, testifies less to any genuine transformation in the composition of the Branch than to the merely tentative and sporadic surfacing of women artists within an exhibition framework that continued to exhibit a pronounced, near-structural deficit in their representation. In other words, even this apparently more perceptible shift serves to confirm the long-standing imbalance rather than to indicate any serious movement towards its resolution. This phenomenon may be interpreted as symptomatic of the limited and still uncertain visibility of women artists within the public life of the Split branch. Viewed in this light, the seventh exhibition reveals itself as a significant document of a moment in which demands for more stringent criteria, improved working conditions, a more developed critical apparatus, and a more ramified exhibition life capable of exceeding the confines of a single traditional May Day showcase were achieving ever clearer articulation.

What Do the May Day Exhibitions Show?

Considered collectively, the May Day exhibitions of the ULUH Dalmatia Branch show how the region’s visual arts scene, in the early post-war years, was shaped by an ongoing tension between cultural-political expectations, institutional constraints, and the persistence of individual artistic poetics. Examined across the continuum from 1946 to 1952, these exhibitions stand as one of the central mechanisms by which the public character of Dalmatian artistic life was shaped during this formative period. These exhibitions were the Branch’s first consistent and recognisable exhibiting framework, a place where its organisational capacity, the representative strength of local artistic production, and the role of fine art in post-war reconstruction were all put to the test at once. Their importance therefore reaches beyond individual exhibition results. Beyond serving as a venue for the display of works, they operated as the site where the Branch’s institutional identity was actively constituted, its relationship to the public, the state, critical discourse, and, not least, its own members.

The change of venue across the series is also telling, reflecting the event’s gradual institutional consolidation. The first four May Day exhibitions were held at the Salon Galić Gallery, a space that, despite its significance to post-war artistic life in Split, was relatively small and still privately run. That the Branch’s most important annual event began by relying on such a venue says much about the inadequacy of the city’s exhibition

infrastructure at the time. The relocation of the *Fifth May Day Exhibition* to the premises of the Local Trade Union Council in the Workers’ Hall signals a new phase, in which the exhibition becomes symbolically aligned still more closely with the public framework of labour, collectivity, and trade union representation. The subsequent placement of the sixth and seventh exhibitions in the ground floor of the former Bishop’s Palace, repurposed as the House of Culture, represents the highest point of this process of spatial and institutional affirmation. In acquiring a more prestigious setting, the exhibition also afforded Split a more appropriate venue for a richer and more diversified exhibition life. The succession of venues therefore functions as a key indicator of the shift from an infrastructurally limited and partly improvised model towards a more stable, publicly legitimised, and culturally and politically consequential form of exhibiting practice.

In the early period, particularly across the first four exhibitions, a strong ideological framework for evaluating art is clearly visible. The exhibitions were expected to be more than representative showcases of current production. They were called upon to affirm art’s alignment with the new social order, with the collective experience of war, reconstruction, and labour, with the symbolic legitimacy of the post-war state, and with the conception of the cultural front as a constitutive element of wider social transformation. In this sense, criticism, especially in the earliest years, frequently centred on questions of subject matter, social orientation, and the capacity of the artwork to capture “our great epoch,” “the life of the people,” and “contemporary reality.” Still life, landscape, and intimist motifs were perceived as signs of distance from the historical moment, while modernist formalism appeared as an anachronistic or socially out-of-place poetics. Consequently, at the first exhibitions artistic value was measured largely by the degree of social relevance, thematic contemporaneity, and the work’s ability to meet the expectations of the new cultural policy.

Nevertheless, it is equally important to stress that this normative horizon was never directly or fully reflected in artistic practice. The May Day exhibitions are particularly revealing because they show with striking clarity just how uneven, hybrid, and resistant to simple forms of guidance actual production remained. The Branch artists generally did not suddenly or collectively relinquish their pre-war artistic idioms. Rather, landscapes, still lifes, intimism, colouristic experimentation, and diverse manifestations of the modernist inheritance continued to feature prominently in exhibition venues for many years. This reveals one of the key tensions of the entire period: whereas criticism and cultural policy called for the closest possible alignment of art with social reality and ideologically desirable themes, artists themselves frequently remained committed to their own idioms, experiences, and aesthetic formations. The May Day exhibitions thus bear witness to a long and complex process of negotiation between political imperatives, institutional pressures, and the endurance of individual poetics. It is precisely in this fissure between the expected and the actual that their historical value emerges most clearly. The significance of these exhibitions resides both in what they promoted and in

the limits of what they managed to discipline. They clearly reveal that the post-war art scene was marked by transition, uncertainty, compromise, and resistance, rather than constituting any homogeneous field. Artists navigated between ideologically prescribed subject matter and their own personal preoccupations, between social representation and artistic autonomy, between collective expectations and individual experience. The May Day exhibitions can therefore also be understood as a kind of laboratory of post-war cultural modernisation, in which the capacity of visual art to adapt to new social coordinates without relinquishing its own internal logic was continuously explored.

Important shifts can nonetheless be discerned within this continuity. Around 1948, and especially after the break with Stalin, it became increasingly clear that the exclusively ideological criterion was gradually weakening. This did not mean that the social function of art suddenly disappeared from the critical or exhibition horizon; it remained important and at times highly pronounced. From the late 1940s and early 1950s onwards, however, greater emphasis was placed on formal quality, painterly seriousness, technical discipline, choice of medium, the internal coherence of the work, and the artist's individual development. In writings on the fifth, sixth, and seventh exhibitions, it becomes increasingly evident that criticism was gradually moving away from the question of whether a motif corresponded to the new social context, and was turning instead towards the visual persuasiveness of the work, the development of the artist's personal idiom, the seriousness of practice, exercises, preparatory stages, and genuine professional rigour. This shift mirrors a broader change in the cultural atmosphere: the Socialist Realist imperative did not vanish suddenly, but it steadily lost its monopoly over systems of evaluation.

This is one of the most important trajectories revealed by the series of exhibitions. At the beginning, art was expected primarily to be socially legible and ideologically oriented; by the end of the period, there was a growing emphasis on professional credibility, formal concentration, and seriousness of artistic practice. The May Day exhibitions therefore allow for a precise tracing of the shift from a predominantly ideological criterion to a more complex evaluative model in which art-historical, formal, and professional standards are once again affirmed. This transition was neither linear nor fully complete, but it is clearly visible.

At the same time, the entire series of exhibitions reveals, with striking clarity, just how dependent the Branch's artistic life was on material and institutional conditions. The same concerns recur persistently throughout the minutes, newspaper articles, and artists' statements: a shortage of time, meagre working conditions, a lack of materials, the absence of studios, the burden of other commitments, infrequent exhibition opportunities, underdeveloped critical apparatus, and a weak infrastructure. For this reason, the *Sixth May Day Exhibition*, opened in the new premises of the former Bishop's Palace, is particularly significant: it showed that the issue of exhibition space was

becoming one of the basic conditions for a more intensive cultural life in Split. At the same time, it soon became clear that new infrastructure in itself was not enough. Space can enhance visibility, visitor numbers, and public prestige, but it cannot automatically solve problems of uneven quality, lack of continuity in artistic practice, or the structural fragility of the exhibition system.

Of particular significance, in this context, is the fact that the May Day exhibitions long remained virtually the only sustained framework for the public presentation of the Branch's artists, and it was precisely this that rendered them overburdened. A single annual event was called upon to function at once as a representative regional showcase, a public cultural occasion, a political ritual, a commercial opportunity, a site of critical evaluation, and a space in which the trajectories of individual artists could be assessed. The demands placed upon a single exhibition model were, by any measure, excessive; a reality that critical commentary came to articulate with increasing clarity over time. By the sixth exhibition, and explicitly so by the seventh, it was being noted that one collective exhibition per year was inadequate for the serious study and evaluation of individual artistic outputs. In the absence of solo exhibitions, an artist's development could only be perceived fragmentarily, through periodic annual snapshots. Consequently, critical appraisal was itself unable to achieve full depth, given the lack of more continuous insight into the evolution of individual creative paths.

This circumstance is of particular relevance to any understanding of the Branch's overall exhibition model. While the May Day exhibitions constituted its most important public project, they simultaneously exposed the limits of its reach. They revealed the need for a more systematic and diversified exhibition practice, for solo presentations, for a more fully developed critical infrastructure, and for greater internal differentiation within the scene. Without these, any serious discussion of artistic development, the comparability of individual outputs, or the real professional maturation of the community would remain out of reach.

The internal social and generational tensions that surface across these exhibitions are equally telling. The earlier shows reveal how sharply contested jury decisions, selection criteria, the privileged positions of senior members, and the public discussion of one another's work could be. The later exhibitions increasingly raise the question of the younger generation and the need to give it more space and visibility. In this sense, the May Day exhibitions served both as public events and as sites where authority, experience, quality, and the right to a future were negotiated within the Branch. Across them, one can see a new generational paradigm slowly taking shape, one that would go on to reshape the Dalmatian scene more decisively in the years ahead.

This exhibition series also brings into sharp relief a structural imbalance in the representation of women artists. Although certain years saw the participation of artists

such as Jovanka Strajnić, Elsa Vučetić, and later Vjera Matijaš, Bosiljka Mijatović, and Vojka Ružić, their presence throughout the period as a whole was strikingly modest. Even where a numerical increase can be noted, it amounts to so tentative a shift that it speaks more to the depth of their prior absence than to any meaningful change in direction. This dimension, too, reveals much about the Branch’s workings: the May Day exhibitions may have been a representative showcase of local production, but they simultaneously laid bare the very limited access to public visibility afforded to women within the visual arts field of the time.

In conclusion, the May Day exhibitions from 1946 to 1952 stand as one of the most important sites at which the relationship between art, institution, and society was formed in post-war Dalmatia. In their early years they were strongly shaped by ideological criteria and the expectation that art give clear expression to the new reality of labour and collective reconstruction. Over time, that criterion gradually receded, and questions of formal quality, professionalism, medium, working conditions, and individual artistic development came increasingly to the fore. Yet the exhibitions themselves show just how slow, uneven, and contradictory that process was. Artists did not simply abandon their pre-war poetics, critical voices were far from unified, the institutional framework remained unstable, and material conditions were frequently unfavourable. It is precisely for this reason that the exhibition series constitutes an exceptionally valuable document of a scene in the making. Their true significance lies in that very complexity. The exhibitions affirmed what cultural policy wished to see, yet at the same time they exposed the limits of those expectations, the resistances within artistic practice itself, and the structural weaknesses of the local system. As such, the May Day exhibitions represent a key source for understanding how the very concept of contemporary art was established, negotiated, and gradually transformed in post-war Dalmatia.

After having examined the May Day exhibitions as the Branch’s most stable exhibiting model, one additional format from the same early post-war phase deserves attention. The exhibition *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* shows how artists took part in the visual shaping of social reconstruction outside the framework of the classical art showcase.

5 ARTISTS, RECONSTRUCTION AND THE VISUAL CULTURE OF POST-WAR DALMATIA

Exhibition *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945*

Though most of this book is concerned with the conception, organisation and development of the annual May Day exhibitions, the exhibition *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945*, held between June and August 1946, must be considered as a separate and especially indicative instance of post-war visual culture in Split. It follows directly after the *First May Day Exhibition*, but proceeds from a different exhibiting logic. Where the May Day exhibitions, from the first edition onward, were centred primarily on the display of individual artistic works, *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* was conceived as a visual-documentary presentation of the outcomes of post-war reconstruction. The question of the artist’s role in shaping exhibitions designed for public education, political legitimisation and the popularisation of the new authorities’ results therefore assumes particular importance.

The exhibition was mounted in the premises of the “Manuš” primary school, lent for the occasion by the Education Department of the Split Municipal People’s Committee, and formally opened on 16 June 1946 at nine in the morning.³⁶⁸ The formal opening ceremony underscores its representative and political weight. Press reports note the attendance of representatives of the people’s authorities, the Yugoslav Army and Navy, mass organisations, and a sizable number of citizens; the exhibition was opened by Vice Buljan, President of the Regional People’s Committee for Dalmatia.³⁶⁹ Particularly striking in his speech is the reference to an earlier exhibition on the Dalmatian refugees at El Shatt, held “a year ago in this very place, in these very rooms,” which had shown how displaced persons managed to create a temporary home within a desert camp complex.³⁷⁰ The Manuš school space is thus cast as a site of symbolic

368 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945*. [*Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945*] (exhibition catalogue), Split, 1946.
369 “Svečano otvorenje izložbe Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945. Godinu” [Ceremonial Opening of the Exhibition Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17 June 1946, p. 2.
370 Ibid.

continuity between the wartime experience of dislocation and the post-war experience of reconstruction. *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* belongs to a broader history of collective resilience, material reconstruction and organised social self-renewal. Buljan’s framing of the exhibition as an impetus for future work shifts its role from retrospective showcase towards active mobilisation. This circumstance likewise points to the flexible shaping of exhibition space in post-war conditions, one reliant on available public buildings and operating in close conjunction with educational and administrative institutions.

The catalogue’s foreword makes the exhibition’s purpose explicit: “The aim of the exhibition is to present the results of reconstruction work in the region of Dalmatia in 1945, following the devastation and plunder inflicted upon us by the occupier across all areas of economic and cultural life.”³⁷¹ This declared aim establishes the political and ideological trajectory of the exhibition from the very beginning. The display arranges facts into a narrative of reconstruction moving from wartime devastation to an affirmation of successful rebuilding under the guidance of the people’s authorities. This reading of the exhibition is further confirmed by the newspaper announcement published ahead of its opening, which specifies that the exhibition was to present, within a “cohesive and concise, yet simultaneously artistic and aesthetic framework,” the scale of wartime devastation, the successes achieved during 1945, and the prospects for future construction.³⁷² The formulation reveals that the exhibition was conceived as a synthesis of documentary overview, visual elaboration and political pedagogy. Especially significant is the emphasis on the visitor’s anticipated response: confronted with statistics, charts, drawings and photographs, the visitor was expected to grasp both the magnitude of wartime destruction and the legitimacy of the measures adopted by the new authorities in the course of reconstruction. The exhibition is thereby configured as means of directing gaze and mediating interpretation, guiding the observer from the experience of wartime devastation towards an acceptance of reconstruction as an organised and historically necessary social project. In this sense, the exhibition’s announcement makes clear that its purpose transcends the informational level, assuming an expressly ideological and mobilising function. It is likewise significant that the exhibition was conceived as a permanent installation, to be regularly updated with new information and shown in other major towns in Dalmatia beyond Split.³⁷³ This conception makes clear that the exhibition was understood as an instrument of sustained public information, political didactics and social mobilisation, with the ambition of

371 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945*. [*Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945*] (exhibition catalogue), Split, 1946, p. 1.
372 Dinko Foretić, “Izložba ‘Obnova Dalmacije u 1945. godini’” [The Exhibition ‘Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945’], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 9 June 1946, p. 2. Minor corrections to this article pertaining to the list of participants and the number of primary schools opened are provided in: ‘Ispravak’ [Correction], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11 June 1946, p. 4.
373 Ibid.

outliving the one-off exhibiting occasion. The particular significance accorded to the event is further evidenced by the fact that its preparation and public announcement were already being documented as early as January 1946, pointing to the conclusion that the exhibition was conceived as a carefully planned representational project of long gestation, wholly distinct from the logic of a passing adjunct to the reconstruction process.³⁷⁴

The exhibition catalogue sets out the methodological basis of this narrative in some detail.³⁷⁵ The results of reconstruction are examined across three stages: the pre-war condition, the condition as found at the moment of liberation, and the condition at the end of 1945 following a year of intensive reconstruction work. This tripartite model has a clear interpretative function. It facilitates comparison, introduces a temporal dynamic, and orients the observer’s gaze towards the concept of progress, specifically, towards the passage from devastation to a reconstituted social order. This is an approach whose logic sits close to statistical and pedagogical modes of display, while also functioning as a form of political argumentation. The exhibition presents the condition descriptively, yet arranges it so that each exhibit reinforces the narrative of successful reconstruction. This methodological structure is one of the most interesting aspects of the installation. Across eight rooms, visitors encountered analytical charts, diagrams, relief maps, photographs, scale models, paintings, wall decorations and friezes; a range of material pointing to a complex visual apparatus in which facts, figures and political messages are translated into a clear and arresting form. In this sense the exhibition may be described as markedly activist and propagandistic in character, while also betraying a certain kinship with anthropological and museological approaches to display. The different types of material are not arranged in any strict hierarchy but brought together into a shared narrative whole, drawing the visitor into a process of observation, learning, comparison, understanding and acceptance of the interpretative model of reality being put forward.

This conception matters particularly for understanding the role of the artist in post-war cultural practice. Artists appear here as collaborators in shaping a broader visual narrative, rather than as creators of autonomous works intended for independent aesthetic appreciation. Their contributions allow economic, infrastructural, social and cultural themes to take on a recognisable, suggestive and readily accessible form. The artistic work becomes a constituent part of an exhibiting language operating at the intersection of decoration, didactic aid, political communication and documentation.

374 “Izložba obnove u Splitu” [The Reconstruction Exhibition in Split], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 1 January 1946, p. 8.
375 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945*. [*Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945*] (exhibition catalogue), Split, 1946, p. 1.

The catalogue of this exhibition is also highly instructive in that it attributes individual works with precision, whilst omitting reproductions and the conventional apparatus of artistic valorisation.³⁷⁶ Artists are cited, therefore, as the executors of specific visual tasks within thematically organised sections, rather than as individual creators whose works would be assessed in terms of style, poetics or qualitative distinction. This constitutes an important shift. Authorship is present and clearly marked, but rendered subordinate to the function of the whole. An analogous principle governs the treatment of the arrangers responsible for the installation of individual rooms, whose names are similarly recorded, a fact that foregrounds the collaborative character of the exhibition and the degree to which its realisation depended upon the coordination of different specialists.

The distribution of artistic contributions across the rooms allows for a more precise assessment of the way in which artistic work was incorporated into the exhibiting mechanism of reconstruction. In the first room, devoted to mining, industry and electrification, a decorative painting representing the sequence of operations in a mine, from initial drilling to the export of ore, was executed by Ivan Mirković, whilst the arrangement of the room was conceived by the architect Momčilo Berber and the technician Božidar Šalamon. In the second room, devoted to the postal, telegraph and telephone service, Ivan Mirković reappears with a painting symbolically representing the reconstruction of telegraph and telephone lines, the arrangement having been entrusted to the architect Milivoj Tomasović. The corridor, meanwhile, displayed large paintings representing the “fundamental agents of reconstruction”: Vjekoslav Parać depicted the Antifascist Women’s Front, Živko Kljaković the People’s Youth of Croatia, Rudolf Bunk the United Trade Unions of Workers and Employees, and Joko Knežević the Yugoslav Army and Navy. Mass organisations and military forces were thereby accorded their own visual counterpart within the exhibition space, so that the corridor functioned as an ideologically emphatic sequence rather than a neutral zone of communication. The third room, devoted to architecture, contained a large painting by Ante Petričić and Nikola Ignjatović representing the “fundamental questions to be resolved by contemporary architecture”: the reconstruction of destroyed buildings and the erection of hygienic and modern settlements for the broad popular classes. The social dimension of architecture is particularly important in this formulation. Housing is presented as a political and social question, and the artistic work serves to provide a visual account of that programme. The arrangement was designed by the engineer Mijo Krstulović, the architect Ante Vesanović, and the technicians Jerko Mrduljaš and Ratko Radić, as further evidence of the exhibition’s interdisciplinary character. In the fourth room, covering education and physical culture, Ante Kaštelančić produced an allegorical painting depicting their mutual connection, while the installation was the responsibility of the architect Milivoj Vukasović and the technician Petar Kuzmić. The fifth room, devoted to agriculture,

376 Ibid, pp. 2–8.

forestry and hydraulic engineering, once again featured Ivan Mirković, here as the author of a decorative frieze accompanying displays of achievements in the reconstruction of agriculture, livestock farming and forestry, together with land improvement works. The arrangement was conceived by the architects Milivoj Tomasović and Mirko Rendić. The sixth room, which addressed tourism, transport and shipbuilding, presented several works by Ante Kaštelančić: a decorative representation of transport and a large wall decoration on the front wall linked to the themes of tourism and hotel reconstruction. The design of this room was conceived by the architect Zlatko Lukšić, the engineer Ante Razmilović, the architect Vlaho Linardović, the technician Mario Nardeli, the sculptor Andrija Frank and the cartographer Dujam Škare, a roster that makes clear how the visual articulation of each individual theme was the result of complex collaborative work. The seventh room, devoted to cooperatives, contained a large painting of fishermen by Ivan Mirković, alongside a model of a fishing house and fishing equipment, further blending documentary and ambient elements with artistic representation. The arranger was again Milivoj Tomasović. In the eighth and final room, covering social and health institutions and the Red Cross Society, Ante Petričić produced a decorative display incorporating data on tuberculosis, whilst Ivan Mirković contributed a painting symbolically depicting Red Cross assistance to the population of Dalmatia. The room’s arrangement was carried out by the technicians Juraj Kupčevski and Josip Kovačić. This distribution of works testifies to the active role of artistic contributions in structuring a legible and ideologically directed overview of post-war reality.

The structure of artistic contributions and their distribution across the rooms reveal several key features of the exhibition’s concept. Certain artists appear more than once, suggesting a small circle of authors willing and able to take on this kind of task. Ivan Mirković is the most prominent, appearing in several rooms and handling the visual treatment of widely varying themes, from mining and communications to agriculture, fishing and the Red Cross. His repeated presence also speaks of a considerable adaptability to the narrative function demanded by the exhibition. Ante Kaštelančić, Ante Petričić and Nikola Ignjatović also play an important role, whilst the presence of Parać, Kljaković, Bunk and Knežević in the corridor depictions of mass organisations and the military further accentuates the political and symbolic dimension of the installation. The distribution of authorship also reveals that artistic contribution was integrated into the broader logic of the exhibition’s narrative, serving as one of the structural elements of visual argumentation. The visibility given to the arrangers and installers is equally telling, pointing to an exhibition conceived as a joint project across different disciplines, shaped by the collaboration of multiple participants and professions.

