

MODERN AND CON- TEMPOR- ARY ART KINETIC NETWORKS

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS'
NETWORKS.

An Inquiry into Digital History of Art
and Architecture

Editors

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Zagreb, 2018



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This book is the result of the research
conducted within the project ARTNET (IP-
201311/6270) supported by the Croatian
Science Foundation.

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Attempting to identify DAH's promise and usefulness very quickly leads to questions about the epistemological tenets of the entire discipline. The intersection of art history and digital culture is just another – excellent – occasion to do so in our time. Otherwise, we risk ceasing to provide a useful contribution to our societies' intellectual enrichment.¹

If one would ask what has changed in the perception of digital art history over the last five years, since the publication of Johanna Drucker's seminal text "Is There a 'Digital' Art History?",² which initiated a wider debate about the assumptions, possibilities, and consequences of applying digital technology in disciplinary practices of the history of art, the answer would be straightforward – Noting much. The fundamental division into the digitizing and digital art history, suggested by Drucker, namely, a division on the activities aimed at the advancement of digital tools for "everyday use" (facilitating access, browsing, retrieving and presenting data from digital sources), and on analytic techniques enabled by computational technology, still largely determines the configuration of this new research field. DAH's recent increased visibility, summed up by the term "digital turn", is simultaneously explained as an inevitable consequence of the global transformation in all areas of human activity, including all aspects of knowledge creation/dissemination, and as an opportunity of art history to catch up with other humanities disciplines that have much longer experience with the applica-

tion of digital technologies. Thanks to the recently published, and well-documented studies on this subject, it is clear that the story of art history's "delayed" inclusion in the realm of digital humanities is difficult to sustain. The interest of art historians in the computational methods was manifested already at the end of the 1960s, and continues ever since, but in the 1980s and early 1990s, when literary studies or linguistics made a significant advancements in that area, art history "lagged" behind not because of its innate conservatism and distrust in the technology, but because the ideas of how computing could be used in its disciplinary practices, largely exceeded available technological and software solutions.³ The present situation is quite the opposite. Digital technologies offer the array of new application opportunities, there are a number of open access software solutions, and almost endless possibilities for designing custom-made computer programs adjusted to quite specific research questions, but the developments in the field of digital art history are not following those technological advancements. For Jorge Sebastián Lozano, the possible reason for such situation, and for the restrained relation of art historians towards digital art history is its "alleged minimal interest for interpretive purposes connected to qualitative and quantitative methods".⁴ The re-

¹ Elli Doukarakidou, „Reframing Art History“, International Journal for Digital Art History, no. 1 (2015): 79.

² Johanna Drucker, Is There a "Digital" Art History?, Visual Resources, no. 1-2, Vol. 29 (2013): 5-13.

³ The prototype of Zagreb Institute of Art History database, developed in 1992-1994, was never implemented, since at the time the software solutions allowing management of images, GIS visualizations, or 3D libraries of architectural elements, integral to concept of that database, were simply not available. Microsoft's offer of cooperation on further development of that project was declined by the Institute.

⁴ Jorge Sebastián Lozano, "Digital Art History at the Crossroads", kunsttexte.de, no. 4 (2017): 2.

sentment of quantitative methodology, also explains – at least partially – rather strong criticism of some ground-breaking projects as it is Maximilian Schich’s research in cultural history, published in the article “A Network Framework of Cultural History”, and transformed into a very popular, animated network visualization *Charting Cultures*.⁵ The objective of that visualization was to characterize „processes driving cultural history“ by reconstructing „aggregate intellectual mobility over two millennia through the birth and death locations of more than 150,000 notable individuals“, whose movements through the space and time was meant to „retrace cultural narratives of Europe and North America using large-scale visualization and quantitative dynamical tools and to derive historical trends of cultural centres beyond the scope of specific events or narrow time intervals“. ⁶ The visualization, whose epistemic purpose was “to help the group of researchers to find and understand quantitative patterns“ also serves as an argument supporting the proposition of “systematic science of art and culture”, a new research paradigm that “integrates qualitative inquiry and observation, with methods of computation, natural science, and information design”, applied in a „distributed, lab-style environment inspired by architectural think tanks, corporate design studios, and labs in physics or systems biology“. ⁷ Schich’s visualization, focusing on the white male figures, sug-

gesting their pivotal role in transforming cultural history of the world, and disregarding “the power dynamics of gender, class, race, religion, and ethnicity, while obscuring social forces such as economics and politics”, ⁸ is often taken as an example of positivistic view of data which can “suppress important theoretical questions despite the appearance of giving us greater access to knowledge”. ⁹ Although a foreseen objections on the biases of their metadata, Schich and his team have addressed in the supplementary materials to the article “A Network Framework of Cultural History”, the responses to above-mentioned 5’36” video animation of their visualization, and to the proposal of systemic science of art and culture remained strongly divided. The negative stance towards the application of quantitative methods in art history, articulated through the discussion on their epistemic usefulness, and following public presentation of Schich’s research, can be summarized by Clair Bishop’s opinion that “computational metrics can help aggregate data and indicate patterns, but they struggle to explain causality, which in the humanities is always a question of interpretation”. ¹⁰ Acknowledging the arguments of both sides involved in this discussion, and aware of the discomfort caused by the pronounced empiricism of digital art history’s methodological landscape, Jorge

Sebastián Lozano’s assertion, given in the introductory quotation of this text that digital art history presents itself as an opportunity to re-examine “the epistemological tenets of the whole discipline”, ¹¹ seems as a valuable suggestion aiming at bridging “the gap between traditional methods and innovative computational practices”. ¹² Of course, it raises the question which “traditional” methods he has in mind, since in the each “turn” towards a specific, new set of problems that art history made in the last four decades, it has adapted and adjusted to its epistemological needs a series of methods developed in the framework of other, mostly humanistic disciplines. Digital art history undoubtedly implies even greater interdisciplinarity, but as Lozano says, “Computer scientists are just the last guests to an ongoing banquet where many and different diners have taken their share and enriched the conversation too.” ¹³ Practitioners of digital art history, such as Schich, have a bit different view. Highly critical towards the “definition of digital humanities according to leading practitioners [which] still implicitly assumes that the application of technology in art history is an engineering problem, producing means that the actual researchers doing their inquiry”, ¹⁴ they sustain a long-lasting debate on whether art historians entering that field of art historical inquiry require equal proficiency in disciplinary knowledge and knowledge of technology. There is not

a definite answer to that question (yet), and the figure of the “translator” – the person who has the expertise in both humanities and computing, and serves as mediator in the communication between art historians and engineers – which regained importance in the most recent discussions ¹⁵ on the future of digital art history, seems like juts a temporary solution.