The catalogue also reveals the broader organisational framework of the exhibition’s realisation: it was prepared by the Regional People’s Committee of Dalmatia at the initiative of the Ministry of Construction, with the organisation and works carried out by architects, engineers and specialists of the Regional Construction Department,

alongside the voluntary collaboration of the Association of Visual Artists in Split.³⁷⁷ This is a particularly valuable detail, confirming the artistic community’s participation in wider social work connected with the representation of reconstruction, beyond its strictly professional duties. This interpretation is corroborated by the annual report of Branch Secretary Živko Kljaković from January 1947, in which participation in the exhibition *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* is identified as one of the most significant collective obligations of the membership.³⁷⁸ According to the report, a substantial number of members were engaged for varying periods of time, and their contribution played a considerable part in the exhibition being judged as one of the most successful events of its kind in the country at that time. The report reveals that the role of the Branch in this case cannot be reduced to periodic assistance with the display; rather it constitutes a broader participation of artists in the visual articulation of the reconstructive discourse. The participation of numerous cooperatives, enterprises and institutions, along with the overtime work of individual workers and employees, belongs to the same framework.

Particularly striking is the correspondence between the exhibition’s thematic orientation and the manner of its realisation. The exhibition addresses reconstruction whilst itself being produced through a working, cooperative and rationalised model of production. It is in this conjunction that one of the key characteristics of post-war exhibition culture becomes visible: the installation functions simultaneously as a medium of representation and as a practical embodiment of the social values it promotes. *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* thus operates as an exhibiting counterpart to the discourse of reconstruction, at once documenting reconstruction and performatively contributing to its symbolic consolidation.

It is also noteworthy that the photographs were produced primarily by Petar Raljević, photojournalist of *Slobodna Dalmacija*, and the photographers Dragutin K. Stühler and Paško Alujević.³⁷⁹ Photography thus takes on the role of a documentary and persuasive medium within the installation. Photographs, charts and diagrams appear alongside artistic contributions as co-equal carriers of meaning, allowing the entire project to be situated in relation to modern exhibition forms in which the boundaries between art, visual statistics, political communication and museological presentation become markedly permeable. This is precisely the reason why the exhibition merits a distinct place within any examination of post-war exhibition life. In aesthetic terms, the

exhibition, as the catalogue suggests, does not invite individual artistic judgement of particular works, at least not in the manner associated with conventional art exhibitions. The artists are identified, but their contributions are defined above all in functional terms: as decorative paintings, allegorical representations, friezes, wall decorations or symbolic depictions. The absence of reproductions and the lack of standard artistic valorisation in the catalogue follow from the very logic of the installation. The emphasis falls on the totality, on the legibility of the message, and on the cumulative effect generated by the combination of different visual means. The artistic component remains present, but is directed towards general legibility and the consolidation of the prescribed narrative sequence. This is precisely where the importance of artists’ participation becomes clear: in post-war conditions they worked across multiple registers, as creators of independent works, participants in professional exhibitions, designers of public ceremonies, and collaborators on complex thematic installations that gave visual form to socially desirable knowledge. In this respect, the exhibition offers a valuable corrective to any account of artistic life reduced solely to exhibitions of easel painting and sculpture. It shows that the operative domain of fine artists was considerably wider in scope, one that included the fields of applied and decorative art, as well as exhibition design.

The exhibition was open daily, morning and afternoon, with paid admission and the option of a voluntary contribution. Press promotion in *Slobodna Dalmacija* played an important role in the exhibition’s public visibility, with graphically prominent notices publishing basic information on the opening, content, opening hours and tickets, alongside separate calls inviting the public to visit.³⁸⁰ This form of advertising reflects an effort to make the exhibition accessible and present in the city’s everyday informational life. The range of prices for adults, young people and soldiers suggests an awareness of a varied audience, whilst the formulation that voluntary contributions were received “with gratitude” reinforces the participatory tone of the exhibition. The visitor is thus drawn in as both spectator and potential participant in the broader social project of reconstruction. That this participatory model had a concrete social reception is suggested by a report in *Slobodna Dalmacija* of 8 August 1946, noting that the exhibition was visited by 72 members of the working collective of the “Cetina” pasta and biscuit factory from Omiš, who also presented the exhibition management with a voluntary contribution of 2,000 dinars. This example confirms that the exhibition was perceived as a “nationwide public event” capable of drawing on both the symbolic and material support of organised working collectives.³⁸¹

377 Ibid, p. 8.
378 “Zapisnik Glavne godišnje skupštine likovnih umjetnika Dalmacije održane 26. siječnja 1947.” [Minutes of the General Annual Assembly of Visual Artists of Dalmatia Held on 26 January 1947], book *Zapisnik sjednica “Podružnice Udruženja likovnih umjetnika” za Dalmaciju – Split* [Minutes of Sessions of the “Branch of the Association of Visual Artists” for Dalmatia – Split], Archive of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Split.
379 *Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945. [Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945]* (exhibition catalogue), Split, 1946, p. 8.

380 See the graphically highlighted notices and invitations to the exhibition in: *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17 June 1946, p. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 20 June 1946, p. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23 June 1946, p. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 10 July 1946, p. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 12 July 1946, p. 4; *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18 July 1946, p. 4.
381 “Radnici i namještenici tvornice tjestenine i keksa ‘Cetina’ iz Omiša posjetili izložbu ‘Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945. godinu’” [Workers and Employees of the ‘Cetina’ Pasta and Biscuit Factory from Omiš Visited the Exhibition ‘Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945’], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 8 August 1946, p. 4.

The exhibition’s importance is further underlined by the fact that it was visited by Josip Broz Tito on 26 July 1946. This goes beyond a mere protocol detail, revealing that the exhibition was understood as a representative site where the entire programme of Dalmatian reconstruction could be presented in condensed form. As part of a tour of factory and infrastructure complexes in Kaštela and Split, the visit served the function of a visual synthesis: what could be seen only in fragments on the ground was here organised into a clear narrative of economic, infrastructural and social reconstruction. According to the report published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* on 27 July 1946, Tito visited all sections of the exhibition, showing particular interest in the displayed asbestos-cement products and the large relief map of maritime and transport reconstruction.³⁸² The presentation of the exhibition album as a memento of his first visit to Split reveals the memorial dimension of the installation, conceived as a representative object of political memory.³⁸³ In this light, the exhibition appears as a site where documentation, propaganda, ceremony and the symbolic endorsement of reconstruction by the highest state authority all converge.

Considered together, all of these elements identify *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* as a particularly representative example of the post-war thematic exhibition, combining documentary, propagandistic, educational, artistic and decorative layers. Its value for this study lies in the way it translates the results of reconstruction into a visual argument composed of figures, photographs, maps, scale models and artistic contributions. The role of visual artists beyond the traditional art exhibition is especially clear: they participate in the collaborative processes of exhibition design, in the political functionalisation of the image, and in the construction of publicly legible representations of social reality.³⁸⁴ Whereas the *First May Day Exhibition* opens questions

of the contemporaneity of artistic expression, reception and internal tensions within the professional community, *Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945* throws into sharper relief the domain of collective visual argumentation, documentary presentation and the representation of post-war reconstruction. It is for this reason that it occupies a prominent place in any reconstruction of early post-war exhibition practices in Dalmatia.

382 “Maršal Tito posjetio je jučer Dječji dom u Mejama i izložbu obnove” [Marshal Tito Yesterday Visited the Children’s Home in Meje and the Reconstruction Exhibition], *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 27 July 1946, p. 2. The newspaper notes: “In the hall displaying both modern and old models of ships and sailing vessels, the President of the Regional People’s Committee presented Marshal Tito with an album from the reconstruction exhibition, a commemorative gift marking his first visit to Split, illustrating the efforts and successes of the people of Dalmatia in rebuilding their region. Marshal Tito signed the visitors’ book upon departing.”

383 Album of photographs from the exhibition “Obnova Dalmacije 1944–1945” [Reconstruction of Dalmatia 1944–1945], Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, inv. no. 1-6-173. The album comprises 40 photographs, each stamped with the photographer Stühler’s mark (“Foto Stühler – Split”). A caption in capitals identifying the subject matter is printed beneath each image. The front cover bears the title *Sa izložbe “Obnova Dalmacije” 1944–1945* [From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945], and the first interior page carries a dedication, likewise in capitals, with the following text: “To the beloved Marshal Tito, on the occasion of his first visit to Split and in memory of the year-long efforts and achievements of the people of Dalmatia in rebuilding their region, from the Regional People’s Committee for Dalmatia.”

384 For the broader cultural and visual framework of the first post-war decade, particularly in relation to political rituals, the representation of labour, monumental sculpture, architecture, mass culture and

the visual forms of socialist legitimation, see the exhibition catalogue *Refleksije vremena 1945.–1955.* [Reflections of the Time 1945–1955], ed. Jasmina Bavoljak, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2012. The catalogue brings together texts by several authors, among them Igor Duda, Tomislav Anić, Jasmina Bavoljak, Vlado Bralić, Daniel Rafaeli, Maša Kolanović, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Reana Senjković and Leonida Kovač, offering an interdisciplinary insight into the social, political, artistic and visual aspects of the early socialist period.

VIZUALNI DOSJE

VISUAL DOSSIER



1 *Panorama Splita s
Marjana, oko 1950.*

*Panorama of Split from
Marjan, c. 1950*



2 *Posljedice savezničkoga bombardiranja Splita 1944.*

Consequences of the Allied Bombing of Split in 1944

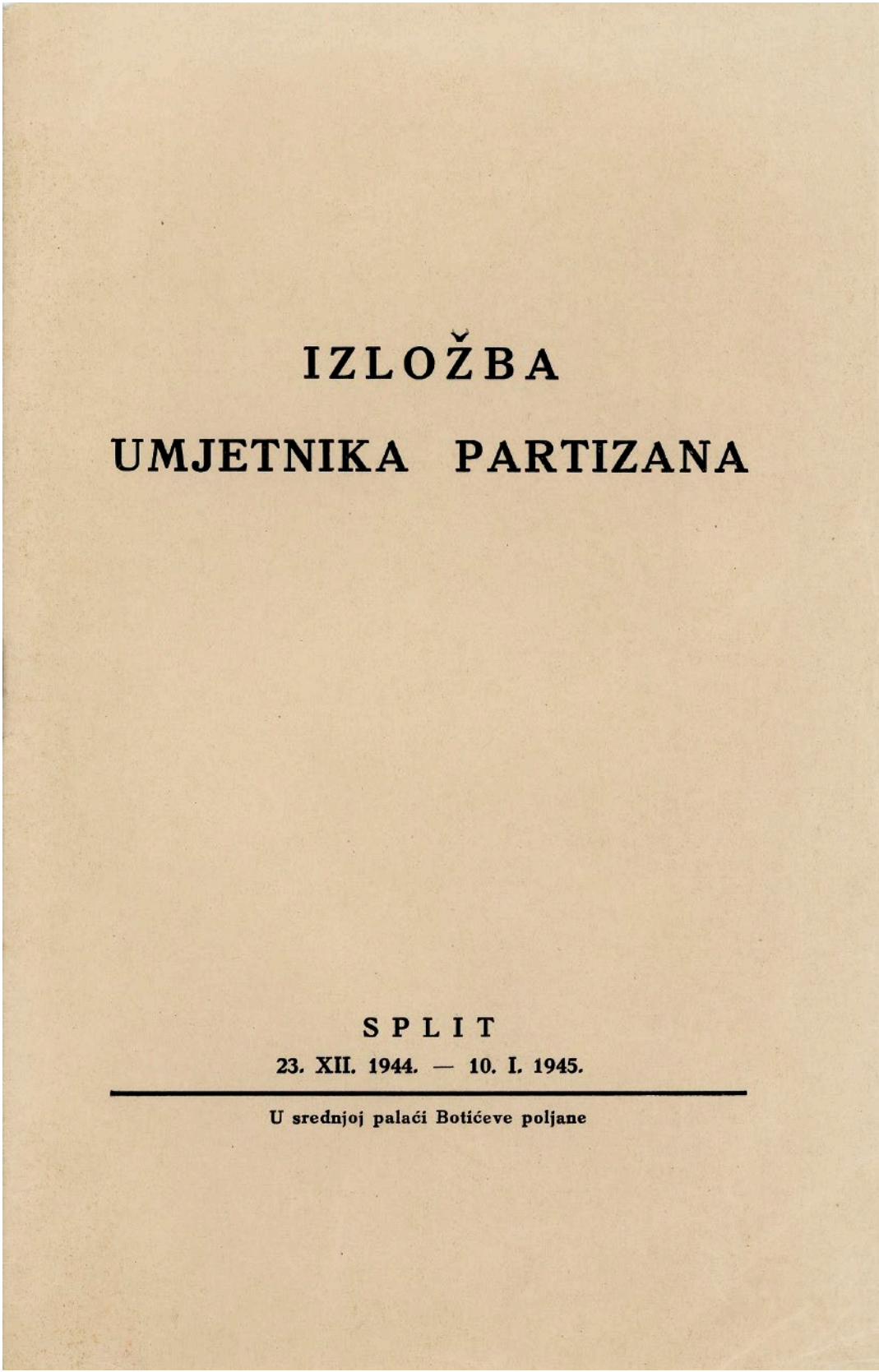
3 *Posljedice savezničkoga bombardiranja Splita 1944.*

Consequences of the Allied Bombing of Split in 1944



4 *Otvorenje Radničkoga doma, lipanj 1945.*

Opening of the Workers' Hall, June 1945



- 5

Naslovnica kataloga
Izložbe umjetnika
partizana, Split, 23.
prosinca 1944. – 10.
siječnja 1945.

Catalogue cover of the
Exhibition of Partisan
Artists, Split, 23
December 1944 – 10
January 1945

→

6

Pozivnica na otvorenje
Izložbe umjetnika
partizana

Invitation to the opening
of the Exhibition of
Partisan Artists

7

Anketni listić za
posjetitelje Izložbe
umjetnika partizana

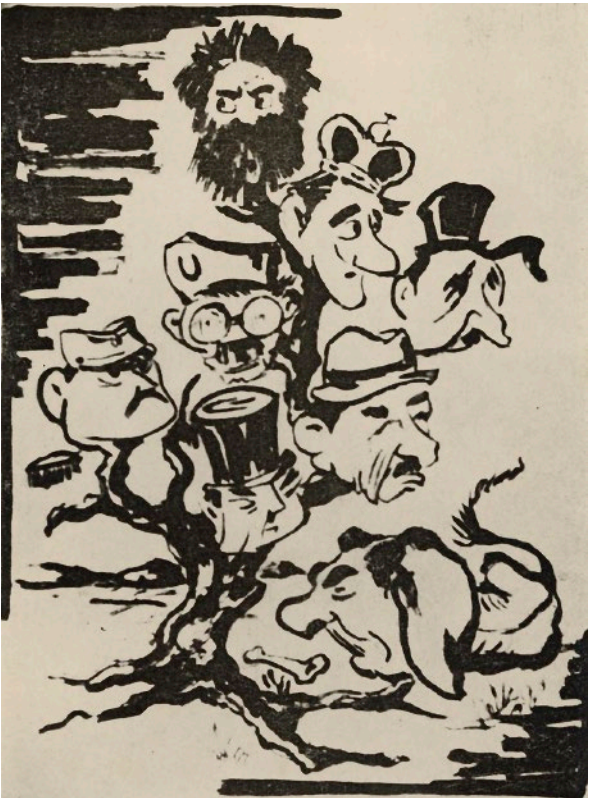
Visitor questionnaire
for the Exhibition of
Partisan Artists

323



Odabir listova iz mape
Monarhija – robija, s radovima
plitskih likovnih umjetnika
izloženima na njihovoj izložbi
karikatura *Nema povratka na
staro*, održanoj u Splitu od 20.
do 26. listopada 1945.:

Selection of plates from the
portfolio *Monarchy – Servitude*,
with works by Split visual artists
exhibited at their caricature
exhibition *There Is No Going
Back to the Old Ways*, held in
Split from 20 to 26 October 1945:



←

8 Ivan Sikavica
Monarhija – robija,
naslovnica mape

Ivan Sikavica
Monarchy – Servitude,
portfolio cover

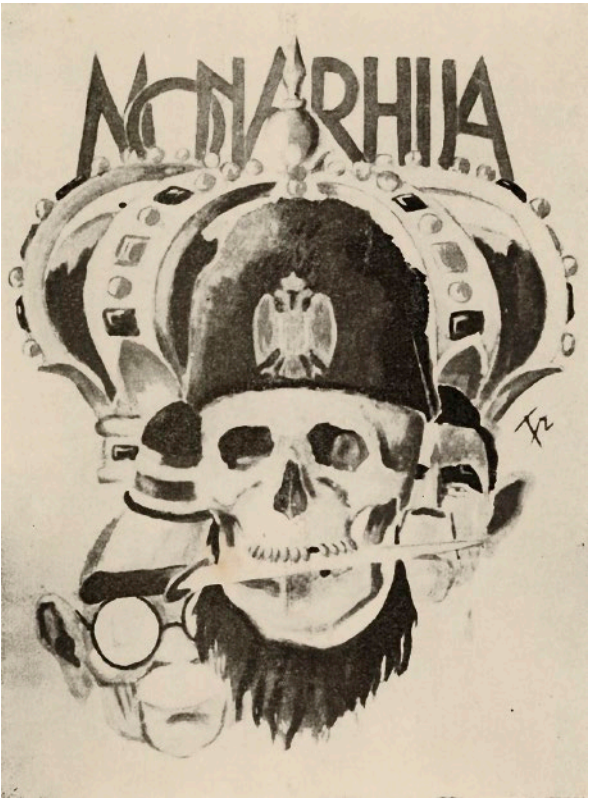
—

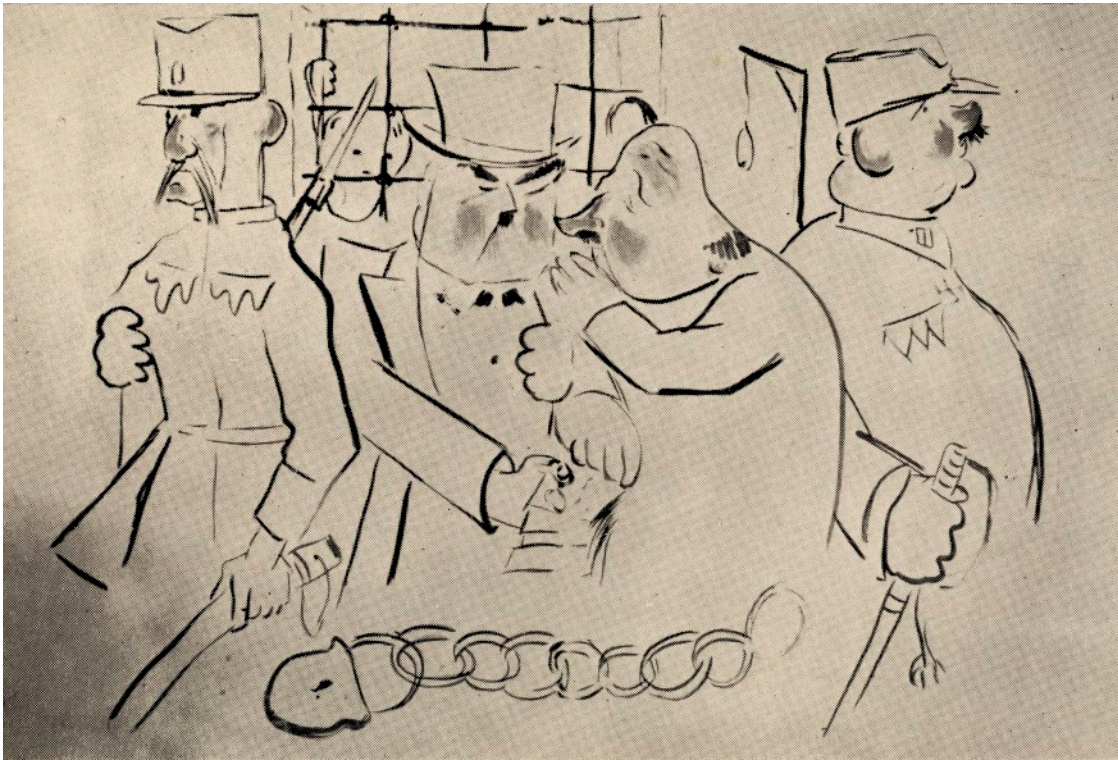
9 Ivan Sikavica
Plemenito koljeno

Ivan Sikavica,
Noble Lineage

10 Ante Franičević
[*Monarhija*]

Ante Franičević,
[*Monarchy*]





Odabir listova iz mape
Monarhija – robija, s radovima
splitskih likovnih umjetnika
izloženima na njihovoj izložbi
karikatura *Nema povratka na
staro*, održanoj u Splitu od 20.
do 26. listopada 1945.:

Selection of plates from the
portfolio *Monarchy – Servitude*,
with works by Split visual artists
exhibited at their caricature
exhibition *There Is No Going
Back to the Old Ways*, held in
Split from 20 to 26 October 1945:



—
11 Milan Tolić
Škola „demokracije“

Milan Tolić
School of “Democracy”

12 Milan Tolić
Izbori u staroj Jugovini
(Jevtić: Mani narod,
Stojadine, glavno je da mi
imamo novac i žandare)

Milan Tolić
Elections in Old Yugovina
(Jevtić: Never mind the
people, Stojadin, the main
thing is that we have
money and gendarmes)

—
13 Ivan Joko Knežević
[Nigdje pristaništa]

Ivan Joko Knežević
[No Harbour Anywhere]

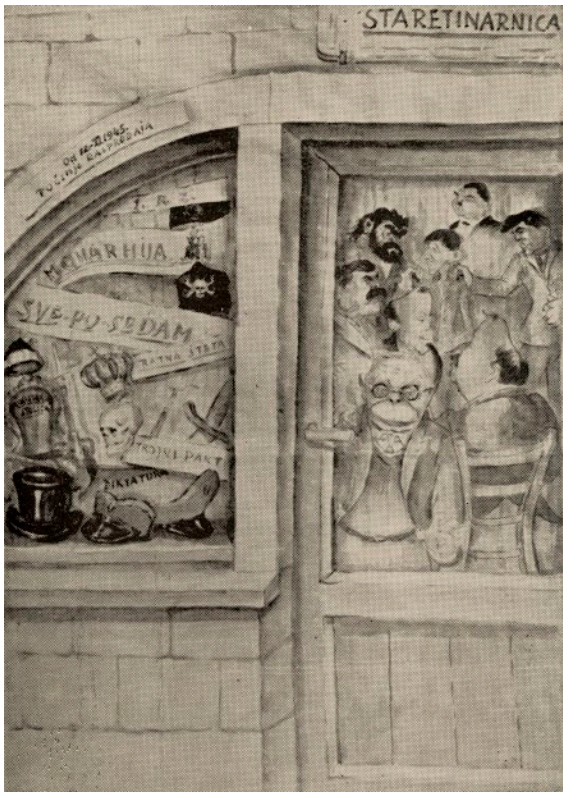
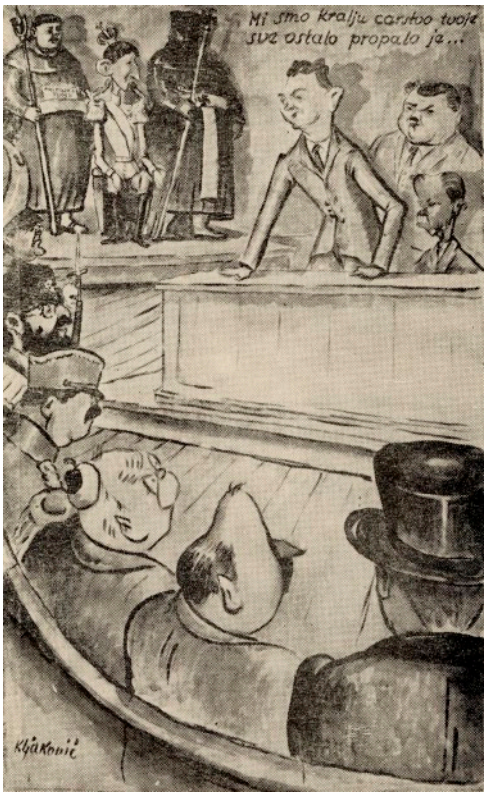
14 Cvijeta Jeličić-Job
[Kralj na licitaciji]

Cvijeta Jeličić-Job
[The King at Auction]

15 Cvijeta Jeličić-Job
*Zar pastir nema pravo
da kolje svoje stado?*

Cvijeta Jeličić-Job
*Does the Shepherd
Not Have the Right to
Slaughter His Own Flock?*





Odabir listova iz mape *Monarhija – robija*, s radovima splitskih likovnih umjetnika izloženima na njihovoj izložbi karikatura *Nema povratka na staro*, održanoj u Splitu od 20. do 26. listopada 1945.:

Selection of plates from the portfolio *Monarchy – Servitude*, with works by Split visual artists exhibited at their caricature exhibition *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways*, held in Split from 20 to 26 October 1945:

16 Živko Kljaković
Kako Perica zamišlja državne prihode i rashode

Živko Kljaković
How Perica Imagines State Revenue and Expenditure

17 Živko Kljaković
Šubašić: Mi smo kralju carstvo tvoje, sve ostalo propalo je...

Živko Kljaković
Šubašić: We Are Your Kingdom, O King, All Else Has Fallen Away...

18 Živko Kljaković
[Staretinarnica]

Živko Kljaković
[Junk Shop]



19 Antun Zupa
[Elita Monarhije]

Antun Zupa,
[The Monarchy's Elite]

20 Antun Zupa
[Monarhija – Republika]

Antun Zupa
[Monarchy – Republic]



Odabir listova iz mape *Monarhija – robija*, s radovima splitskih likovnih umjetnika izloženima na njihovoj izložbi karikatura *Nema povratka na staro*, održanoj u Splitu od 20. do 26. listopada 1945.:

Selection of plates from the portfolio *Monarchy – Servitude*, with works by Split visual artists exhibited at their caricature exhibition *There Is No Going Back to the Old Ways*, held in Split from 20 to 26 October 1945:

21 Nikola Ignjatović, [Pod starim krovom...]

Nikola Ignjatović, [Under the Old Roof...]

22 Božidar Matas, [Kad Milan kandiduje i bogopomaže]

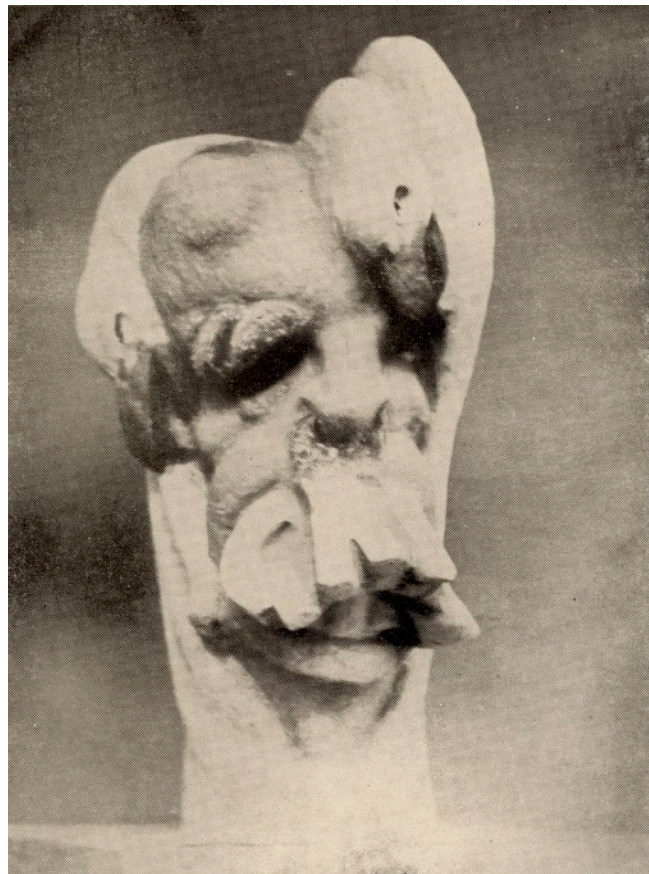
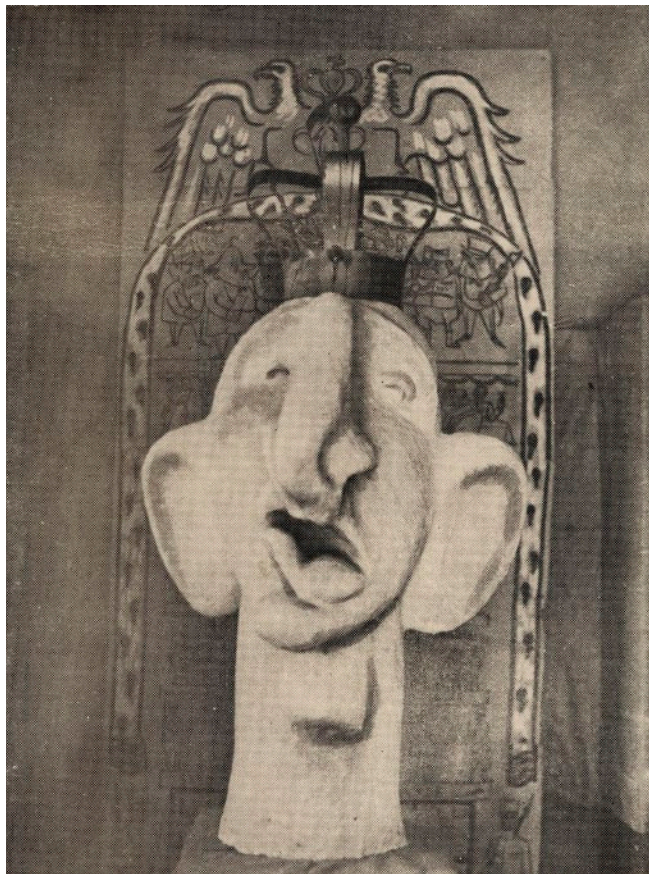
Božidar Matas, [When Milan Stands for Election and God Helps]

23 Antun Zupa, Parada

Antun Zupa, Parade

24 Antun Zupa, [Sapunica]

Antun Zupa, [Soap Suds]



Odabir listova iz mape
Monarhija – robija, s radovima
plitskih likovnih umjetnika
izloženima na njihovoj izložbi
karikatura *Nema povratka na
staro*, održanoj u Splitu od 20.
do 26. listopada 1945.:

Selection of plates from the
portfolio *Monarchy – Servitude*,
with works by Split visual artists
exhibited at their caricature
exhibition *There Is No Going
Back to the Old Ways*, held in
Split from 20 to 26 October 1945:

←

25 Kolektivni rad,
Perica

Collective work,
Perica

26 Kolektivni rad,
Grol

Collective work,
Grol

27 Kolektivni rad,
Maček

Collective work,
Maček

28 Kolektivni rad,
Draž

Collective work,
Draž

—

29 Kolektivni rad,
Pavelić

Collective work,
Pavelić





Groteskno večer,
12. studenoga 1945.:

Grotesque Evening,
12 November 1945:



30 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

31 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

32 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*





Groteskno veče,
12. studenoga 1945.:

Grotesque Evening,
12 November 1945:

←

33 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

—

34 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

35 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

→

36 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

37 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*







Groteskno večje,
12. studenoga 1945.:

Grotesque Evening,
12 November 1945:



38 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

39 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

40 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*





Groteskno večje,
12. studenoga 1945.:

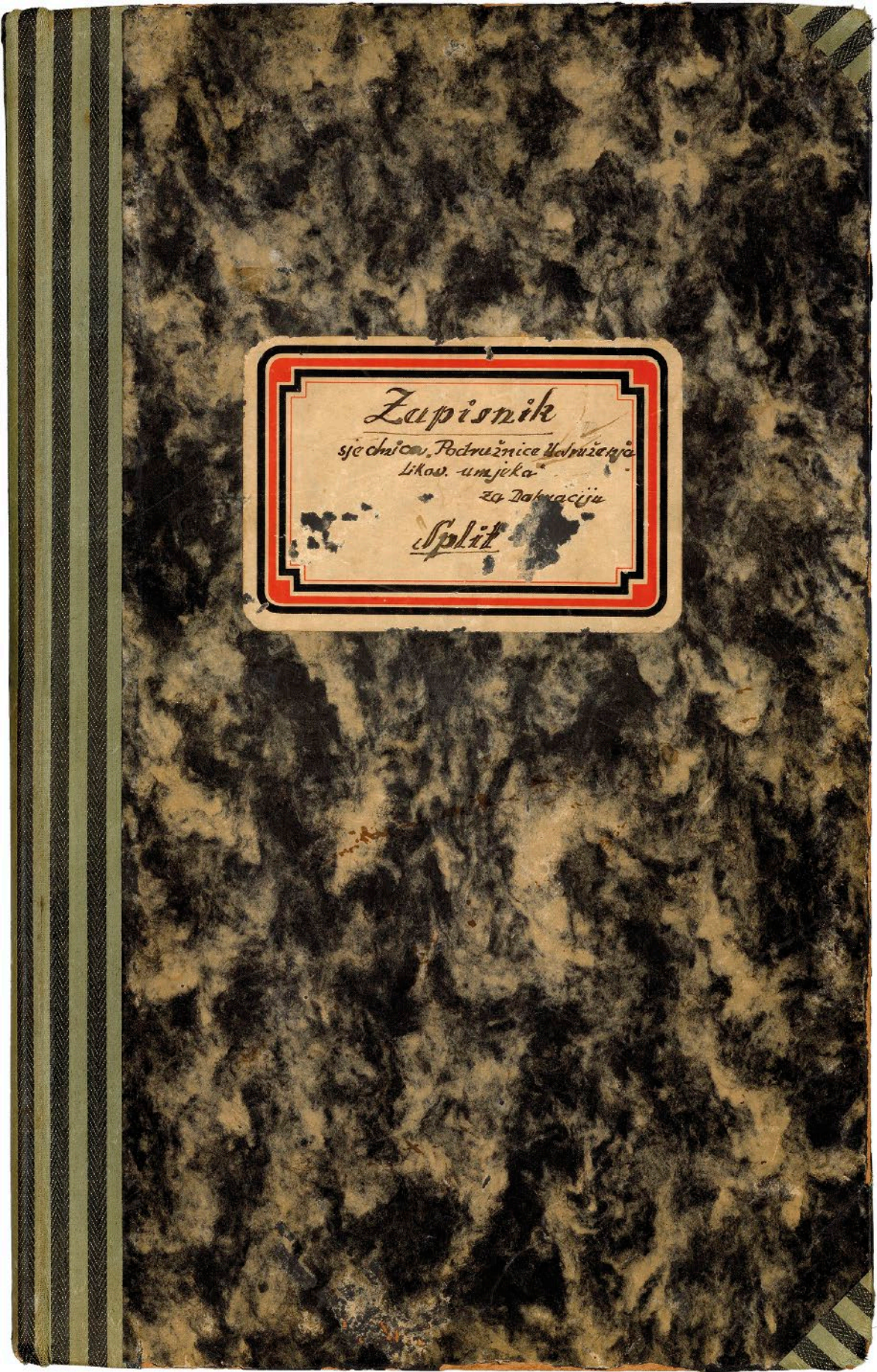
Grotesque Evening,
12 November 1945:

—
41 *Prizor iz izvedbe*

*Scene from the
performance*

42 Naslovnica knjige Zapisnik
sjednica „Podružnice Udruženja
likovnih umjetnika” za
Dalmaciju – Split

*Book cover of Minutes of the
Meetings of the “Branch of the
Association of Visual Artists” for
Dalmatia – Split*





43 *Prvomajska povorka
u prvim poratnim
godinama*

*May Day Procession in
the First Post-war Years*



44 *Prvomajska povorka
u prvim poratnim
godinama*

*May Day Procession in
the First Post-war Years*



←

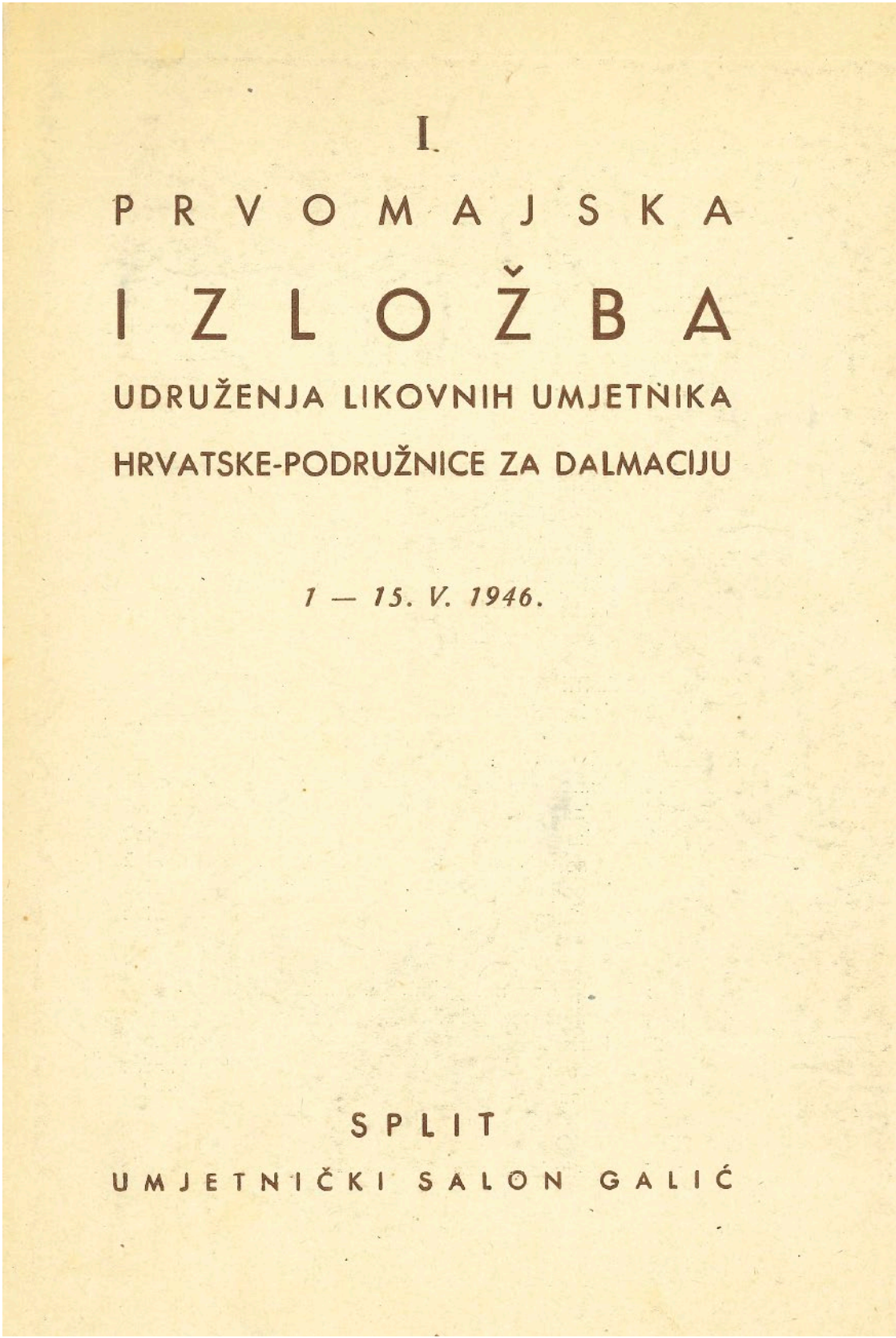
45 *Prvomajska povorka
u prvim poratnim
godinama*

*May Day Procession in
the First Post-war Years*

—

46 *Prvomajska povorka
u prvim poratnim
godinama*

*May Day Procession in
the First Post-war Years*



—

47 Naslovnica kataloga
I. Prvomajske izložbe,
1946.

Catalogue cover of
the *First May Day*
Exhibition, 1946

—

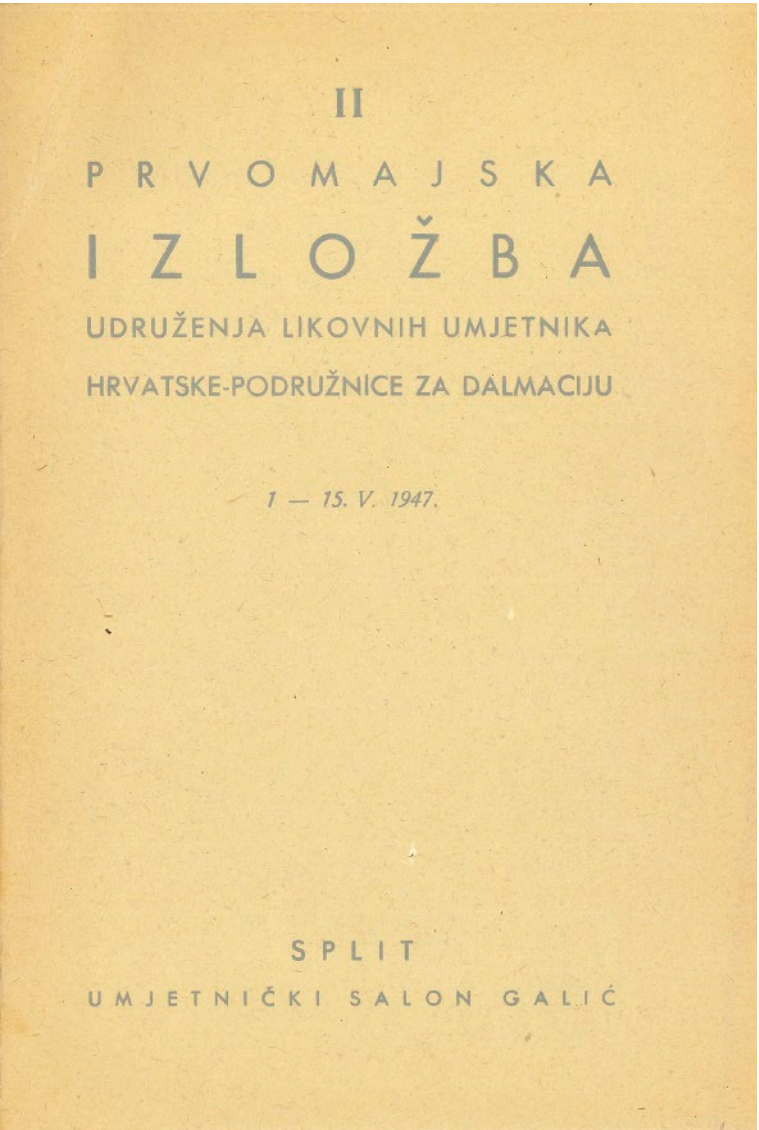
48 Naslovnica kataloga
II. Prvomajske izložbe,
1947.