From our point of view, knowledge of art history that goes hand in hand with the understanding of digital technology is an essential precondition for practicing digital art history. It does not assume complex programming skills or deep understanding of system analysis, but rather the insight in the systemic way of thinking, which enables one to structure the meaningful research question and choose digital tools appropriate to the type of analysis it entails. We are using here the term art history in a meaning which does not entirely adhere to the traditional understanding of the discipline, but rather to the borderline between art history, social sciences, information sciences, art, and design. Methods and experiences of natural sciences can be a valuable addition to the interdisciplinary tissue of digital art history, but following the experiences acquired at the project ART-NET, whose results are partially presented in this book, it would be equally useful if the rational systemic thinking emerging from the cross-fertilization of art history, information science, and digital technology, would be supplemented by the insights of artist and designers. Somewhat different nature of their research might prompt the new ways of thinking, which are – in our opinion – the essential precondition for more imaginative, and yet

5 Maximilian Schich, Chaoming Song, Yong-Yeol Ahn, Alexander Mirsky, Mauro Martino, Albert-László Barabási, and Dirk Helbing. “A Network Framework of Cultural History,” *Science* 345, no. 6196 (August 1, 2014): 558-62; link to video *Charting Cultures*, which has almost 1.3 million views.

6 Ibidem. 558.

7 Maximilian Schich, “Figuring out Art History”, *DAH-Journal* (preprint), no. 2 (2015): 2.

8 Miriam Kienle, “Between Nodes and Edges: Possibilities and Limits of Network Analysis in Art History”, *Artl@s Bulletin*, no. 3/6 (2017): 5.

9 Michael P. Lynch, *The Internet of Us: Knowing more and Understanding Less* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016): 161.

10 Claire Bishop, “Against Digital Art History”, *Humanities Futures*. Franklin Humanities Institute, 2017; <https://humanitiesfutures.org/papers/digital-art-history/> Accessed 24 June, 2018.

11 Jorge Sebastián Lozano, “Digital Art History at the Crossroads”, kunsttexte.de 4 (2017): 3.

12 Elli Doulikaridou, “Reframing Art History”, *International Journal for Digital Art History*, no. 1 (2015): 73.

13 Jorge Sebastián Lozano, “Digital Art History at the Crossroads”, 5.

14 Maximilian Schich, “Figuring out Art History”, 10-11.

15 See “Art History in Digital Dimensions. A Report on the Proceedings of the Symposium Held in October 2016 at The Phillips Collection, Washington D.C. and the University of Maryland, College Park”, February 2017.

more complex approach to the object of art historical inquiry. In the case of project ART-NET, the objects of inquiry were the models of organization and communication in the background of modern and contemporary artists' and architects' networks. They were approached from the perspective of the hypothesis that there is some definite number of those models that can be identified, explained, described, and applied in the further research of the 20th and 21st century artists' networking practices as a patterns pointing out to the elements which defy their characteristics as to the source of new research questions. Following the results of in-depth research on a few specific, individual examples of artists' networks, conducted prior to the beginning of the project, it was also supposed to prove that a diversity of organisation and communication models underlying artist networks operative on a particular art scene, and at the particular historical moment within the observed period is proportional to the dynamics of that art scene's participation in the transnational cultural exchange.

Two reasons motivated the choice of modern and contemporary artists' networks as an object of the research. The first was an important role of artists' groups and associations which – already at the beginning of the 20th century – invented new models of communication framing the development of transnational professional and social networks, which critically marked several periods in the history of modern and contemporary art. Often positioned at the margins of the institutional artistic culture, artists' and architects' networks are overcoming national, cultural and linguistic barriers, supporting new, and emerging art practices or – as in the case of architects' networks – promoting new understanding of architecture and urban planning. Serving as a transnational platforms for cultural exchange and cooperation, they involve a variety of actors – visual artists, writers, po-

ets, designers, architects, film-makers, photographers, art critics, gallerists, art dealers, intellectuals – whose complex and multiple relationships, were the second reason for choosing artists' and architects' networks as an object of research. Although they might seem as a quite well-researched topics of art history and history of architecture, information on the artists' and architects' networking practices are fragmentary, dispersed through multiple publications, and online resources. The latter are almost exclusively dedicated to the particular phenomena from the context of the historical avant-garde (Dadaism, Surrealism, Constructivism),¹⁶ neo-avant-garde (art group ZERO, Fluxus, Conceptual Art),¹⁷ and new media art, or to

16 Online resources for Dadaism <http://www.ubu.com/historical/dada/>; <http://www.dada-companion.com/>; <http://archives-dada.tumblr.com/>; <http://www.dada-data.net/en/hub>; <https://www.lib.uiowa.edu/dada/>; Surrealism <http://icaadocs.mfah.org/icaadocs/THEARCHIVE/Browse/>; <http://nad-realizam.rs/>; <https://www.postwarculture-atbeinecke.org/revolutionarysurrealism>; Constructivism <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rva/>; <https://thecharnelhouse.org/>; <http://www.rusartnet.com/biographies/russian-artists/20th-century/avant-garde/constructivist>;

17 Online resources for group ZERO <http://www.zerofoundation.de/foundation.0.html>; <http://www.4321zero.com/>, Fluxus <http://www.ubu.com/>; <https://thestudio.uiowa.edu/fluxus/> Conceptual art in Latin America <http://icaadocs.mfah.org/>; in Hungary http://www.c3.hu/vrm/index_en.html; Moscow <http://conceptualism.letov.ru/CONCEPTUALISM.htm> Central Europe and Yugoslavia <http://digitizing-ideas.org/>; Western Europe http://search.freefind.com/find.htm?si=61902956&pid=r&n=0&_charset=UTF-8&bcd=%C3%B7&query=conceptual+art; Fluxus <https://thestudio.uiowa.edu/fluxus/content/flux-year-box-2>; [the artists who have a prominent position in the canonical narratives of modern and contemporary art. Charting the networks based on the relationships of well-known artists would be quite easy, but the results will only confirm the knowledge which is already there, although not presented in the form of network visualization. Since the intention of the project was also to reveal the unforeseen transnational histories of artistic exchange, the archival data, both analogue and digital, were used to track as many actors of a particular artists' or architects' network, as possible and to describe their ties with other network members by at least three out of 20 predefined types of social relationships. Due to the research conducted prior to the beginning of the project, we already knew that majority of artists' networks related to the historical avant-garde and developed at the geographic peripheries of European cultural space, as well as in Latin America, were personal, ego-networks, frequently related to the particular avant-garde magazine, its editor, and close circle of associates. The other insight that we had prior to this project concerned the relationships between the avant-garde networks, which have formed – in different periods of the 20th century – a rather dynamic, although fragile ecosystems of their own. Within those ecosystems it was possible to distinguish at least four different types of tightly interwoven and complex networks – the one formed by art magazines and publications, related by the same authors, editors, and publishing houses; the other one composed of artistic concepts, and ideas circulating among different locations, and acquiring location-dependent meanings; the network of exhibitions, and public events presenting those concepts and ideas, and social networks established both by professional and private contacts among their](http://members.chello.nl/j.</p>
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seegers1/flux_files/fluxus_archives.html; <http://georgemaciunas.com/about/>.

actors. Although the focus of the research was on the social networks, we could not overlook their multiple intersections with the networks of objects (magazines, publications), concepts, and events (exhibitions, actions, happenings, performances). A decision to pursue the research on artists' and architects' social networks, parallel to the investigations on the networks of objects, concepts, and events, came as an outcome of the debates following the identification of the problem that was not recognized prior to the beginning of the project, that is, the problem of high discrepancy between the available digital data sources on the (former) West and (former) Central-East European artists. While a number of large West European and USA museums provide open access to their datasets, similar datasets generated by the Central-East European museums – do not exist. Since they had to be collected, checked, and prepared using analogue data sources, it soon became clear that our data collections will be far from complete, meaning that any conclusions concerning organizational models of artists' networks would not meet the criteria for generalization, required by the very concept of the pattern. Although we could accept the approach according to which “the lack of specific sources can be better overlooked as long as the general discourse can still hold together a forceful argument”,¹⁸ it was quite clear that bias in our datasets evident in the network visualizations just confirms the canonical narrative on the history of modern and contemporary art. Therefore, we have chosen to concentrate on the transformation of the ARTNET database network visualization interface into a multilingual collaborative real-time research platform open to the international research community invited to use and upgrade available datasets. Sub-

18 Jorge Sebastián Lozano, “Digital Art History at the Crossroads”, 5.

sequent gradual data accumulation might be the way for overcoming the said bias, allowing – sometime in the future – for another attempt in the visualization of artists' networks, hopefully with more promising results. Apart from resolving the problem of data availability, the most demanding task at this project was, as Miriam Posner has already put it, the “reconstituting historical evidence into data that can be easily recognized by the computer”, and facing the fact that it “can distort the historical record by establishing definitive categories for entities that were originally ambiguous or more fluid”.¹⁹ However, that type of the constraint, coupled with the comprehension that “data are constructed as an interpretation of the phenomenal world, not inherent in it”,²⁰ and that such construction bears both the imprints of all previous interpretations, as it will be also marked by the manner in which data were adopted to requirements of our research objectives, posed a rather serious question – How to make the users of our data aware of their constructed nature, and of the hypothesis framing the choices we have made while structuring our datasets? It is a very complex question, and – in our opinion – one which cannot be answered by new technical solutions.

The quantitative methods used in this project were already there when the ARTNET was launched. The possible difference it might have introduced lays in the fact that the usefulness of these methods was tested on datasets describing different types of networks (social networks, net domes, exhibition networks, networks of events), to which they were applied with different

epistemic objectives. In comparison with the projects based on the big data processing, which best serves the inquiries on the irruptions and breaks in the historical flow of the events, the approach that was chosen at this project brought in the focus of the inquiry the reasons and nature of such irruptions. Therefore, a type of the research conducted at the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, between 2014 and 2018, could be described as the combination of close and distant data viewing, that is, as the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis, where the latter was applied in its “soft mode”. The term “soft mode” was invented to describe the omission of certain procedures integral to network analysis that we did not find relevant for the selected model of interpretation. It also denotes a shared discomfort of the ARTNET's research team regarding the limited potential of network visualizations to transfer the available data on the temporal dynamics of the network actors' relationships, which is – in our opinion – quite serious technical, as well as a theoretical problem that will be addressed in the project's next research cycle.

Although they were strongly relying on the processing power of IT, the members of the research team tried to maintain the above-mentioned art historical epistemological awareness, conscious of the tense relationship between the analytic practices of art history and empirical, observer-independent quantitative methods. The ambition to design digital tools that will acknowledge „the ambiguity, uncertainty and the historical situatedness and constructed character of [art historical] knowledge“, and provide „the ways of working with these concepts within a digital environment“,²¹

remained – the ambition. In the case of the ARTNET project, it assumed the process of through analysis and deconstruction of the traditional model of art historical inquiry, and it's subsequent (re)construction in digital environment in terms of the “open system”, which allows metadata flexibility that goes against the grain of the over formalized, and definite metadata content. However, and as in the prevailing number of ongoing DAH projects, a computationally remediated object of our inquiry was a discourse on art history, rather than visual object whose complexities require, in our view, a radical change in the way of thinking about how do we apply available digital tools, and with which purpose.