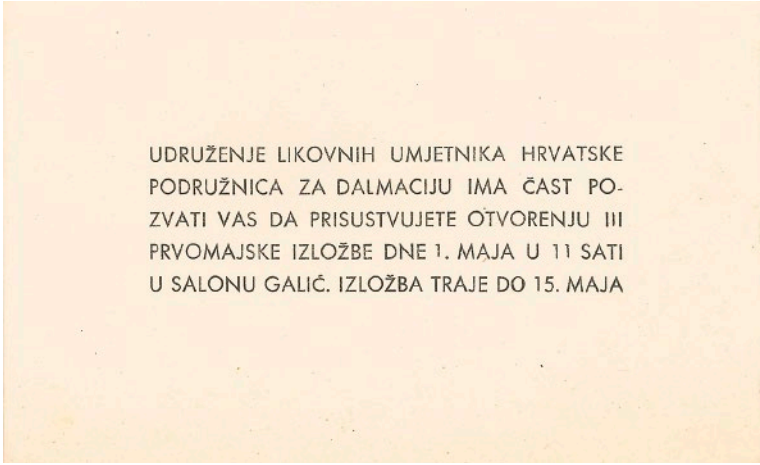
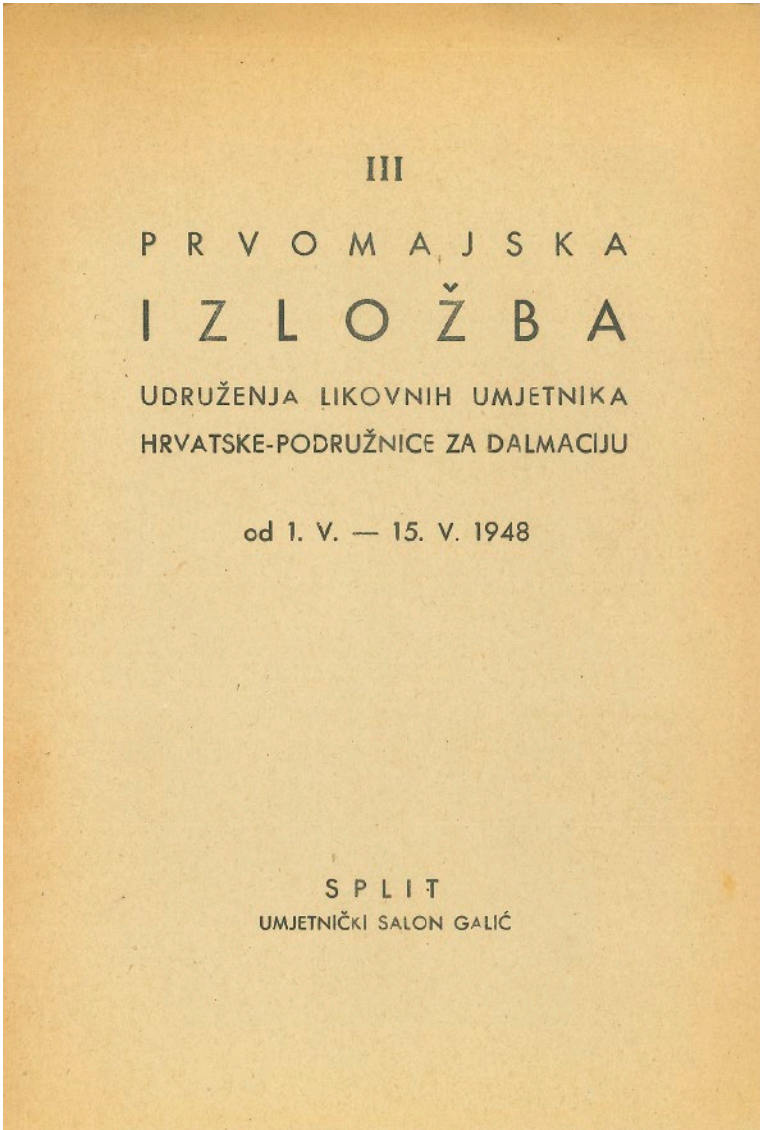
Catalogue cover of
the *Second May Day*
Exhibition, 1947

—

49 Pozivnica na otvorenje
II. Prvomajske izložbe,
1947.

Invitation to the opening
of the *Second May Day*
Exhibition, 1947



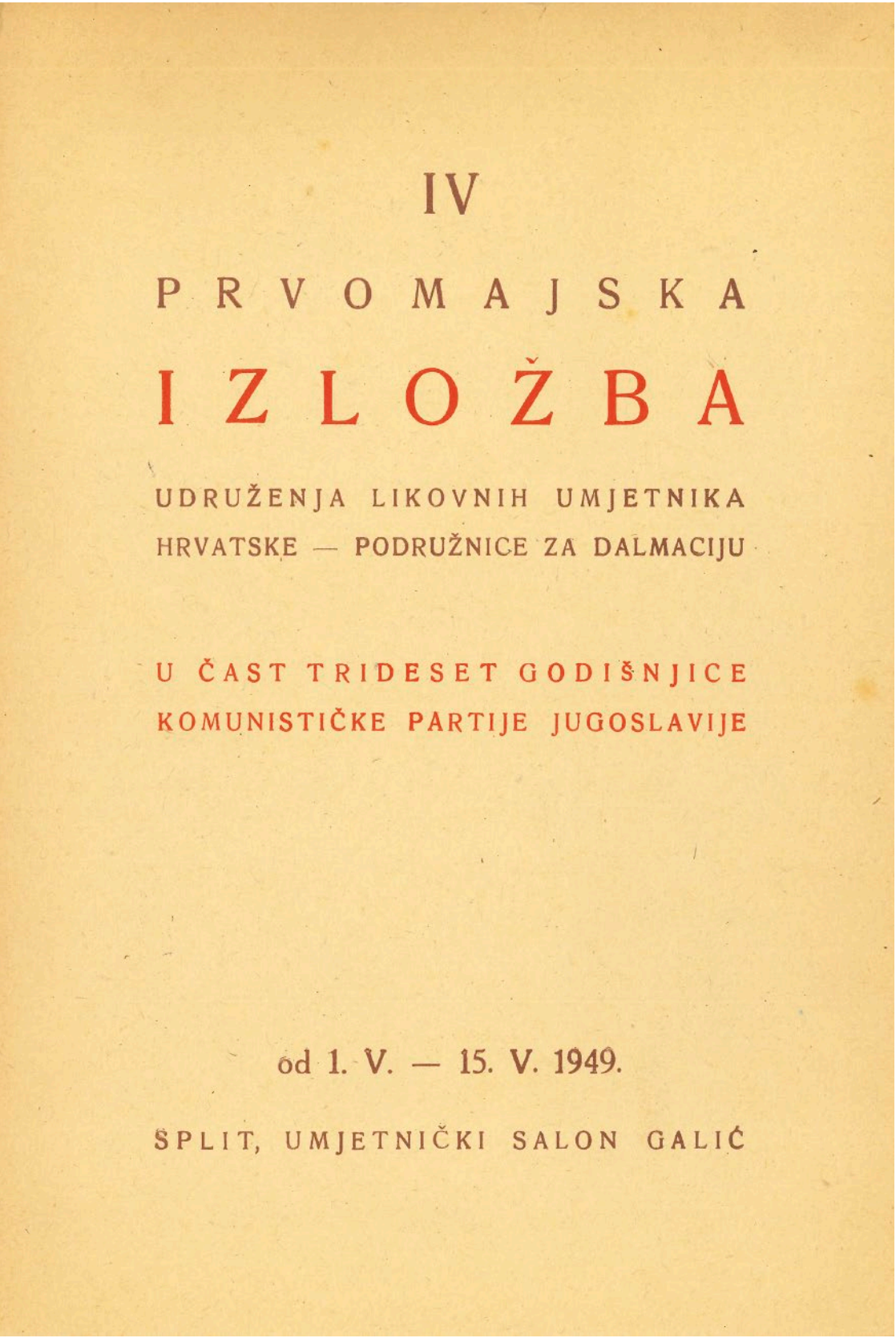


50 Naslovnica kataloga
III. Prvomajske izložbe,
1948.

Catalogue cover of
the *Third May Day*
Exhibition, 1948

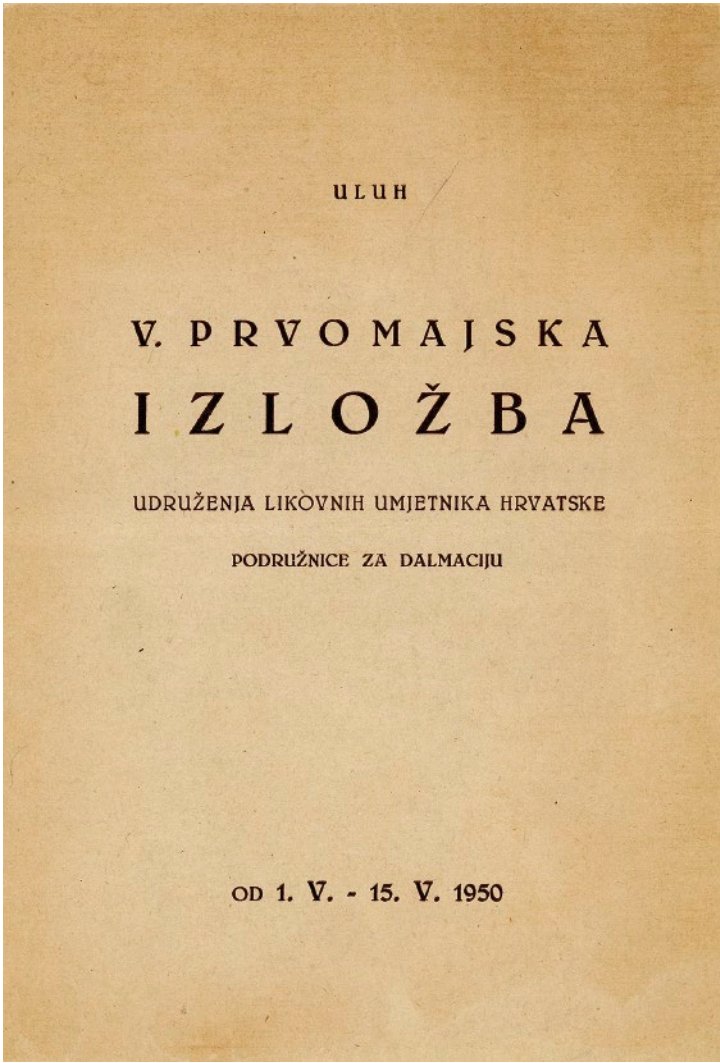
51 Pozivnica na otvorenje
III. Prvomajske izložbe,
1948.

Invitation to the
opening of the *Third*
May Day Exhibition, 1948



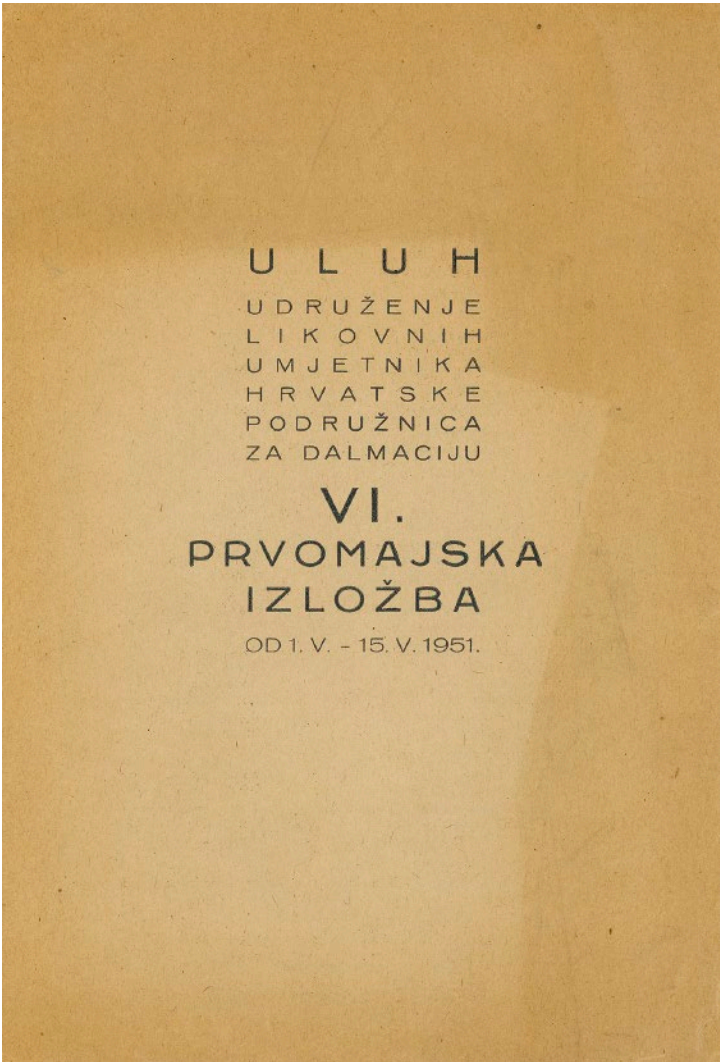
52 Naslovnica kataloga
IV. Prvomajske izložbe,
1949.

Catalogue cover of
the *Fourth May Day*
Exhibition, 1949



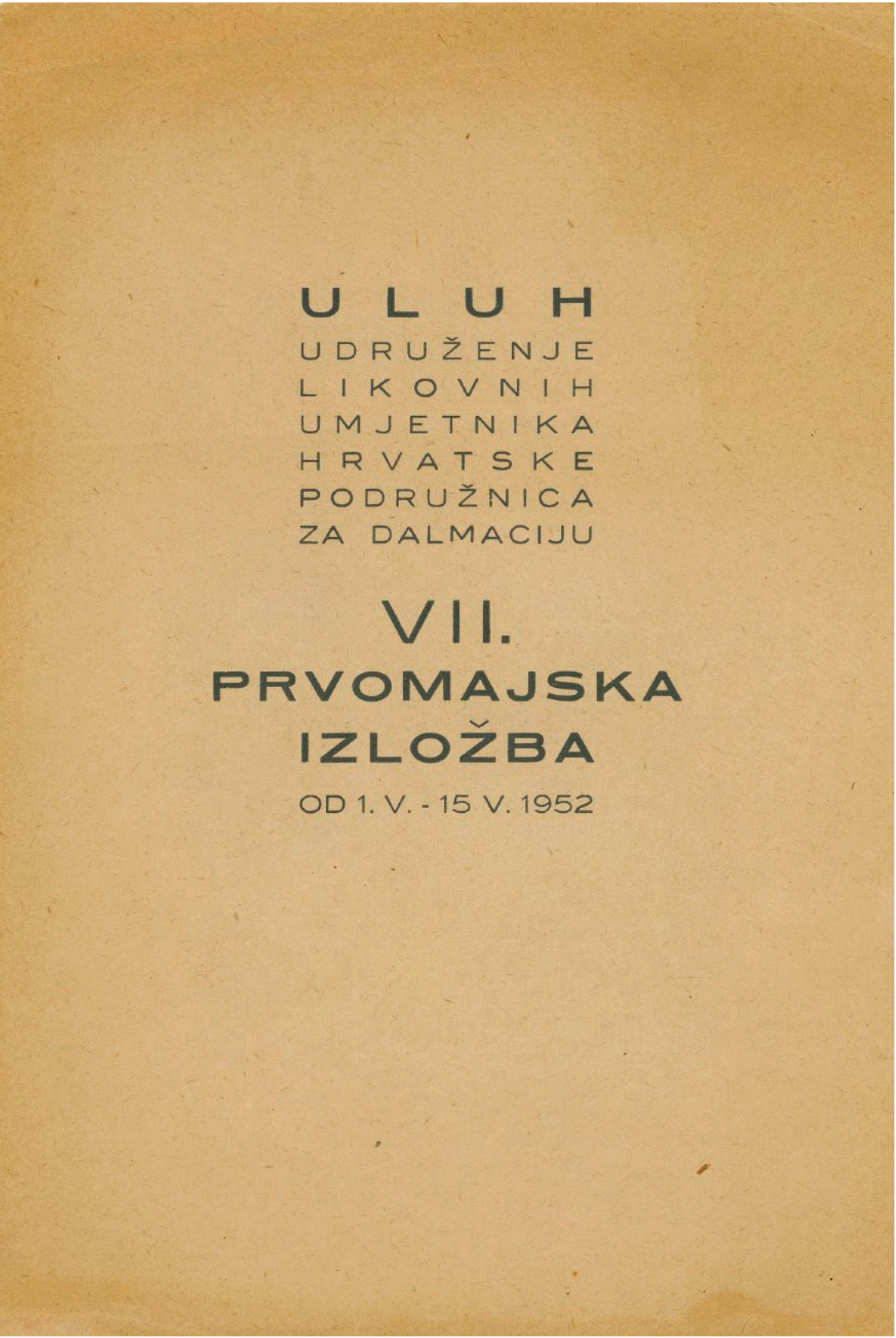
53 Naslovnica kataloga
V. Prvomajske izložbe,
1950.

Catalogue cover of
the *Fifth May Day*
Exhibition, 1950



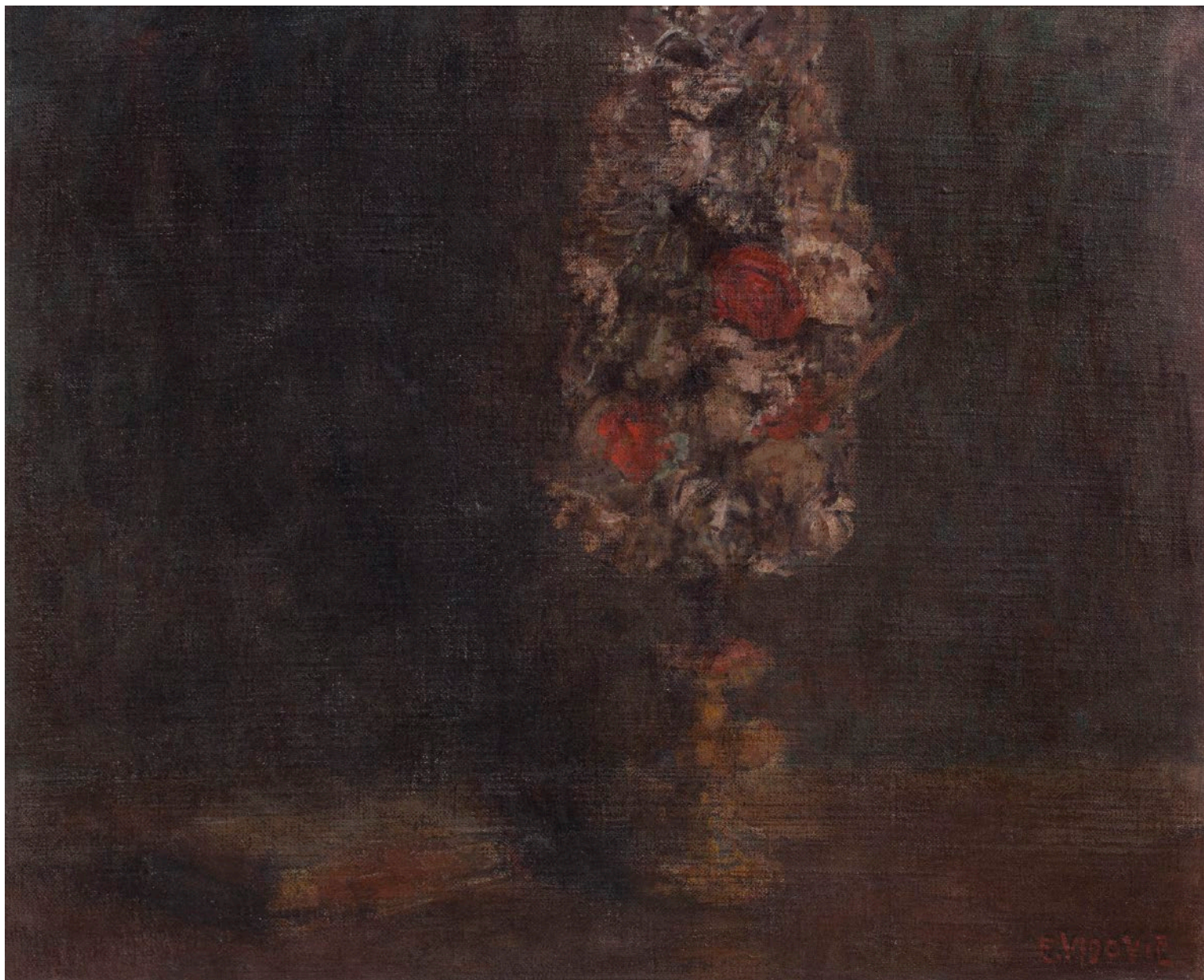
54 Naslovnica kataloga
VI. Prvomajske izložbe,
1951.