Turning back to the possibility of bringing some generally viable conclusions on the organization models of artists' networks, that were the initial object of our research, we believe that close data viewing – the one which takes into account social aspects of artistic culture (class, gender, ethnicity, cultural differences) – cannot be eliminated from the account of the processes of art history. In comparison to big data-driven research, such an approach does not allow for general conclusions on the nature, and organization models of artists networks, but –in our opinion – the results of close data viewing, applied at this project, are epistemically more convincing, and could be rather useful in developing computational models responsive to already mentioned „ambiguity, uncertainty and the historical situatedness and constructed character of [art historical] knowledge“.²²

Research conducted at the project is presented by the six case studies published in this book range from the examination of exhibition networks reflecting cultural exchange among different Central European locations at the beginning of the 20th

century; ego-networks of individual artist which outlines the particular segment of his career, but also the spatial, and temporal trajectories that were followed by the number of other Central-East European artists active in the first decades of the 20th century; social network of CIAM formed around its regular, and thematic meetings, bringing to the fore different ideological, and political choices of its actors, taken as an important source of the network's organization structure, its dynamics, and ruptures; the networks of exhibitions outlining the transition of the particular art phenomenon – the international art movement New Tendencies – from the framework of the neo-avant-garde subculture where it was situated in the late 1950s, to the realm of institutional culture towards the mid-1960s, also describing the relations among different artistic tendencies involved with the movement, and the role of art criticism in its dissolution; the network of sculptors and architects emerging from the public competitions for antifascist, and socialist monuments, a rather specific, local phenomena positioned at the ideologically most sensitive contact zone between the art and socialist state; the net dome of contemporary independent culture, its structural features, dynamics, together with shared artistic, and social values of its actors.

Along with the network visualizations, the results of quantitative data analysis, are presented by the different types of statistical calculations, and graphs, integral to the overall model of interpretation. Although it gives the advantage to the epistemic objectives of art history, rather than those of network analysis, the combination of both analytic methods, provides the view on the art phenomena encompassed by this publication that would be hardly possible without the application of digital technology.

19 Miriam Posner, as quoted in Johanna Drucker et al.: “Digital Art History. The American Scene”, *Perspective. Actualité en histoire de l'art*, no. 2 (2015): 8.

20 Jorge Sebastián Lozano, “Digital Art History at the Crossroads”, 5.

21 Miriam Kienle, “Digital Art History ‘Beyond the Digitized Slide Library’: An Interview with Johanna Drucker and Miriam Posner”, *Artl@s Bulletin*, no. 6/3 (2017): 123.

CASE STUDIES

Networking of Central European Artists' Associations via Exhibitions. The Slovenian Art Association, Czech Mánes and Polish Sztuka in Zagreb in the Early 20th Century

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31664/9789537875596.02>

Irena Kraševac, Petra Šlosel

The history of art exhibitions has become the subject of numerous scientific studies, particularly in the domain of the digital humanities, while exhibitions on exhibitions are emerging as a distinct museological variety, dealing with their reconstruction and the contextualization of art works in the time period of their conception. As a result of digitally processed data, exhibitions of art societies, as key points in the development of modern art, offer the possibility of a new way of viewing and interpreting the medium of the exhibition as such as well as the role and position of individual artists within a particular art association.²³

The art scene developing in Central Europe, within the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, at the turn of the 19th century, which involved the artistic networking of groups and individuals through an exchange of exhibitions, guest exhibitions of art associations and the exhibitions of works by individual artists at various exhibitions and different Central European locations, showed exceptional dynamic activity and mobility. In this, the central position was assumed by Vienna, a traditional hub of artistic life owing to the developed infrastructure based on its arts and crafts schools, *Kunstgewerbeschule*, and the Academy of Fine Arts, and the possibility of art exhibitions in the *Künstlerhaus*, the

²³ A great example of this approach is the exhibition dedicated to the Vienna art association Hagenbund, organized by the Belvedere Gallery in 2014. See: Agnes Husslein-Arco, Matthias Boeckl, and Harald Krecji, eds., *Hagenbund. Ein europäisches Netzwerk der Moderne 1900 bis 1938*, exhibition catalogue (Vienna: Belvedere, 2014), and the digital and network display: Belvedere. "HAGENBUND. Ein europäisches Netzwerk der Moderne (1900 bis 1938)". Accessed January 5, 2019. <http://tools.fas.at/hagenbund/exhibition.html>.

Secession, Hagenbund and smaller private galleries. This potential was recognized by numerous artists from smaller and artistically less developed cities from other parts of the Monarchy. Under the influence of Vienna's gravitational pull, within a very short time period comparable phenomena began developing in the wider region, with local modernist artistic expressions and their presentation via exhibitions growing stronger. The budding visual art scene would orient itself towards the leading artistic trends of the time, determined by the Secession and Hagenbund. Their impact was inevitable precisely due to the fact that a majority of artists from smaller art centers of the Monarchy would come to Vienna for their education and would follow the development of the then modern art scene, which attracted great attention, from both the artistic milieu and the wider audience. The artistic secessions that soon followed, when groups of artists broke away from existing associations or established new ones stem from the 1897 to 1900 period. In this way, almost in succession, the following associations emerged: Association of Austrian Visual Artists – Secession (Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs – Secession) and Hagenbund (Genossenschaft bildender Künstler – Hagen) in Vienna, the Association of Polish Artists "Art" (Towarzystwo Artystów Polskich "Sztuka") in Krakow, the Association of Artists Mánes (Spolek výtvarných umělců "Mánes") in Prague, the Association of Croatian Artists (Društvo hrvatskih umjetnika) in Zagreb and the Slovenian Artistic Association (Slovensko umetniško društvo) in Ljubljana. The artistic interconnection and networking of individuals and groups was the central subject of the interdisciplinary scientific project *ARTNET- Modern and Contemporary Artists Practices of the 20th and 21st Century*, which explored the exhibitions of Croa-