Catalogue cover of
the *Sixth May Day*
Exhibition, 1951



55 Naslovnica kataloga
VII. Prvomajske izložbe,
1952.

Catalogue cover of
the *Seventh May Day*
Exhibition, 1952



56 Emanuel Vidović
Papirnato cvijeće, 1945.
ulje na platnu, 52 x 60 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Paper Flowers, 1945
oil on canvas, 52 x 60 cm



57 Ante Kaštelančić
Dvorište, 1945.
ulje na drvu, 57 x 73,5 cm

Ante Kaštelančić
Courtyard, 1945
oil on wood, 57 x 73.5 cm



58 Antun Masle
Rad na obnovi, 1945.
akvarel na papiru,
30 x 46,5 cm

Antun Masle
Work on Reconstruction,
1945
watercolour on paper,
30 x 46.5 cm



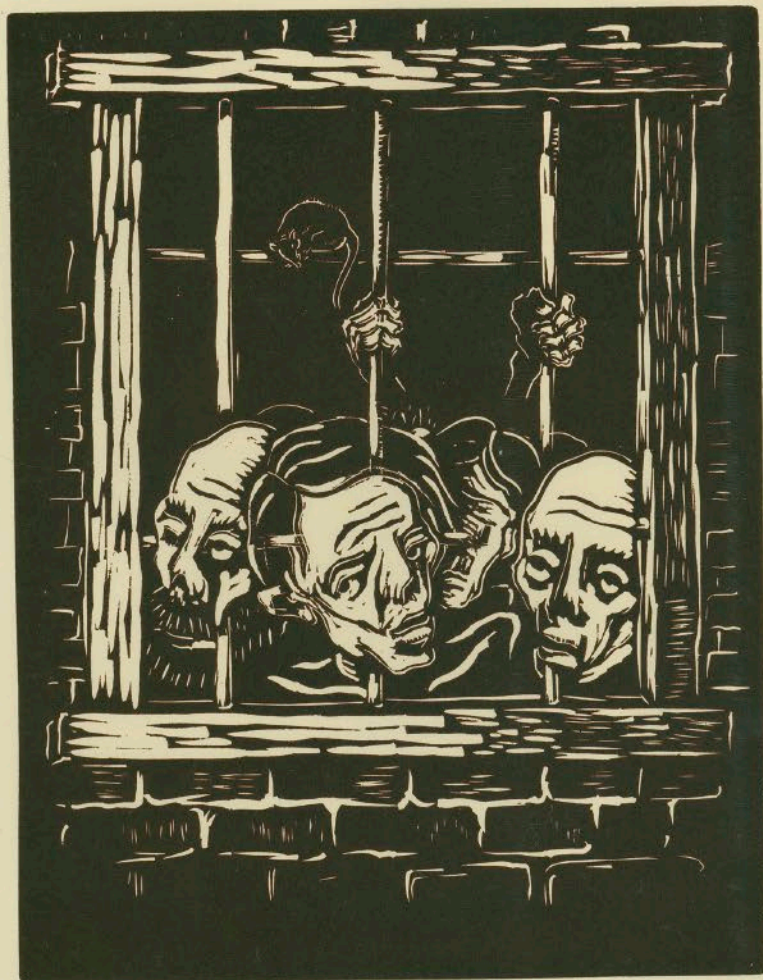
59 Antun Zupa
Srdelice, 1945.
gvaš na papiru,
35 x 50 cm

Antun Zupa
Sardines, 1945
gouache on paper,
35 x 50 cm

60 Antun Zupa
Srdelice, oko 1945.
ulje na platnu, 43 x 53 cm

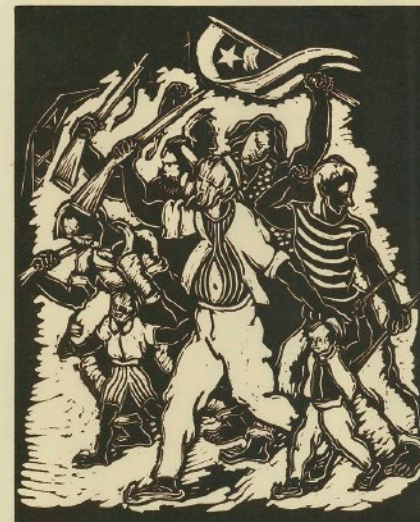
Antun Zupa
Sardines, c. 1945
oil on canvas, 43 x 53 cm





- 61 Branko Kovačević
Bacan je narod u tamnice (drugi list iz grafičke mape *Kroz našu borbu*), 1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 23,5 x 17,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
The People Were Thrown into Prisons (second sheet from the graphic portfolio *Through Our Struggle*), 1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 23.5 x 17.5 cm



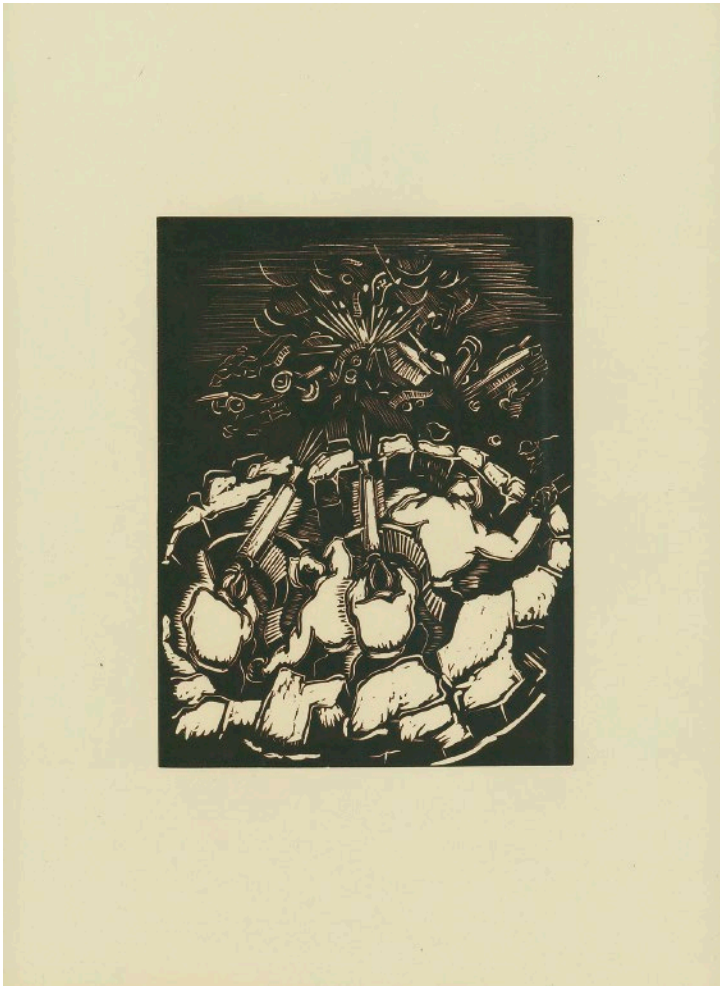
- 62 Branko Kovačević
Podigao se ustanak (četvrti list iz grafičke mape *Kroz našu borbu*), 1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 22 x 17 cm

Branko Kovačević
The Uprising Broke Out (fourth sheet from the graphic portfolio *Through Our Struggle*), 1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 22 x 17 cm



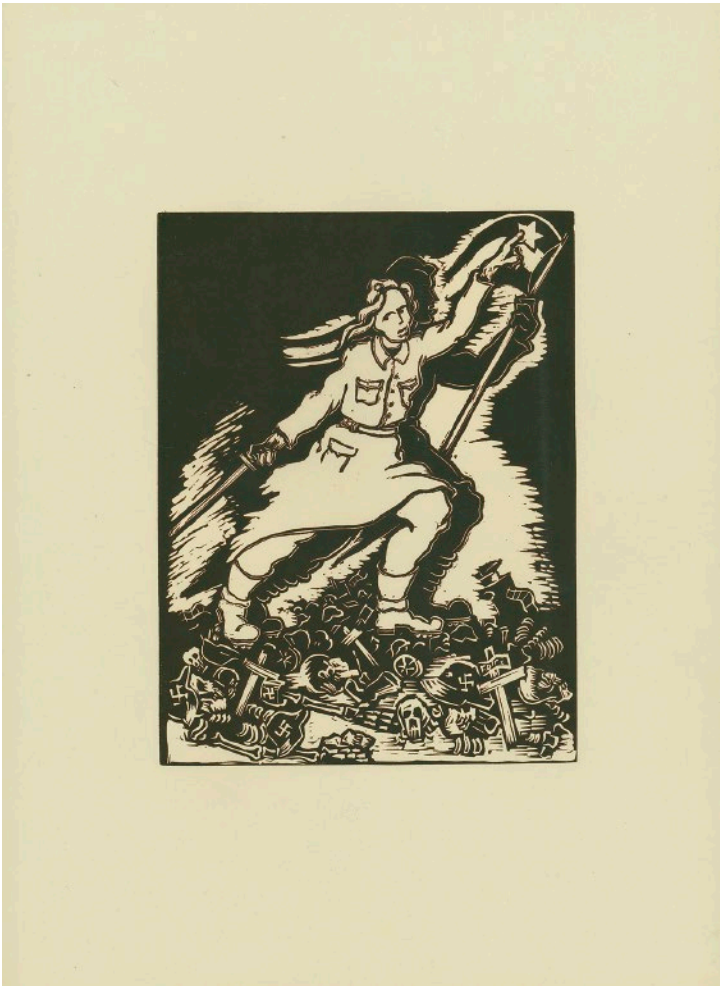
- 63 Branko Kovačević
I pališe naša sela (sedmi list iz grafičke mape *Kroz našu borbu*), 1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 24 x 17,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
And They Burned Our Villages (seventh sheet from the graphic portfolio *Through Our Struggle*), 1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 24 x 17.5 cm



64 Branko Kovačević
*Ali je neprijatelj od
naših udaraca oslabljen*
(četrnaesti list iz
grafičke mape *Kroz našu
borbu*), 1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 23 x 17,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
*But the Enemy Was
Weakened by Our Blows*
(fourteenth sheet from
the graphic portfolio
Through Our Struggle),
1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 23 x 17.5 cm

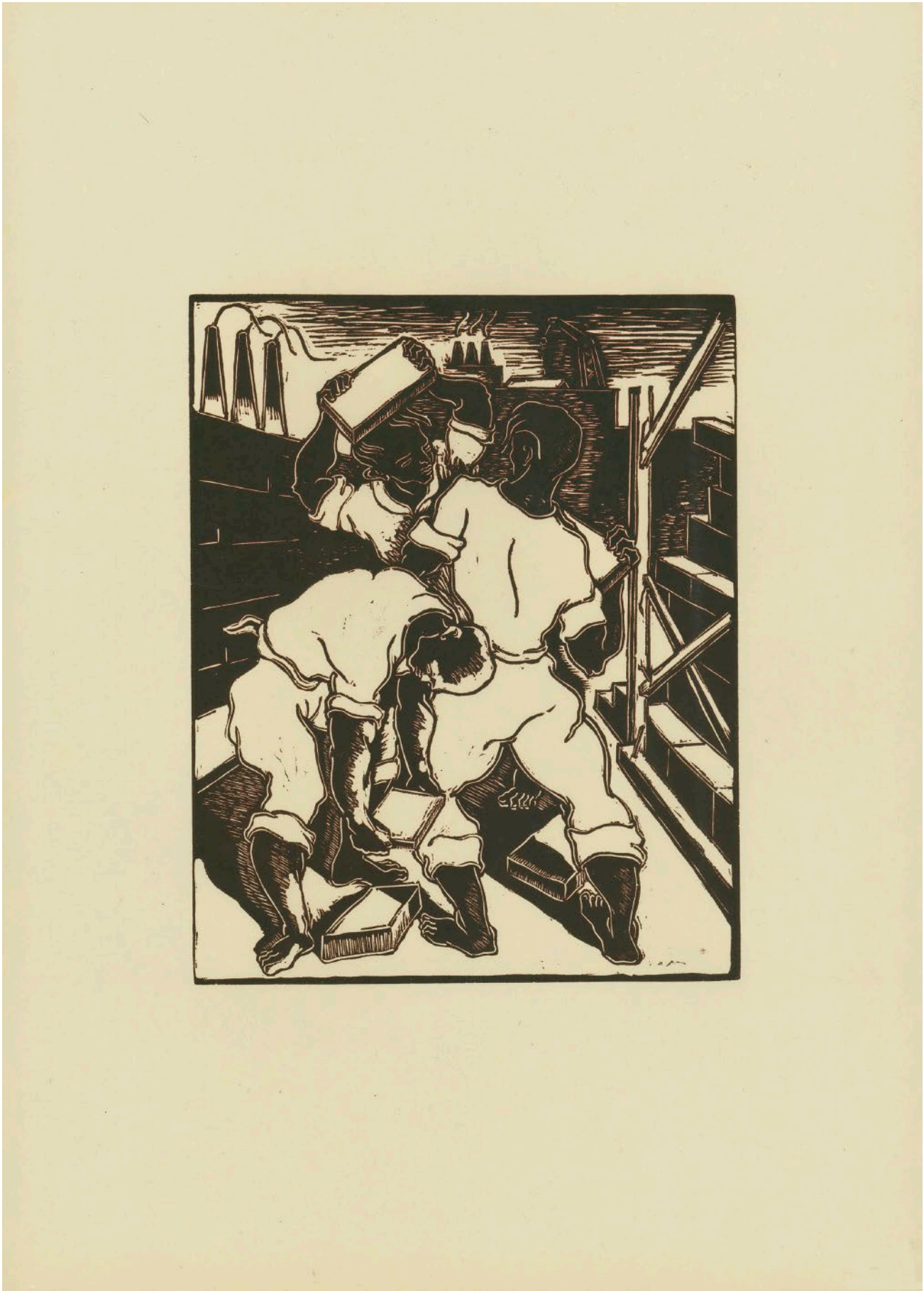


65 Branko Kovačević
I pobijeden (petnaesti
list iz grafičke mape
Kroz našu borbu), 1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 23 x 17,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
And Defeated (fifteenth
sheet from the graphic
portfolio *Through Our
Struggle*), 1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 23 x 17.5 cm

66 Branko Kovačević
*Obnovit ćemo porušeno
i izgraditi novo...*
(šesnaesti list iz grafičke
mape *Kroz našu borbu*),
1945.
linorez na papiru,
43 x 34 cm /
otisak 23 x 18 cm

Branko Kovačević
*We Shall Rebuild What
Has Been Destroyed and
Build Anew...* (sixteenth
sheet from the graphic
portfolio *Through Our
Struggle*), 1945
linocut on paper,
43 x 34 cm /
image size 23 x 18 cm





67 Emanuel Vidović
Trogirski pejzaž,
oko 1945.
ulje na platnu, 48 x 57 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Trogir Landscape, c. 1945
oil on canvas, 48 x 57 cm



68 Ante Petričić
Mrtva priroda, oko 1945.
ulje na drvu, 70 x 60 cm

Ante Petričić
Still Life, c. 1945
oil on wood, 70 x 60 cm



69 Antun Masle,
Dubrovački pejzaž,
1945./1946.
ulje na platnu, 36 x 45 cm

Antun Masle
Dubrovnik Landscape,
1945/1946
oil on canvas, 36 x 45 cm



70 Emanuel Vidović
Stara splitska ulica, 1946.
akvarel na papiru,
55 x 45 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Old Street in Split, 1946
watercolour on paper,
55 x 45 cm





71 Emanuel Vidović
Mrtva priroda s lutkom, 1946.
gvaš i ulje na papiru,
40 x 47,5 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Still Life with Doll, 1946
gouache and oil on paper,
40 x 47.5 cm



72 Emanuel Vidović
Mrtva priroda s lutkom, 1946.
gvaš na papiru,
41,5 x 50 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Still Life with Doll, 1946
gouache on paper,
41.5 x 50 cm



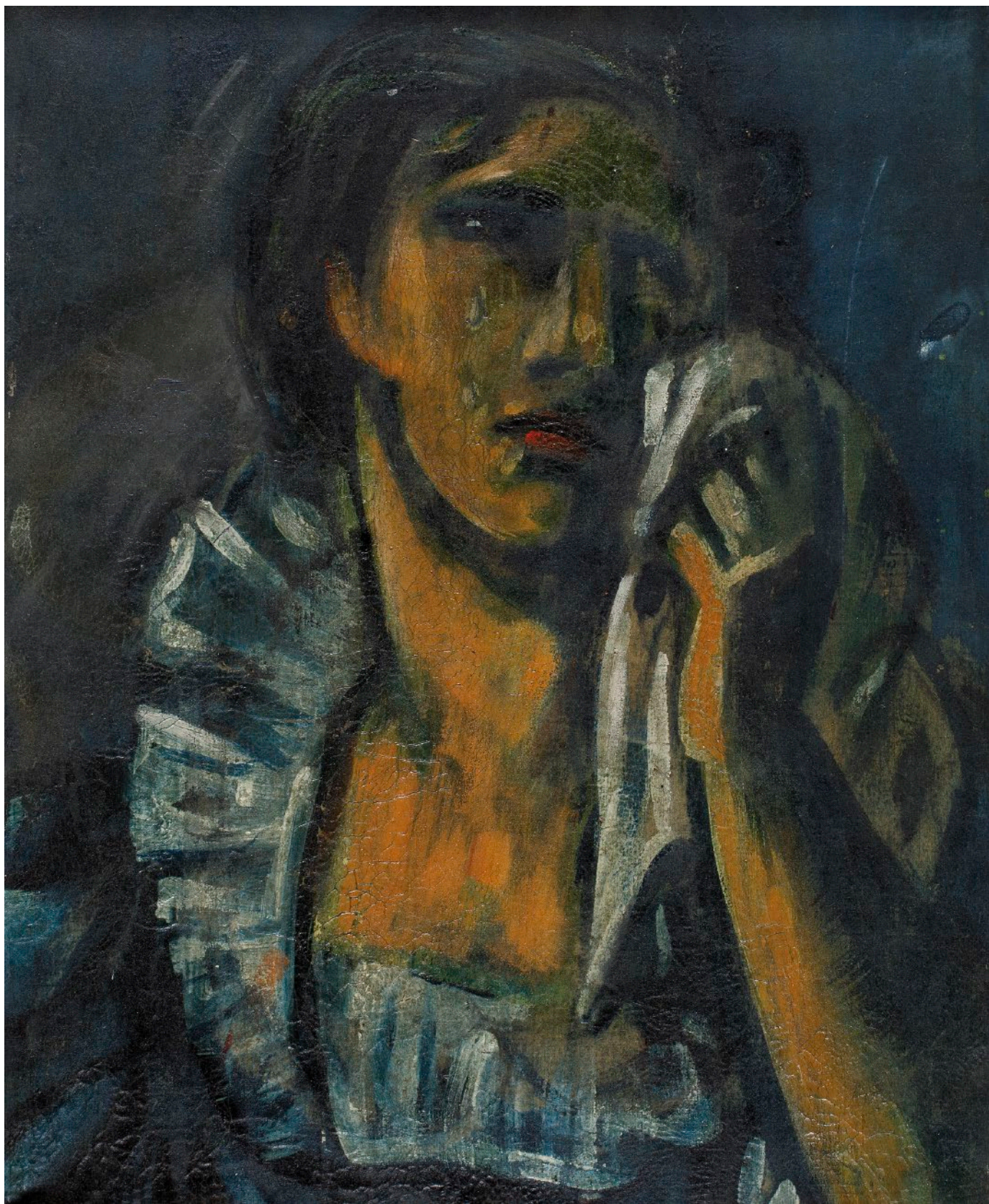
73 Branko Kovačević
Motiv iz Dubrovnika, 1946.
tempera na papiru,
47,5 x 59,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
Motif from Dubrovnik, 1946
tempera on paper,
47.5 x 59.5 cm



74 Antun Masle
Park Gradac, 1946.
ulje na kartonu,
54,5 x 65 cm

Antun Masle
Gradac Park, 1946
oil on cardboard,
54.5 x 65 cm



75 Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Tugovanje, 1946.
ulje na platnu,
61,5 x 51,5 cm

Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Mourning, 1946
oil on canvas,
61.5 x 51.5 cm

76 Andrija Krstulović
Zbijeg, 1946.
gips,
140 x 188 cm

Andrija Krstulović
Refugees, 1946
plaster,
140 x 188 cm



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77 Andrija Krstulović
*Pastirica u igri s
kozletom*, 1946.
gips, 90 x 78 cm

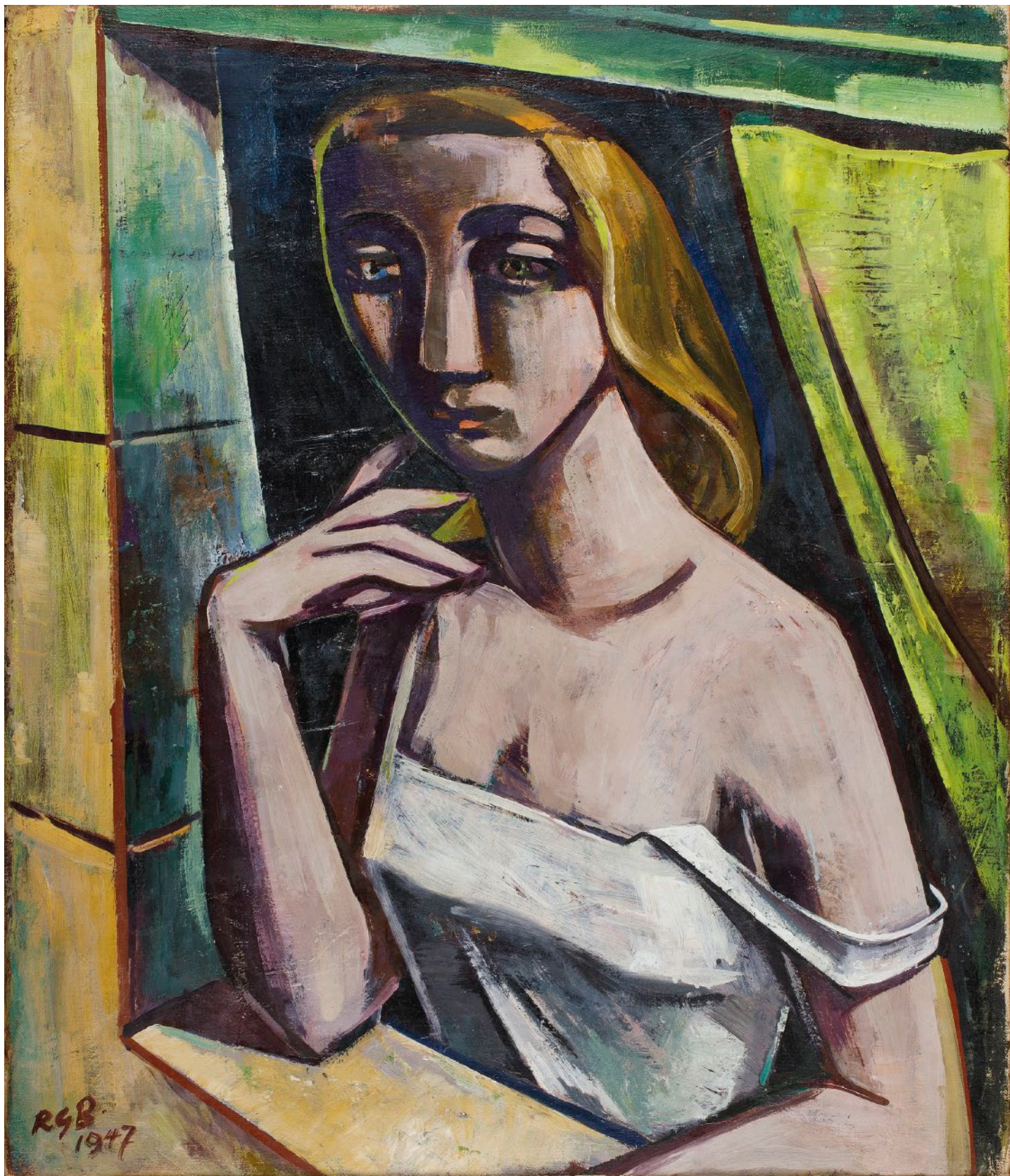
Andrija Krstulović
*Shepherdess Playing
with a Kid*, 1946
plaster, 90 x 78 cm



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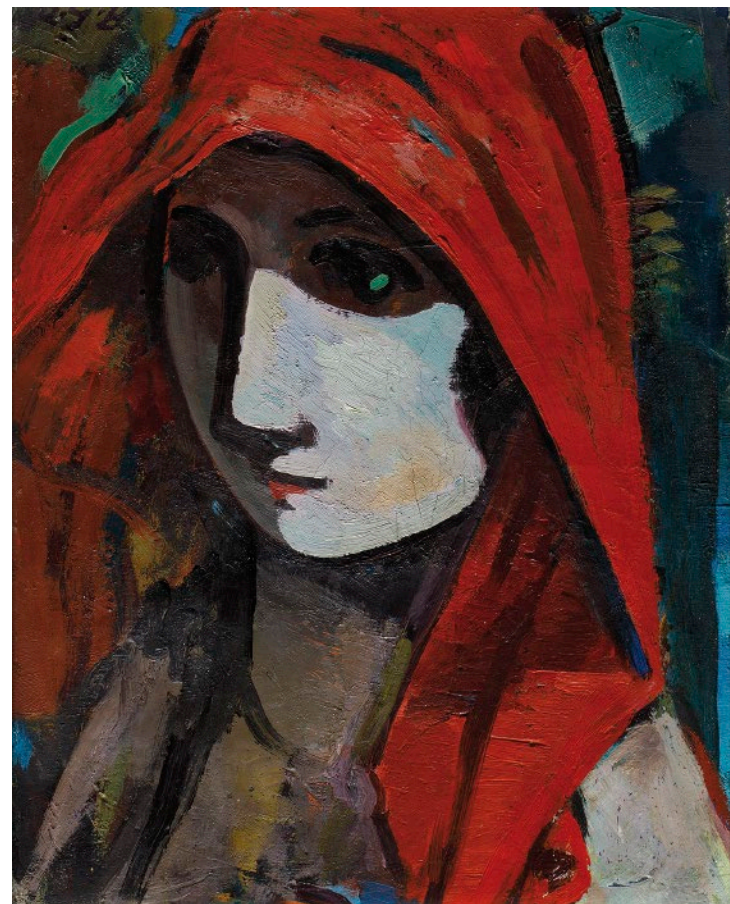
78 Antun Zupa
*Mrtva priroda s
cvijećem*, oko 1946.
gvaš na papiru, 42 x 31 cm

Antun Zupa
Still Life with Flowers,
c. 1946
gouache on paper,
42 x 31 cm



79 Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Mlada žena na prozoru,
1947.
ulje na platnu,
79 x 67,5 cm

Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Young Woman at the
Window, 1947
oil on canvas, 79 x 67.5 cm



80 Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Djevojka s crvenom
maramom, 1947.
ulje na platnu,
42 x 31,5 cm

Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Girl with a Red Scarf, 1947
oil on canvas,
42 x 31.5 cm



81 Ante Kaštelančić
Na radilištu, 1947.
tuš na papiru,
36 x 57 cm

Ante Kaštelančić
At the Worksite, 1947
ink on paper,
36 x 57 cm



82 Vjekoslav Parać
*Rad na Omladinskoj
pruzi*, 1947. ili 1948.
ulje na kartonu,
104 x 89 cm

Vjekoslav Parać
*Work on the Youth
Railway*, 1947 or 1948
oil on cardboard,
104 x 89 cm



83 Emanuel Vidović
U atelijeru, oko 1947.
ulje na platnu, 52,5 x 63 cm

Emanuel Vidović
In the Studio, c. 1947
oil on canvas, 52.5 x 63 cm m



84 Emanuel Vidović
U atelijeru, 1948.
ulje na papiru, 59 x 52 cm

Emanuel Vidović
In the Studio, 1948
oil on paper, 59 x 52 cm



85 Branko Kovačević
Crtež iz NOB-a, 1948.
 tuš na papiru, 36 x 60 cm

Branko Kovačević
*Drawing from the National
 Liberation Struggle*, 1948
 ink on paper, 36 x 60 cm



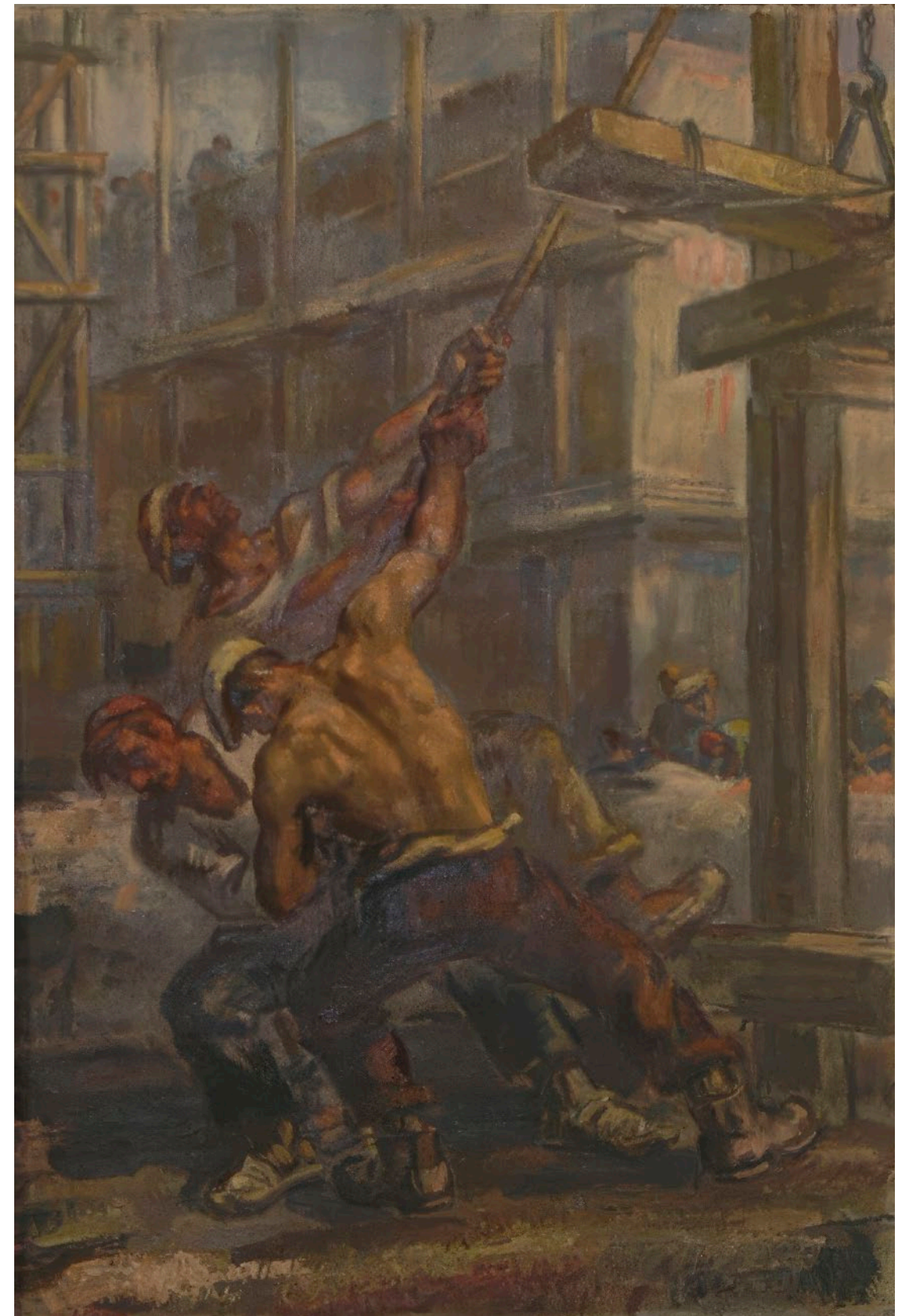
86 Ante Franičević
Povratak partizana, do 1949.
 ulje na platnu, 68 x 81 cm

Ante Franičević
Return of the Partisans, by 1949
 oil on canvas, 68 x 81 cm



87 Emanuel Vidović
Stari most u Trogiru, 1948.
ulje na platnu, 62 x 71,5 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Old Bridge in Trogir, 1948
oil on canvas, 62 x 71.5 cm



88 Vjekoslav Parać
Na gradilištu, do 1949.
ulje na kartonu,
130 x 89 cm

Vjekoslav Parać
On the Construction Site,
by 1949
oil on cardboard,
130 x 89 cm



89 Emanuel Vidović
Mrtva priroda s maskom, 1949.
ulje na platnu, 44 x 54 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Still Life with Mask, 1949
oil on canvas, 44 x 54 cm



90 Emanuel Vidović
Balkon u atelijeru, 1949.
ulje na platnu, 58 x 69 cm

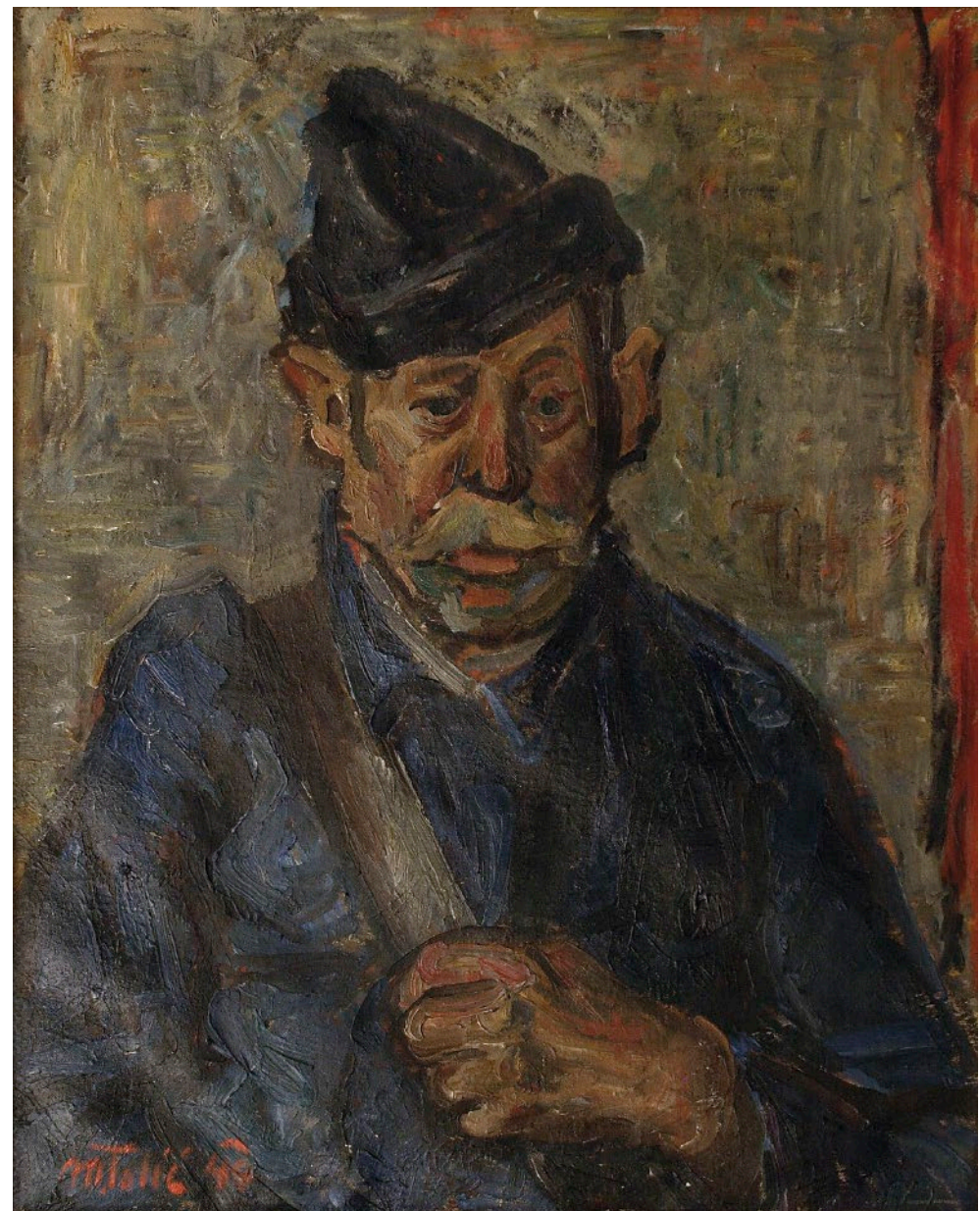
Emanuel Vidović
Balcony in the Studio, 1949
oil on canvas, 58 x 69 cm



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91 Ivan Joko Knežević
Kamenari, 1949.
 ulje na platnu,
 104 x 82 cm

Ivan Joko Knežević
 Stonecutters, 1949
 oil on canvas, 104 x 82 cm



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92 Ivan Tolić
Seljak sa šubarom, 1949.
 ulje na platnu,
 67 x 53,5 cm

Ivan Tolić
Peasant with a Fur Cap, 1949
 oil on canvas, 67 x 53.5 cm



93 Antun Masle
Orašac, 1949./1950.
ulje na platnu, 31 x 41 cm

Antun Masle
Orašac, 1949/1950
oil on canvas, 31 x 41 cm



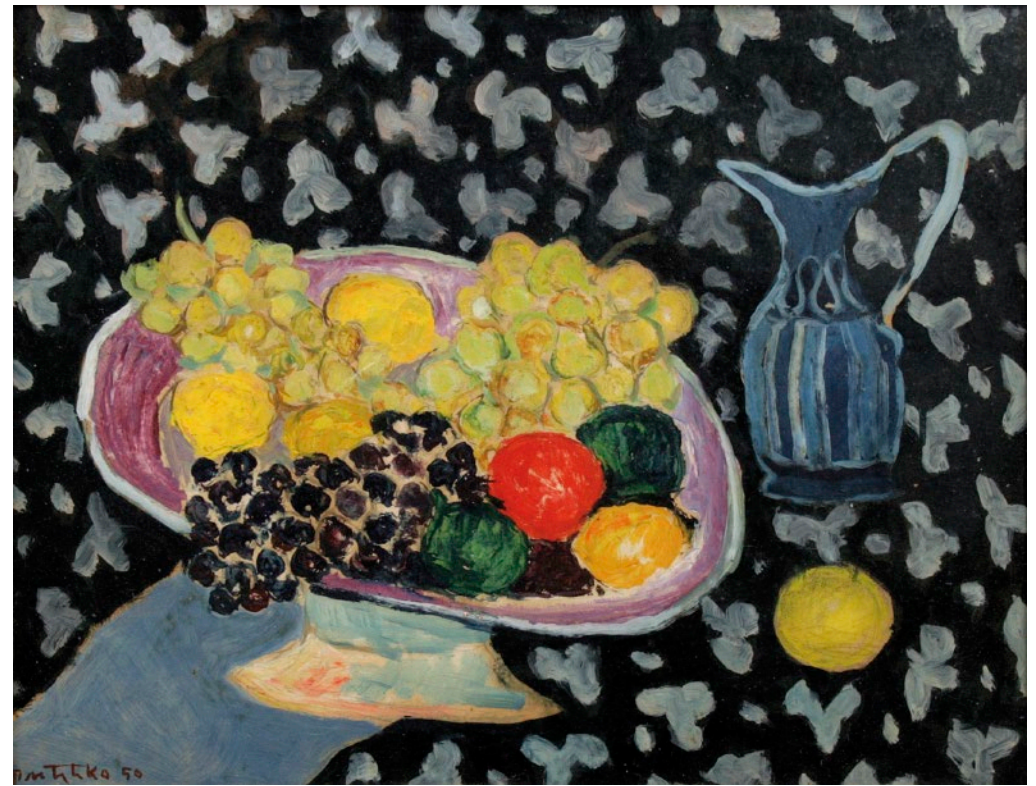
94 Emanuel Vidović
Poljske kuće, 1950.
ulje na platnu, 56,5 x 71 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Country Houses, 1950
oil on canvas, 56.5 x 71 cm



95 Branko Kovačević
Mrtva priroda s ikonama, 1950.
ulje na platnu,
100,5 x 140,5 cm

Branko Kovačević
Still Life with Icons, 1950
oil on canvas,
100.5 x 140.5 cm



96 Đuro Pulitika
Voće, 1950.
ulje na papiru, 39 x 54 cm

Đuro Pulitika
Fruit, 1950
oil on paper, 39 x 54 cm



97 Đuro Pulitika
Interijer s narančastim stolom, 1950.
akvarel na papiru,
40 x 50 cm

Đuro Pulitika
Interior with an Orange Table, 1950
watercolour on paper,
40 x 50 cm



98 Branko Kovačević
Mrtve ptice (Jarebice), 1950.
ulje na platnu, 45 x 59 cm

Branko Kovačević
Dead Birds (Partridges), 1950
oil on canvas, 45 x 59 cm



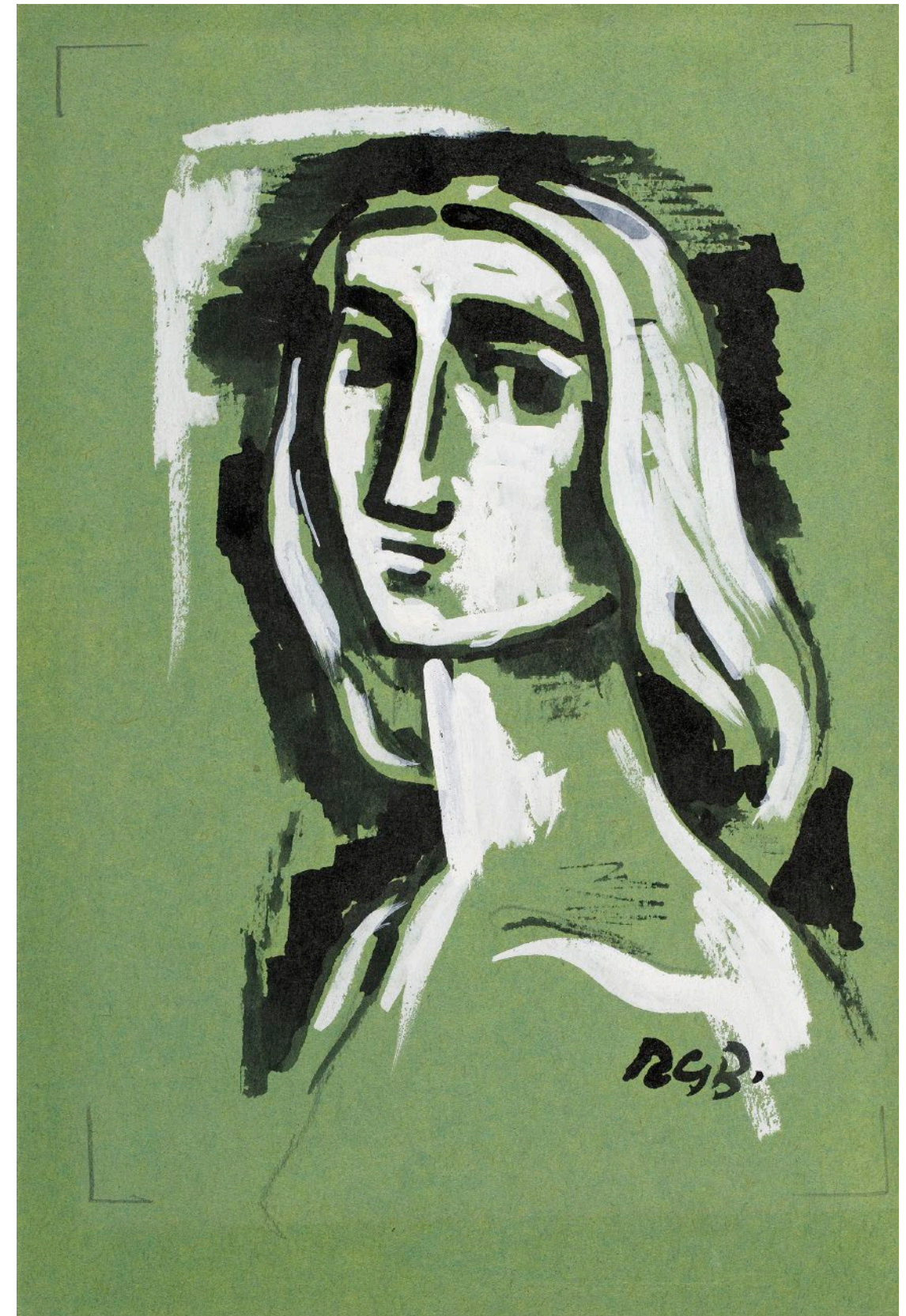
99 Ivo Dulčić
U vrtu, 1950.
ulje na kartonu, 29,2 x 35,7 cm

Ivo Dulčić
In the Garden, 1950
oil on cardboard, 29.2 x 35.7 cm



100 Ante Kaštelančić
Krajoлик s otoka / Motiv Supetra,
1950.
ulje na platnu, 70,5 x 84,5 cm

Ante Kaštelančić
Island Landscape / Supetar
Motif, 1950
oil on canvas, 70.5 x 84.5 cm



101 Rudolf Gerhart Bunk
Ženski portret, 1950.
akvarel na papiru,
23 x 15 cm

Rudolf Gerhart Bunk,
Female Portrait, 1950
watercolour on paper,
23 x 15 cm



102 Ivo Dulčić
Stradun, oko 1950.
ulje na platnu,
36 x 44,7 cm

Ivo Dulčić
Stradun, c. 1950
oil on canvas, 36 x 44.7 cm



103 Eugen Krstulović
Gradska luka, oko 1950.
ulje na platnu,
36,5 x 49 cm

Eugen Krstulović
City Harbour, c. 1950
oil on canvas, 36.5 x 49 cm



104 Andrija Krstulović
Motiv s jematve, oko 1950.
bronca, 88 x 45 x 42 cm

Andrija Krstulović
Motif from the Grape
Harvest, c. 1950
bronze, 88 x 45 x 42 cm



105 Ante Franičević
Pejzaž, oko 1950.
ulje na platnu, 55,7 x 62,5 cm

Ante Franičević
Landscape, c. 1950
oil on canvas, 55.7 x 62.5 cm



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106 Marin Studin
Omladinka na pruzi,
oko 1950.
gips, 52 x 32 x 3 cm