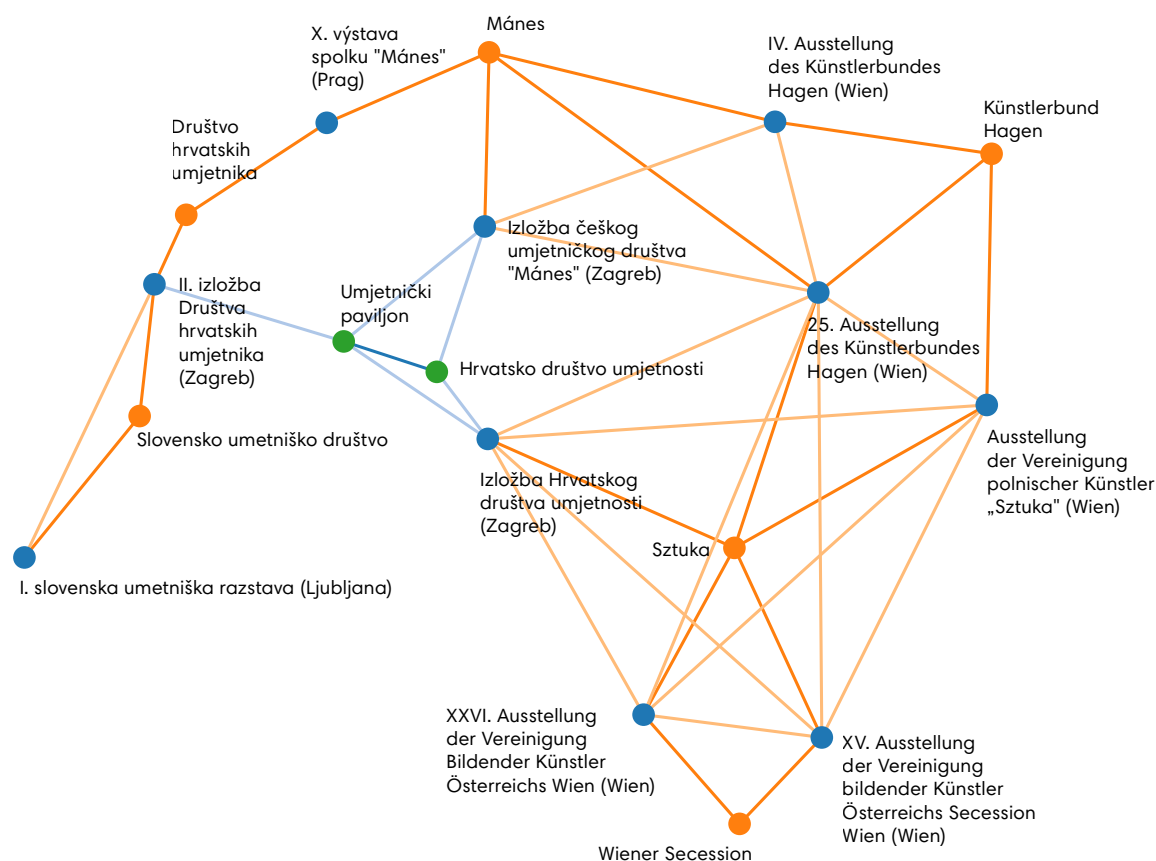


Fig. 1

Exhibitions of Central European artists associations in the period from 1900 to 1911 (locations and exhibitions)

tian artists abroad,²⁴ and the, until now less familiar, archival resources on exhibitions by foreign artists in Zagreb.²⁵ In addition to exhibits of individual artists of various nationalities at annual and thematic group exhibitions of the Vienna Secession and Hagenbund associations, guest exhibitions of the then new artistic associations from Krakow and Prague were recorded in the exhibition spaces of these two associations, as well as their less known guest exhibitions in Zagreb at the very cusp of the 20th century.²⁶ (Fig. 1)

24 Irena Kraševac, Željka Tonković, "Umjetničko umrežavanje putem izložaba u razdoblju rane moderne – sudjelovanje hrvatskih umjetnika na međunarodnim izložbama od 1891. do 1900. godine," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 40 (2016): 203–17. https://www.ipu.hr/content/radovi-ipu/RIPU-40-2016_203-217_Krasevac_Tonkovic.pdf

25 Irena Kraševac, ed., 150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. *Umjetnost i institucija* (Zagreb: Croatian Association of Visual Artists, Institute of Art History, 2018); The work on the research project ARTNET – *Modern and Contemporary Artists Practices of the 20th and 21st Century* coincided with the marking of the 150th anniversary of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists (HDLU) (1868–2018). In parallel with the creation of the project CAN_IS database (Croatian Artists Network Information System), systematic work was carried out to catalogue the exhibitions that were held during the 150 years of HDLU's existence. From the very beginning, this task was assigned to Art Historian Petra Šlošel, whose work was of key significance for the project from the outset because her dedication and experience contributed to the creation of the CAN_IS database. Šlošel catalogued over 1.500 exhibitions organized by the then Art Society, today's Croatian Association of Visual Artists.

26 Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska

THE VIENNA SECESSION AND HAGENBUND – THE CREATION OF MODERN ART THROUGH AN EXCHANGE OF EXHIBITIONS

The example of the *Société des Artistes Indépendants*, which revolted against the established exhibition politics of the traditional *Société nationales des beaux-arts* in Paris in 1884, and whose separation was termed "une sécession", inspired a series of similar secession art trends in the wider European cultural landscape. After a group of artists left the Munich *Kunstlergenossenschaft* and established the Association of Visual Artists of Munich "Secession" (Verein Bildender Künstler Münchens "Secession") in 1892, a group of Viennese artists, led by Gustav Klimt, followed suit, resigning from the *Künstlerhaus* in 1897 and establishing the Association of Austrian Visual Artists– Secession (Verein bildender Künstler Österreichs – Secession). The exhibition program carried out in the group's exhibition pavilion, constructed according to the conceptual idea of Klimt and the de-

and Piotr Mizia, "Sztuka-Wiener Secession-Mánes. The central European Art Triangle," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 27, no. 53 (2006): 217–59.; Anna Brzyski, "Vienna Secession, Hagenbund, Sztuka, and Mánes: competition and strategic collaboration among central European art groups", *Centropa*, no. 11 (2011): 4–18. In very interesting articles discussing the interconnections of the exhibitions of the two renowned Viennese associations and the Polish and Czech associations, the guest exhibitions of the Sztuka and Mánes associations in Zagreb are not mentioned – something this article intends to make up for. This turns the "Central European artistic triangle" into a square, positioning Zagreb as a new (long neglected) artistic hub within the bounds of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

sign of architect J. M. Olbrich, best speaks to the group's openness to collaboration with contemporary artists throughout Europe. Thanks to numerous guest exhibitions, the Vienna art scene experienced a qualitative leap forward towards a modern artistic expression.²⁷ Of Croatian artists, Ivan Meštrović was a regular member of the Vienna Secession, while other artists that participated in exhibitions as guests included Vlaho Bukovac, Antonija Krasnik and Tomislav Krizman.

"Innovation through exchange" was the stance assumed by the second Viennese artistic association, Hagenbund, established in 1900, whose exhibition program would be shown in the converted premises of the former market building in the Zedlitzgasse (the so-called *Zedlitzhalle*), according to the design of architect Josef Urban. Hagenbund would soon become the key platform of modern art in Central Europe, assuming a position between the avant-garde and the *mainstream* of the time, characterized by late impressionism and symbolism. Of Croatian artists, the association included Artur Oskar Alexander as a regular member, and hosted guest exhibitions by Tomislav Krizman, Ivan Meštrović, Emanuel Vidović and Lona von Zamboni. Owing to these two critical artistic associations, which were open to collaborating with younger and international artists, individual Croatian, Polish, Czech and Slovenian artists had the opportunity to exhibit their work in Vienna at the turn of the century. In their own countries, they would follow the example of the Viennese milieu and organize the artistic life of the then active younger generations, in opposition

to conventional academism and traditional artistic associations, attempting to obtain greater freedom of creation and exhibition. When shown at exhibitions organized by the Secession and Hagenbund, the works of Croatian artists were always exhibited individually,²⁸ while the only collective guest exhibition to be organized by the Croatian Art Association in the *Künstlerhaus* in 1913 never came to fruition.²⁹ On the other hand, Czech and Polish artists exhibited their work as part of both individual and collective guest exhibitions, which showed the recent works of the members of the associations Mánes and Sztuka. In the autumn of 1902, an exhibition of the Association Mánes in Hagenbund and the Association Sztuka in the Secession were organized simultaneously.³⁰ The collabo-

28 For a detailed overview of the participation of Croatian artists at exhibitions in Vienna, see: Irena Kraševac, Petra Vugrinec, eds., *Izazov moderne: Zagreb – Beč oko 1900, katalog izložbe* (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2017), 289–291; Stella Rolig, Irena Kraševac, and Petra Vugrinec, *The Challenge of Modernism: Vienna and Zagreb around 1900, exhibition catalogue* (Vienna: Belvedere, 2017), 231; For Polish artists, see: Anna Brzyski-Long, "Unsere Polen...: Polish artist and the Vienna Secession 1897–1904", in: *Art, culture and national identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europa*, eds. Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsch (Cambridge: 2003), 65–89.

29 HR-HDA-HDLU, 1979, 1.4.8.7., box 13. Izložba u Beču, 1912, letters regarding the organization of the exhibition of Croatian artists in the Künstlerhaus.

30 Agnes Husslein-Arco, et. al., Hagenbund, 124. The guest exhibition of the Czech Mánes was organized as part of the 4th Exhibition of the Association Hagenbund from 10th October to late November, while the Polish Association Sztuka participated in the 15th Exhibition of the Secession.

ration of Mánes and the Hagenbund would continue with an exhibition of the Prague artists in Vienna in 1908, and reciprocal exhibitions by French artists in Prague in 1908 and 1909. The second guest exhibition of the Polish Sztuka Association in the Secession was organized in 1906, and an exhibition in the Hagenbund in the early spring of 1908.³¹

THE ASSOCIATION OF CROATIAN ARTISTS AND THE CROATIAN ART ASSOCIATION AS ORGANIZERS OF INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN ZAGREB IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Zagreb established itself as a Central European center of art primarily due to the establishment of the Art Association in 1868.³² As opposed to the then cultural and artistic centres of Central Europe that Croatia was gravitating towards, Vienna and Munich, in which art associations were founded on a basis of an already well-established art scene and infrastructure, comprising a network of arts and crafts schools, art academies and galleries, the specificity of the Zagreb scene was that the course of its development was the exact opposite – it was the establishment of the Art Association that would kick-start the foundation and creation of all those institutions that were fundamental for its activities and mission.

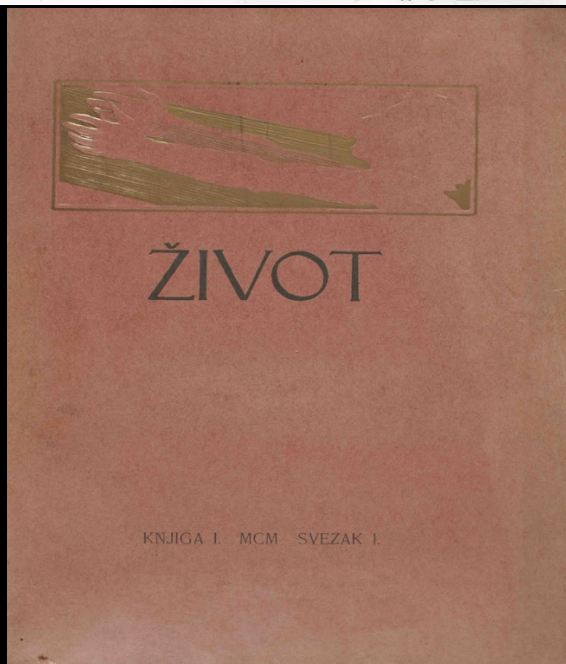
With the establishment and operation of

31 Agnes Husslein-Arco, et. al., *Hagenbund*, 141. Ausstellung der Vereinigung polnischer Künstler "Sztuka", February – March 1908.