Marin Studin
Young Woman on the
Railway, c. 1950
plaster, 52 x 32 x 3 cm

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107 Marin Studin
Radnik i seljanka, oko
1950.
gips, 52 x 32 x 3 cm

Marin Studin
Worker and Peasant
Woman, c. 1950
plaster, 52 x 32 x 3 cm





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108 Marin Studin
Partizan, oko 1950.
 gips, 63 x 62 x 43 cm

Marin Studin
Partisan, c. 1950
 plaster, 63 x 62 x 43 cm



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109 Marin Studin
Marinova krava (Krava maloga Marinka), oko 1950.
 drvo, 81 x 132 x 7 cm

Marin Studin
Marin's Cow (Little Marinko's Cow), c. 1950
 wood, 81 x 132 x 7 cm

110 Emanuel Vidović
Splitski pejzaž, oko 1950.
tempera na papiru,
56 x 60 cm

Emanuel Vidović
Split Landscape, c. 1950
tempera on paper,
56 x 60 cm





111 Đuro Pulitika
Brodolomci, 1951.
 ulje na platnu, 24 x 31 cm

Đuro Pulitika
The Shipwrecked, 1951
 oil on canvas, 24 x 31 cm



112 Ante Kaštelančić
Motiv iz Trpnja, 1951.
 ulje na platnu, 64 x 80 cm

Ante Kaštelančić
Motif from Trpanj, 1951
 oil on canvas, 64 x 80 cm



113 Jovanka Strajnić
Dubrovnik s Minčetom, 1952.
ulje na kartonu,
41 x 47 cm

Jovanka Strajnić
Dubrovnik with Minčeta, 1952
oil on cardboard,
41 x 47 cm



114 Eugen Krstulović
Lučica na Lokrumu
(Portoč), 1952.
akvarel na papiru,
29 x 41 cm

Eugen Krstulović
Small Harbour on
Lokrum (Portoč), 1952
watercolour on paper,
29 x 41 cm

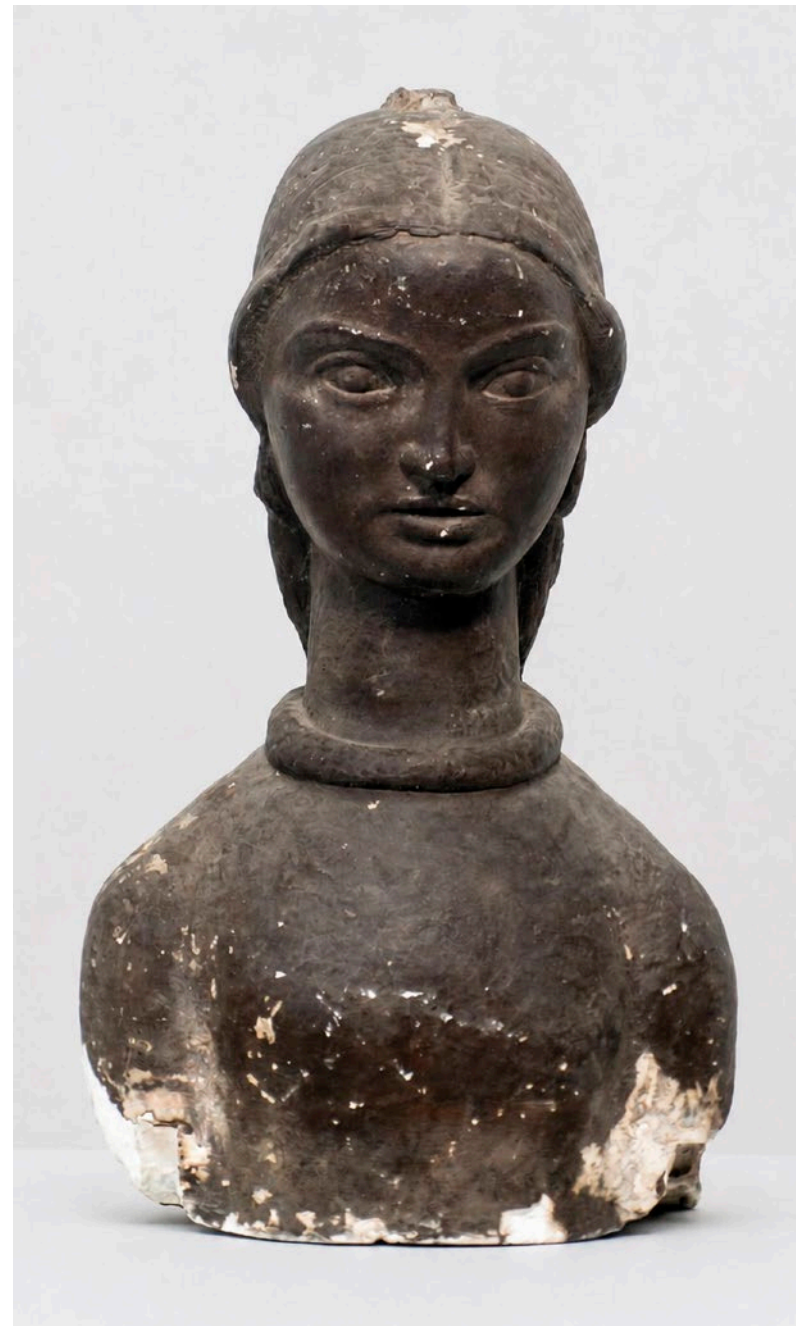


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115 Đuro Pulitika
Povratak iz Grada, 1952.
ulje na platnu, 58 x 78 cm

Đuro Pulitika
Return from the City, 1952
oil on canvas, 58 x 78 cm

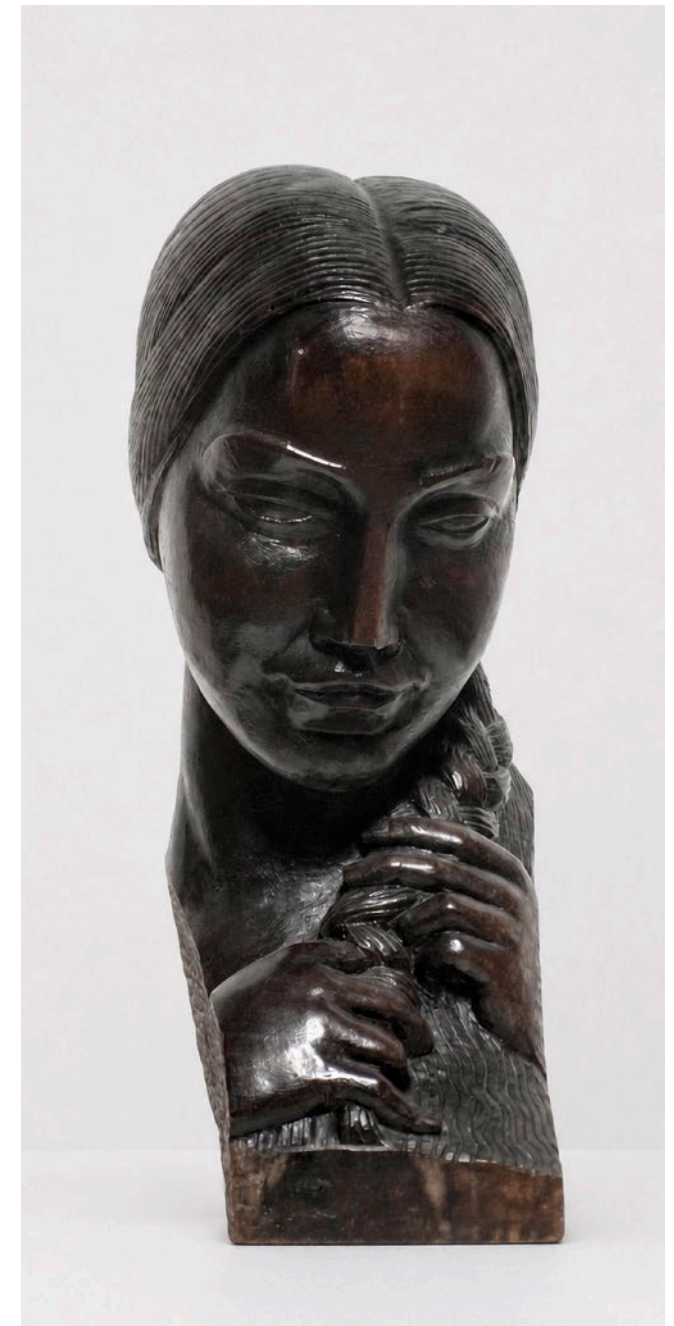
116 Đuro Pulitika
Povratak iz polja, 1952.
ulje na papiru, 56 x 76 cm

Đuro Pulitika
Return from the Fields, 1952
oil on paper, 56 x 76 cm



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117 Marin Studin
Djevojka s ogrlicom, 1952.
drvo, 53 x 30 x 19 cm

Marin Studin
Girl with a Necklace, 1952
wood, 53 x 30 x 19 cm



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118 Marin Studin
Djevojka s pletenicom,
1952.
drvo, 44 x 16,5 x 23 cm

Marin Studin
Girl with a Plait, 1952
wood, 44 x 16.5 x 23 cm



119 Marin Studin
Djevojka s konjem, 1952.
drvo, 43 x 43 x 4 cm

Marin Studin
Girl with a Horse, 1952
wood, 43 x 43 x 4 cm



120 Marin Studin
Majka i dijete, 1952.
drvo, 60 x 15 x 27 cm

Marin Studin
Mother and Child, 1952
wood, 60 x 15 x 27 cm

Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945.
Osnovna škola Manuš, Split
lipanj – kolovoz 1946.

Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945
Manuš Primary School, Split
June–August 1946

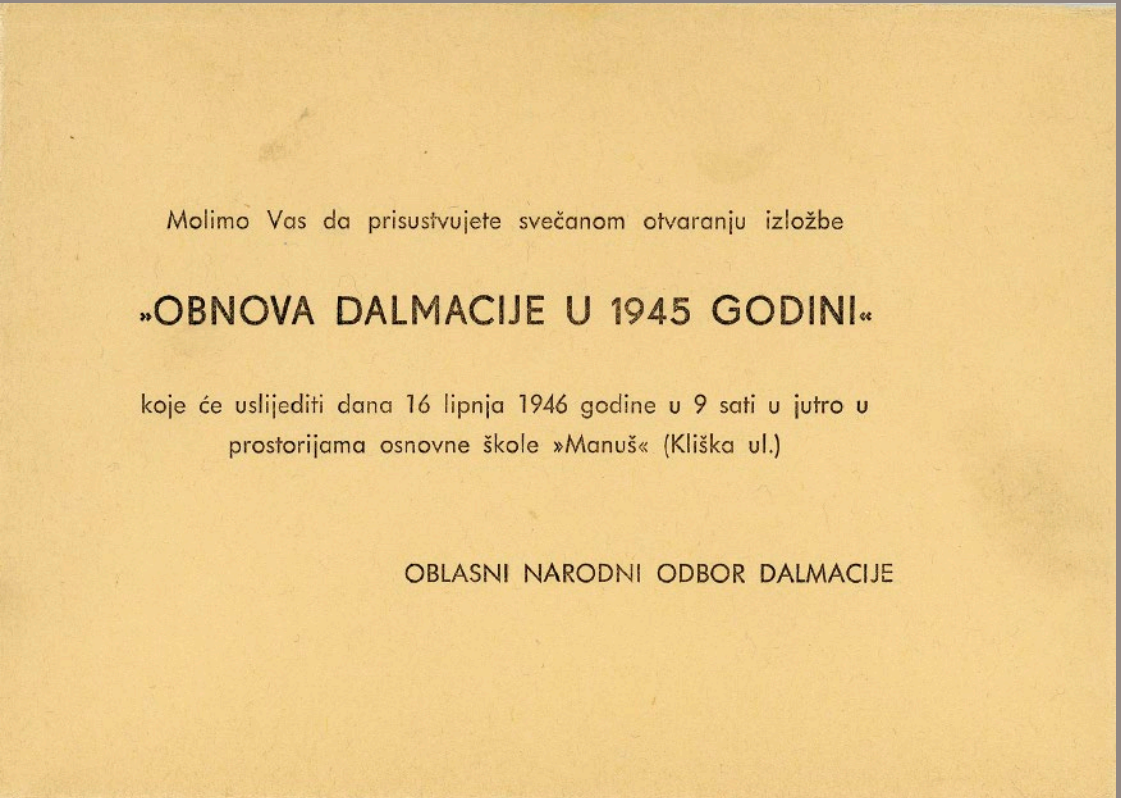
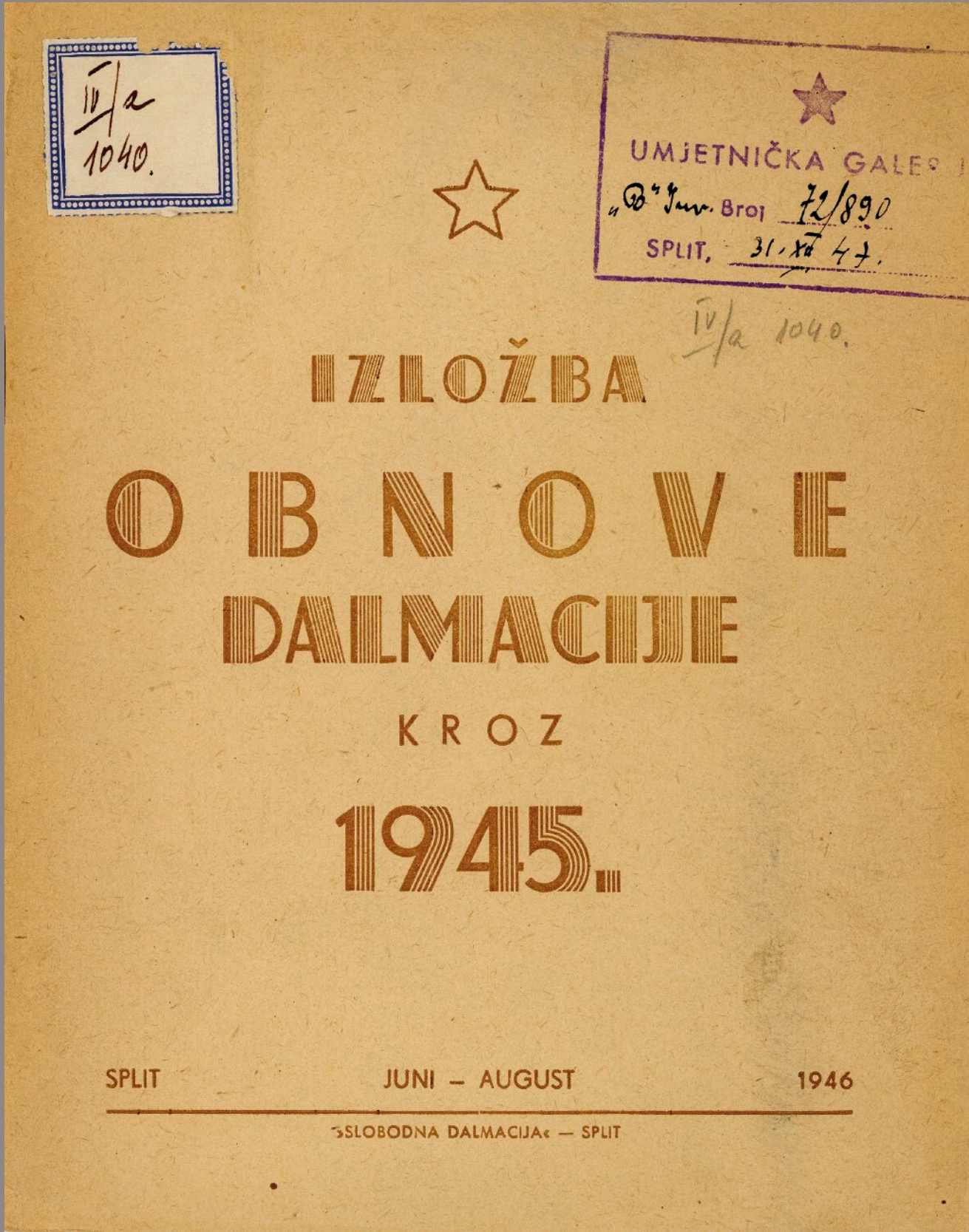




Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*

123 Simbolički prikaz rada u rudniku sa grafikonom proizvodnje sinjskog i drniškog ugljenokopa

Symbolic depiction of work in the mine with a graph of production at the Sinj and Drniš coal mines



124 Simbolički prikaz obnove tvornica

Symbolic depiction of the reconstruction of factories



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*

125 Grafički prikaz P. T. T. službe sa uređajima. Autor simboličkoga prikaza obnove telegrafsko-telefonskih trasa jest Ivan Mirković.

Graphic depiction of the P. T. T. service with equipment. The symbolic depiction of the reconstruction of telegraph and telephone lines is by Ivan Mirković.

126 Antifašistički front žena. Autor je rada Vjekoslav Parać.

Anti-Fascist Women's Front. The work is by Vjekoslav Parać.



Foto Stühler – Split



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije”* 1944 – 1945:

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia”* 1944–1945:

127 Narodna omladina. Autor je rada Živko Kljaković.

People’s Youth. The work is by Živko Kljaković.

128 Jugoslovenska armija i mornarica. Autor je rada Ivan Joko Knežević.

Yugoslav Army and Navy. The work is by Ivan Joko Knežević.



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije”* 1944 – 1945:

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia”* 1944–1945:

129 Jedinstveni sindikati radnika i namještenika. Autor je rada Rudolf Gerhart Bunk.

United Trade Unions of Workers and Employees. The work is by Rudolf Gerhart Bunk.

130 Simbolički i grafički prikaz porušenosti po kotarevima i naseljima. Autori velikoga prikaza žene s djecom i porušenih kuća jesu Ante Petričić i Nikola Ignjatović.

Symbolic and graphic depiction of destruction by districts and settlements. The large depiction of a woman with children and ruined houses is by Ante Petričić and Nikola Ignjatović.



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*

131 Pogled na odjeljenje fizkulture. Autor simboličkoga prikaza prosvjetnoga djelovanja i tjelesne kulture jest Ante Kaštelančić.

View of the physical-culture section. The symbolic depiction of educational activity and physical culture is by Ante Kaštelančić.

132 Simbolički prikaz prosvjete i fizkulture. Autor je rada Ante Kaštelančić.

Symbolic depiction of education and physical culture. The work is by Ante Kaštelančić.



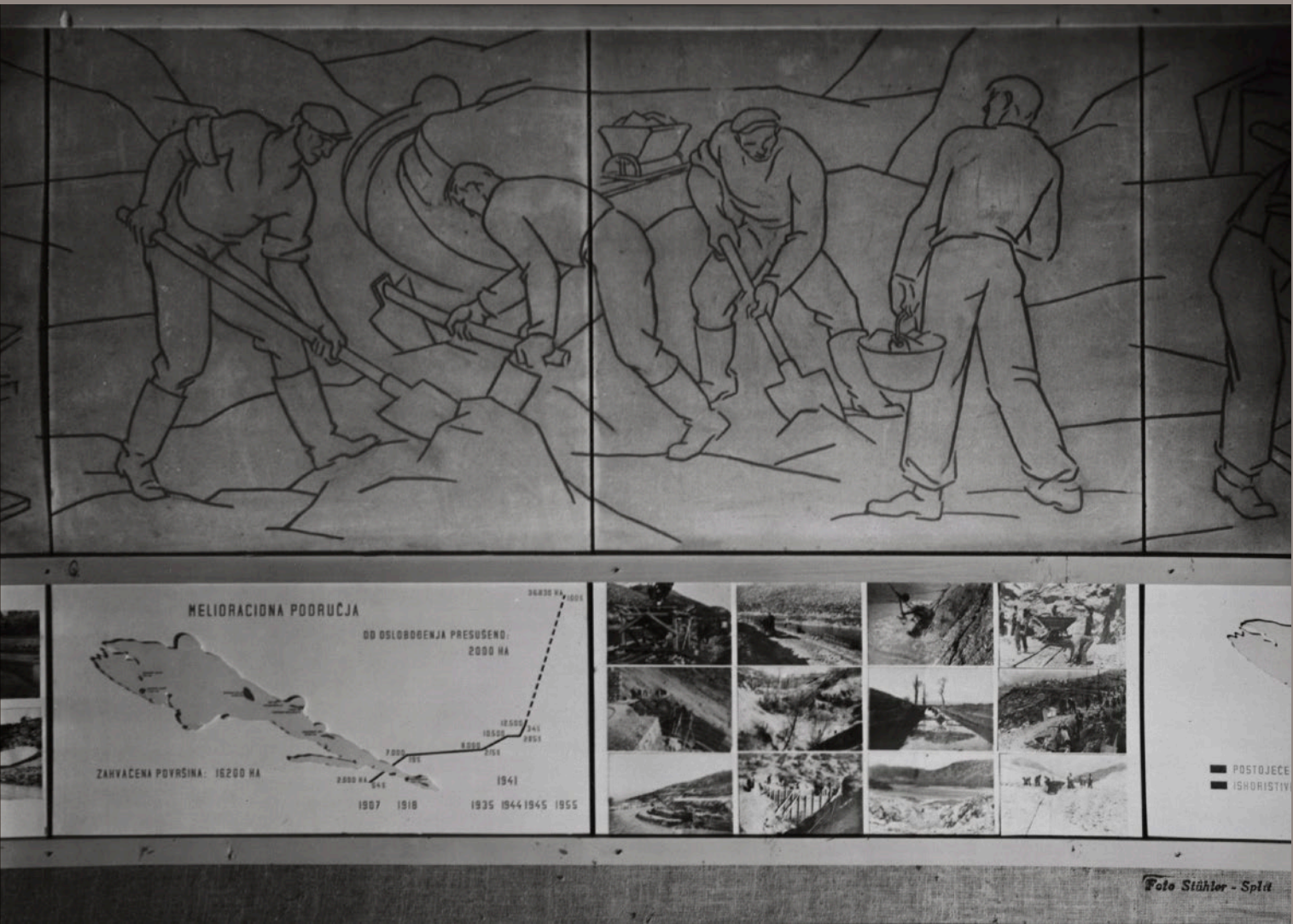


Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*

133 Dekorativni friz sa grafikonima i fotografijama izvršenih hidrotehničkih i melioracionih radova. Autor niza prikaza jest Ivan Mirković.