32 Olga Maruševski: *Društvo umjetnosti 1868.–1938.–1941.* (Zagreb: The Croatian Society of Art Historians, 2004); Kraševac, *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika.*

the Art Association, focus was placed on artistic creation in a wider sense, fostering the appreciation of art works in the wider public and bolstering arts and crafts. It was only when the secession of a group of artists gathered around Vlaho Bukovac from the Art Association in 1897 that the paradigm would change. These artists advocated art for its own sake, and emphasized the national character of the group, as expressed in the association's name *Association of Croatian Artists*. All of the group's artists had previous experience with the studios or exhibitions of the artistic milieus of Paris, Vienna and Munich, in which the secession associations caused media uproar and instigated a division of artists into "old" and "new". Based on Bukovac's efforts, the new internal rules of the Association were adopted, and Bukovac was appointed its President. Robert Frangeš was appointed Deputy President, and Rudolf Valdec Secretary of the Association. The Association's first members included Artur Oskar Alexander, Ivo Bauer, Menci Clement Crnčić, Bela Csikos Sesia, Oton Iveković and Ferdo Kovačević. These are the artists that launched Croatian modern art, declaring their intention to revive art through individual freedom, as demonstrated at the exhibition *First Croatian Salon* in the Art Pavilion in 1898/1899. At the very turn of the century, in 1900/1901, the association held its *Second Exhibition*, hosting art works of the Slovenian Artistic Association from Ljubljana. As early as 1902, a joint exhibition of the Art Association and the Association of Croatian Artists was organized in the Art Pavilion, and the next exhibition, held in 1903, demonstrated a fusion of both associations under the name Croatian Art Association. This shows that, in Croatian art history, rather than viewing the secession as a discontinuity within the Association, it should be understood as an indisputably sound and required interlude, after which

27 Secession. *Permanenz eine Idee*, Wien, 1997; Marian Bisanz-Prakaken: *Heiliger Frühling. Gustav Klimt und die Anfänge der Wiener Secession 1895–1905* (Wien-München: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 1999)



III. 1

The Art Pavilion in Zagreb around 1900,
The Zagreb City Museum

III. 2

The cover of journal Život, 1900,
Institute of Art History, Zagreb

a more modern artistic expression and focus on artistic creation gained momentum. Some of the important outcomes of the Croatian secession were certainly the opening of the Zagreb Art Pavilion as the first dedicated art exhibition space to be constructed in Zagreb (Ill. 1), the establishment of the Modern Gallery and the popularization of art in the public through exhibitions and the publication of the literature and art journal *Život* (Life) (Ill. 2). Also, numerous guest exhibitions of art associations from Ljubljana, Prague and Krakow were organized during the first half of the 20th century. The direct contacts made by Zagreb artists with artists from Prague and Krakow at exhibitions in Vienna put Zagreb on the map of Central European associations, which simultaneously contributed to the internalization of minor artistic milieus, and triggered the national visibility of artists belonging to the Slavic parts of the multinational Monarchy. Their common endeavour was to propagate the value of modern art through a strategy involving exhibitions, art criticism, and the creation of a new form of artistic collaboration, which produced a new type of exhibition event – the guest exhibition.

SLOVENIAN ART ASSOCIATION
(SLOVENSKO UMETNIŠKO
DRUŠTVO) IN LJUBLJANA

The first signs of the organization of visual arts associations in Slovenia date back to 1898 and 1899, when the *Slovenian Art Association* was established in Ljubljana, which, in addition to painters, included sculptors, graphic artists, literary and dramatic artists. Subsequently, this Association would separate into specialized artistic associations for the individual fields, among which the most prominent position was assumed by

the Association of Slovenian Visual Artists (*Društvo slovenskih upodabljajočih umetnikov*) that exerted a strong influence on the entire Slovenian visual art of the 20th century.³³ The Slovenian artists also took over the Munich and Vienna secessionism as their model of cultural politics.³⁴ The first exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association was organized in 1900 in Ljubljana, gathering 31 Slovenian artists, most of which lived in Ljubljana and Slovenia at the time, and a few notable artists with careers abroad or who were outside the country, in Munich or Vienna, at the time when the exhibition was held. With 186 paintings and sculptures exhibited, this was the largest exhibition held in Ljubljana at the time.³⁵ Thanks to the contacts between Slovenian and Croatian artists, members of the Slovenian Art Association participated in the *Second Exhibition of the Association of Croatian Artists in Zagreb*, held in the Art Pavilion in 1900/1901³⁶ (Ill. 3). After the great

33 Ida Tomše, "Institucionalizacija slovenske likovne umetnosti od 1900 do 1941," *Peristil*, no. 31 (1988): 181–84.

34 Beti Žerovc: *Slovenski impresionisti* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2013), 19.

35 Fran Goveker, ed, *Seznam in imenik I. slovenske umetniške razstave* (Ljubljana: Slovensko umetniško društvo, 1900). The exhibition was held from 15 September to 15 October 1900. The Commission for the selection of exhibits included Ivan Franke, Imperial advisor and professor, painter, Ivan Duffé, city advisor, Celestin Mess, professor and sculptor, and the painters Ferdinand Vesel and Matej Sternen, while the organization of the exhibition was entrusted to the painters Ivan Grohar and Rikard Jakopič.