Decorative frieze with graphs and photographs of completed hydrotechnical and land-reclamation works. The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.



134 Grafikon s prikazom melioracionih područja i izvršenih radova. Autor niza prikaza jest Ivan Mirković.

Graph showing land-reclamation areas and completed works. The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije“ 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*

135 Dekorativni prikaz saobraćaja. Autor je prikaza Ante Kaštelančić.

Decorative depiction of transport. The depiction is by Ante Kaštelančić.

136 Dekorativna slika ribara. Autor je rada Ivan Mirković.

Decorative painting of a fisherman. The work is by Ivan Mirković.



Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945:*

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945:*



137 Dekorativni friz sa podacima o zdravstvenoj službi i njenim ustanovama u našoj oblasti. Autor niza prikaza jest Ante Petričić.

Decorative frieze with data on the health service and its institutions in our region. The series of depictions is by Ante Petričić.

Foto Stühler - Split



Foto Stühler – Split:

Foto Stühler – Split:

138 Dekorativni friz s grafičkim prikazom obnove poljoprivrede i šumarstva. Autor niza prikaza jest Ivan Mirković.

Decorative frieze with a graphic depiction of the reconstruction of agriculture and forestry. The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.



139 Prikaz socijalnog osiguranja radnika i namještenika. Autor niza prikaza jest Ante Petričić.

Depiction of social insurance for workers and employees. The series of depictions is by Ante Petričić.

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<i>IV. Prvomajska izložba</i> (katalog izložbe), Split, 1949.	Galjer, Jasna, <i>Likovna kritika u Hrvatskoj 1868. – 1951.</i> , Meandar, Zagreb, 2000.	Križić Roban, Sandra, <i>Hrvatsko slikarstvo od 1945. do danas</i> , Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2013.
<i>V. Prvomajska izložba</i> (katalog izložbe), Split, 1950.		
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Dopis „Otvaranje škole za primijenjenu umjetnost” koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Anuška Novaković) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 26. listopada 1947., br. 10299/47.

„Referat o osnivanju škole za primijenjenu umjetnost u Splitu” koji Oblasni narodni odbor Dalmacije, Prosvjetni odjel u Splitu (u potpisu: povjerenik Prosvjetnog odjela Anuška Novaković) šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 26. listopada 1947., br. 10299/47.

Dopis „Stvaranje škole za primenjenu umetnost u Splitu – materijalna pomoć” koji Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu (u potpisu: sekretar Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlado Mađarić) šalje Oblasnome narodnom odboru Dalmacije, Prosvjetnome odjelu u Splitu (bez nadnevk).

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Dopis „Škola za primj. umjetnosti u Splitu – pomoć” koji Ministarstvo prosvjete NR Hrvatske, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost (u potpisu: pomoćnik ministra Josipa Lukatela) u Zagrebu šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 3. prosinca 1947., br. 77741-VI-4-1947.

Dopis „Škola za primijenjene umjetnosti u Splitu – odgovor” koji Ministarstvo prosvjete NR Hrvatske, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost (u potpisu: pomoćnik ministra Josipa Lukatela) u Zagrebu šalje Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri Vladi FNRJ u Beogradu 28. siječnja 1948., br. 4967-VI-4-1948.

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Ozn. AJ-314-12-49 – Razni podaci o likovnim umetnostima, fond 314 – Komitet za kulturu i umetnost pri Vladi FNRJ, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, god. 1946. – 1948., fasc. 12.:

„Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”.

„Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”, Prilog 1.

„Podaci u vezi s razvojem likovne umjetnosti u našoj zemlji s priložima”, Prilog 2 („Ilegalna izložba u Splitu /od početka ožujka do konca rujna 1943. godine/”).

Ostala grada

Other Material

Album fotografija s izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije 1944 – 1945”, Muzej Jugoslavija, Beograd, inv. br. 1-6-173.

Monarhija – robija, mapa karikatura, tiskano u Splitu, Slobodna Dalmacija, listopad 1945. (vlasništvo: Dalibor Prančević).

Mrežni izvori

Online Sources

Virtualna izložba *Monarhija – robija! Nema povratka na staro '45.*, autorice Ana Filep i Snježana Pavičić, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2015., dostupno na: <https://www.hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/virtualne-izlozbe/monarhija-robija-nema-povratka-na-staro-45/>

Izložba *’45*, autorice Matea Brstilo Rešetar, Ana Filep, Nataša Mataušić i Snježana Pavičić, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2016., dostupno na: <https://hismus.hr/hr/izlozbe/arhiva-izlozbi/45/>

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	Rudolf Gerhart Bunk <i>Girl with a Red Scarf</i> , 1947 oil on canvas, 42 x 31.5 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 1111, photographer: Robert Matić)		Emanuel Vidović <i>In the Studio</i> , c. 1947 oil on canvas, 52.5 x 63 cm (Split City Museum, inv. no. MGS-4159)		Ante Franičević <i>Return of the Partisans</i> , by 1949 oil on canvas, 68 x 81 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 2091, photographer: Robert Matić)		Emanuel Vidović <i>Still Life with Mask</i> , 1949 oil on canvas, 44 x 54 cm (Split City Museum, inv. no. MGS-4132)		Ivan Tolić <i>Peasant with a Fur Cap</i> , 1949 oil on canvas, 67 x 53.5 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Osijek, inv. no. MLU-S-41)		Branko Kovačević <i>Still Life with Icons</i> , 1950 oil on canvas, 100.5 x 140.5 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-62)		Branko Kovačević <i>Dead Birds (Partridges)</i> , 1950 oil on canvas, 45 x 59 cm (National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, inv. no. MG-1562, photographer: Goran Vranić)		Ante Kaštelančić <i>Island Landscape / Supetar Motif</i> , 1950 oil on canvas, 70.5 x 84.5 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 130, photographer: Robert Matić)
81	Ante Kaštelančić <i>Na radilištu</i> , 1947. tuš na papiru, 36 x 57 cm (Galerija umjetnina, Split, inv. br. 126, autor fotografije: Robert Matić)	84	Emanuel Vidović <i>U atelijeru</i> , 1948. ulje na papiru, 59 x 52 cm (Muzej grada Splita, inv. br. MGS-4157)	87	Emanuel Vidović <i>Stari most u Trogiru</i> , 1948. ulje na platnu, 62 x 71,5 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-115)	90	Emanuel Vidović <i>Balkon u atelijeru</i> , 1949. ulje na platnu, 58 x 69 cm (Muzej grada Splita, inv. br. MGS-4152)	93	Antun Masle <i>Orašac</i> , 1949./1950. ulje na platnu, 31 x 41 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-801)	96	Đuro Pultika <i>Voće</i> , 1950. ulje na papiru, 39 x 54 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-2332)	99	Ivo Dulčić <i>U vrtu</i> , 1950. ulje na kartonu, 29,2 x 35,7 cm (Nacionalni muzej moderne umjetnosti, Zagreb, inv. br. MG-1975, autor fotografije: Goran Vranić)	101	Rudolf Gerhart Bunk <i>Ženski portret</i> , 1950. akvarel na papiru, 23 x 15 cm (Galerija umjetnina, Split, inv. br. 916, autor fotografije: Robert Matić)
	Ante Kaštelančić <i>At the Worksite</i> , 1947 ink on paper, 36 x 57 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 126, photographer: Robert Matić)	85	Branko Kovačević <i>Crtež iz NOB-a</i> , 1948. tuš na papiru, 36 x 60 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-60)		Emanuel Vidović <i>Old Bridge in Trogir</i> , 1948 oil on canvas, 62 x 71.5 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-115)	91	Ivan Joko Knežević <i>Kamenari</i> , 1949. ulje na platnu, 104 x 82 cm (Galerija umjetnina, Split, inv. br. 133, autor fotografije: Robert Matić)	94	Emanuel Vidović <i>Poljske kuće</i> , 1950. ulje na platnu, 56,5 x 71 cm (Muzej grada Splita, inv. br. MGS-4161)	97	Đuro Pultika <i>Interijer s narančastim stolom</i> , 1950. akvarel na papiru, 40 x 50 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-2381)		Ivo Dulčić <i>In the Garden</i> , 1950 oil on cardboard, 29.2 x 35.7 cm (National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, inv. no. MG-1975, photographer: Goran Vranić)		Rudolf Gerhart Bunk <i>Female Portrait</i> , 1950 watercolour on paper, 23 x 15 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 916, photographer: Robert Matić)
82	Vjekoslav Parać <i>Rad na Omladinskoj pruzi</i> , 1947. ili 1948. ulje na kartonu, 104 x 89 cm (Galerija umjetnina, Split, inv. br. 46, autor fotografije: Robert Matić)		Branko Kovačević <i>Drawing from the National Liberation Struggle</i> , 1948 ink on paper, 36 x 60 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-60)	88	Vjekoslav Parać <i>Na gradilištu</i> , do 1949. ulje na kartonu, 130 x 89 cm (Galerija umjetnina, Split, inv. br. 45, autor fotografije: Robert Matić)		Ivan Joko Knežević <i>Stonecutters</i> , 1949 oil on canvas, 104 x 82 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 133, photographer: Robert Matić)		Emanuel Vidović <i>Country Houses</i> , 1950 oil on canvas, 56.5 x 71 cm (Split City Museum, inv. no. MGS-4161)		Đuro Pultika <i>Interior with an Orange Table</i> , 1950 watercolour on paper, 40 x 50 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2381)	102	Ivo Dulčić <i>Stradun</i> , oko 1950. ulje na platnu, 36 x 44,7 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-96)		Ivo Dulčić <i>Stradun</i> , c. 1950 oil on canvas, 36 x 44.7 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-96)
	Vjekoslav Parać <i>Work on the Youth Railway</i> , 1947 or 1948 oil on cardboard, 104 x 89 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 46, photographer: Robert Matić)				Vjekoslav Parać <i>On the Construction Site</i> , by 1949 oil on cardboard, 130 x 89 cm (Museum of Fine Arts, Split, inv. no. 45, photographer: Robert Matić)										

103	Eugen Krstulović <i>Gradska luka</i> , oko 1950. ulje na platnu, 36,5 x 49 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-1079)	106	Marin Studin <i>Omladinka na pruži</i> , oko 1950. gips, 52 x 32 x 3 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/21)	109	Marin Studin <i>Marinova krava (Krava maloga Marinka)</i> , oko 1950. drvo, 81 x 132 x 7 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/45)	112	Ante Kaštelančić <i>Motiv iz Trpnja</i> , 1951. ulje na platnu, 64 x 80 cm (Nacionalni muzej moderne umjetnosti, Zagreb, inv. br. MG- 2072, autor fotografije: Goran Vranić)	114	Eugen Krstulović <i>Lučica na Lokrumu (Portoč)</i> , 1952. akvarel na papiru, 29 x 41 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-1080)	117	Marin Studin <i>Djevojka s ogrlicom</i> , 1952. drvo, 53 x 30 x 19 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/3)	120	Marin Studin <i>Majka i dijete</i> , 1952. drvo, 60 x 15 x 27 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/54)
	Eugen Krstulović <i>City Harbour</i> , c. 1950 oil on canvas, 36.5 x 49 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-1079)		Marin Studin <i>Young Woman on the Railway</i> , c. 1950 plaster, 52 x 32 x 3 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/21)		Marin Studin <i>Marin's Cow (Little Marinko's Cow)</i> , c. 1950 wood, 81 x 132 x 7 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/45)		Ante Kaštelančić <i>Motif from Trpanj</i> , 1951 oil on canvas, 64 x 80 cm (National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, inv. no. MG-2072, photographer: Goran Vranić)		Eugen Krstulović <i>Small Harbour on Lokrum (Portoč)</i> , 1952 watercolour on paper, 29 x 41 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-1080)		Marin Studin <i>Girl with a Necklace</i> , 1952 wood, 53 x 30 x 19 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/3)		Marin Studin <i>Mother and Child</i> , 1952 wood, 60 x 15 x 27 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/54)
104	Andrija Krstulović <i>Motiv s jematve</i> , oko 1950. bronca, 88 x 45 x 42 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-1438)	107	Marin Studin <i>Radnik i seljanka</i> , oko 1950. gips, 52 x 32 x 3 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/22)	110	Emanuel Vidović <i>Splitski pejzaž</i> , oko 1950. tempera na papiru, 56 x 60 cm (Muzej moderne i suvremene umjetnosti, Rijeka, inv. br. MMSU- 243)	113	Jovanka Strajnić <i>Dubrovnik s Minčetom</i> , 1952. ulje na kartonu, 41 x 47 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-744)	115	Đuro Pulitika <i>Povratak iz Grada</i> , 1952. ulje na platnu, 58 x 78 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-2375)	118	Marin Studin <i>Djevojka s pletenicom</i> , 1952. drvo, 44 x 16,5 x 23 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/4)		—
	Andrija Krstulović <i>Motif from the Grape Harvest</i> , c. 1950 bronze, 88 x 45 x 42 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-1438)		Marin Studin <i>Worker and Peasant Woman</i> , c. 1950 plaster, 52 x 32 x 3 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/22)		Emanuel Vidović <i>Split Landscape</i> , c. 1950 tempera on paper, 56 x 60 cm (Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Rijeka, inv. no. MMSU- 243)		Jovanka Strajnić <i>Dubrovnik with Minčeta</i> , 1952 oil on cardboard, 41 x 47 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-744)		Đuro Pulitika <i>Return from the City</i> , 1952 oil on canvas, 58 x 78 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2375)	119	Marin Studin <i>Djevojka s konjem</i> , 1952. drvo, 43 x 43 x 4 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/55)		
105	Ante Franičević <i>Pejzaž</i> , oko 1950. ulje na platnu, 55,7 x 62,5 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-1440)	108	Marin Studin <i>Partizan</i> , oko 1950. gips, 63 x 62 x 43 cm (Muzej grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763:KAŠ-G1/33)	111	Đuro Pulitika <i>Brodolomci</i> , 1951. ulje na platnu, 24 x 31 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-2334)		Đuro Pulitika <i>The Shipwrecked</i> , 1951 oil on canvas, 24 x 31 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2334)	116	Đuro Pulitika <i>Povratak iz polja</i> , 1952. ulje na papiru, 56 x 76 cm (Umjetnička galerija Dubrovnik, inv. br. UGD-2377)		Marin Studin <i>Girl with a Horse</i> , 1952 wood, 43 x 43 x 4 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/55)		
	Ante Franičević <i>Landscape</i> , c. 1950 oil on canvas, 55.7 x 62.5 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-1440)		Marin Studin <i>Partisan</i> , c. 1950 plaster, 63 x 62 x 43 cm (Museum of the Town of Kaštela, inv. no. 763:KAŠ-G1/33)		Đuro Pulitika <i>The Shipwrecked</i> , 1951 oil on canvas, 24 x 31 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2334)		Đuro Pulitika <i>Return from the Fields</i> , 1952 oil on paper, 56 x 76 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2377)		Đuro Pulitika <i>Return from the Fields</i> , 1952 oil on paper, 56 x 76 cm (Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik, inv. no. UGD-2377)				

Obnova Dalmacije kroz 1945., Osnovna škola Manuš, Split, lipanj – kolovoz 1946.

Reconstruction of Dalmatia in 1945, Manuš Primary School, Split, June–August 1946

121 Naslovnica kataloga izložbe (Knjižnica Galerije umjetnina, Split)

Exhibition catalogue cover (Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Split)

122 Pozivnica na otvorenje izložbe (Knjižnica Galerije umjetnina, Split)

Invitation to the opening of the exhibition (Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Split)

Foto Stühler – Split, Album fotografija *Sa izložbe „Obnova Dalmacije” 1944 – 1945*, Muzej Jugoslavije, Beograd, inv. br. 1-6-173:

Foto Stühler – Split, photographic album *From the Exhibition “Reconstruction of Dalmatia” 1944–1945*, Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, inv. no. 1-6-173:

123 Simbolički prikaz rada u rudniku sa grafikonom proizvodnje sinjskog i drniškog ugljenokopa (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-002). Autor prikaza rudara je Ivan Mirković.

Symbolic depiction of work in the mine with a graph of production at the Sinj and Drniš coal mines (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-002). The depiction of the miner is by Ivan Mirković.

124 Simbolički prikaz obnove tvornica (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-004)

Symbolic depiction of the reconstruction of factories (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-004)

125 Grafički prikaz P. T. T. službe sa uređajima (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-009). Autor simboličkoga prikaza obnove telegrafsko-telefonskih trasa je Ivan Mirković.

Graphic depiction of the P. T. T. service with equipment (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-009). The symbolic depiction of the reconstruction of telegraph and telephone lines is by Ivan Mirković.

126 Antifašistički front žena (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-010). Autor rada je Vjekoslav Parać.

Anti-Fascist Women’s Front (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-010). The work is by Vjekoslav Parać.

127 Narodna omladina (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-011). Autor rada je Živko Kljaković.

People’s Youth (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-011). The work is by Živko Kljaković.

128 Jugoslovenska armija i mornarica (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-013). Autor rada je Ivan Joko Knežević.

Yugoslav Army and Navy (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-013). The work is by Ivan Joko Knežević.

129 Jedinstveni sindikati radnika i namještenika (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-012). Autor rada je Rudolf Gerhart Bunk.

United Trade Unions of Workers and Employees (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-012). The work is by Rudolf Gerhart Bunk.

130 Simbolički i grafički prikaz porušenosti po kotarevima i naseljima (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-014). Autori velikoga prikaza žene s djecom i porušenih kuća su Ante Petričić i Nikola Ignjatović.

Symbolic and graphic depiction of destruction by districts and settlements (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-014). The large depiction of a woman with children and ruined houses is by Ante Petričić and Nikola Ignjatović.

131 Pogled na odjeljenje fizkulture (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-022). Autor simboličkoga prikaza prosvjetnoga djelovanja i tjelesne kulture je Ante Kaštelančić.

View of the physical-culture section (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-022). The symbolic depiction of educational activity and physical culture is by Ante Kaštelančić.

132 Simbolički prikaz prosvjete i fizkulture (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-024). Autor rada je Ante Kaštelančić.

Symbolic depiction of education and physical culture (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-024). The work is by Ante Kaštelančić.

133 Dekorativni friz sa grafikonima i fotografijama izvršenih hidrotehničkih i melioracionih radova (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-027). Autor niza prikaza je Ivan Mirković.

Decorative frieze with graphs and photographs of completed hydrotechnical and land-reclamation works (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-027). The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.

134 Grafikon s prikazom melioracionih područja i izvršenih radova (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-028). Autor niza prikaza je Ivan Mirković.

Graph showing land-reclamation areas and completed works (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-028). The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.

135 Dekorativni prikaz saobraćaja (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-031). Autor prikaza je Ante Kaštelančić.

Decorative depiction of transport (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-031). The depiction is by Ante Kaštelančić.

136 Dekorativna slika ribara (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-037). Autor rada je Ivan Mirković.

Decorative painting of a fisherman (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-037). The work is by Ivan Mirković.

137 Dekorativni friz sa podatcima o zdravstvenoj službi i njenim ustanovama u našoj oblasti (inv. br. MJ-1-6-173-038). Autor niza prikaza je Ante Petričić.

Decorative frieze with data on the health service and its institutions in our region (inv. no. MJ-1-6-173-038). The series of depictions is by Ante Petričić.

Foto Stühler – Split, Fototeka Muzeja grada Splita:

Foto Stühler – Split, Photo Library of the Split City Museum:

138 Dekorativni friz s grafičkim prikazom obnove poljoprivrede i šumarstva (inv. br. MGS-20331). Autor niza prikaza je Ivan Mirković.

Decorative frieze with a graphic depiction of the reconstruction of agriculture and forestry (inv. no. MGS-20331). The series of depictions is by Ivan Mirković.

139 Prikaz socijalnog osiguranja radnika i namještenika (inv. br. MGS-20332). Autor niza prikaza je Ante Petričić.

Depiction of social insurance for workers and employees (inv. no. MGS-20332). The series of depictions is by Ante Petričić.

Dalibor Prančević

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o autoru

Dalibor Prančević povjesničar je umjetnosti, izvanredni profesor na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu i kustos čiji se rad oblikuje na sjecištu akademskoga istraživanja, izložbene prakse i kulturne medijacije. Diplomirao je povijest umjetnosti te talijanski jezik i književnost na Filozofskome fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje je 2012. godine doktorirao temom o Ivanu Meštroviću u kontekstu ekspresionizma i *art décoa*. U znanstvenome i stručnom radu bavi se umjetnošću i vizualnom kulturom dvadesetoga stoljeća i suvremenosti, modernom skulpturom, poviješću izložbi, kustoskim praksama i kulturnim transferima. Od 2001. do 2008. radio je kao kustos za zbirku i dokumentaciju u Fundaciji Ivana Meštrovića, Galeriji Meštrović u Splitu. Autor je i urednik više publikacija te kustos projekata u kojima se istraživački rad povezuje s osmišljavanjem izložbenih, interpretativnih i kulturnih programa.

about the author

Dalibor Prančević is an art historian, Associate Professor in the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split, and a curator whose work takes shape at the intersection of academic research, exhibition practice, and cultural mediation. He holds a degree in art history and Italian language and literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, where he completed his doctorate in 2012 with a thesis on Ivan Meštrović in the context of Expressionism and Art Deco. His academic and professional interests encompass twentieth-century and contemporary art and visual culture, modern sculpture, exhibition history, curatorial practices, and cultural transfers. From 2001 to 2008, he worked as a curator for the collection and documentation at the Ivan Meštrović Foundation, Meštrović Gallery in Split. He has written and edited numerous publications and has curated projects that link research-based enquiry with the conception of exhibitional, interpretive and cultural programmes.



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