36 The exhibition was held from 22 December 1900 to 25 January 1901, according to the selection of the same commission, see note 13. <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/?object=list&find=druga+izlo%C5%BE->

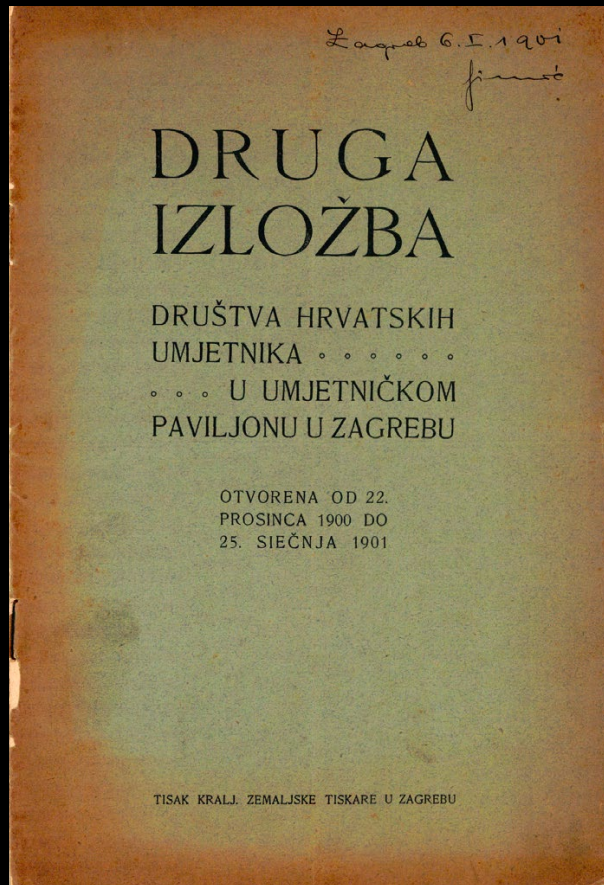
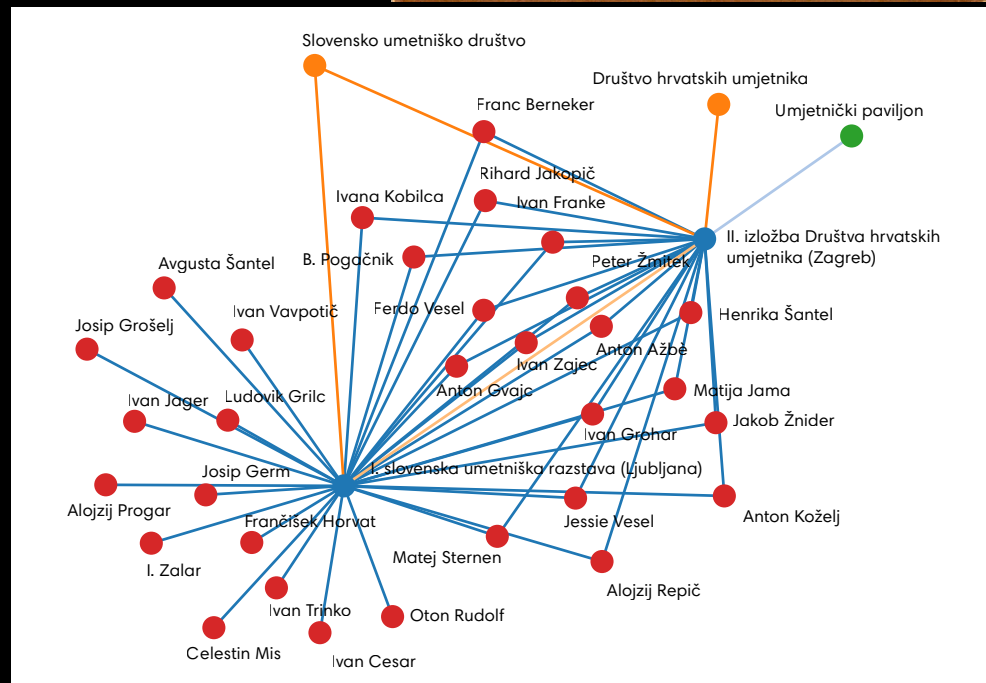


Fig. 2 Exhibitions of Slovenian artists' association organized in Ljubljana and Zagreb in 1900.



success of the Croatian Salon in 1898/1899, this was the first subsequent and last exhibition to be organized by this Association. Internal disputes that began to plague the Association of Croatian Artists resulted in the departure of the association's most agile artists – after the departure of its President Vlaho Bukovac for Cavtat, and then to Vienna and Prague, the Association lost its young promising artists Robert Auer i Bela Csikos Sesia, who left for New York. At the same time, the Association of Croatian Literary Artists was faced with difficulties regarding the publication of its journal *Život*, and was embroiled in a latent dispute with the Art Association, dominated by Iso Kršnjavi, resulting in the closing of the association. After Bukovac, Menci Clement Crnčić took over as President of the Association of Croatian Artists, thanks to whose efforts a new exhibition was organized from 22 December 1900 to 25 January 1901. The exhibition comprised three rather disparate parts: I. Exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association in Ljubljana, II. Collective Exhibition of M. Cl. Crnčić, and III. Alphons Mucha Exhibition. The part of the exhibition devoted to the first collective guest exhibition of Slovenian artists in Zagreb involved 15 male and three female artists: the painters Antun Ažbe, France Berneker, Ivan Franke, Ivan Grohar, Anton Gvajc, Rikard Jakopič, Marija Jama, Antun Koželj, Matej Šernern, Ferdo Vesel i P. Žmitel, sculptors B. Pogačnik, Alojzij Repič, Ivan Zajc i Jakob Žnider, and the female painters Ivana Kobilca, Henrika Šantel and Jessie Vesel. The exhibition comprised 127 works that had just before been shown at an exhibition in Ljubljana,³⁷ arousing great interest of the

Zagreb public and critics. Vladimir Lunaček pointed out the works by Rikard Jakopič and Matija Jama as the “most modern and fresh paintings”, also commending the exhibits of the three female artists.³⁸ The critique of Iso Kršnjavi included an interesting comment that could equally apply to numerous other exhibitions of the time, which often merely threw art works together uncritically: “One cannot really judge Slovenian artists based on this exhibition: had they exhibited less works, it would have been better. Had they shown us the best works of their best artists, the entire exhibition would have been a success, but this slew of failed paintings by bad and good artists blights the overall success of Slovenian painters.”³⁹ In any case, this exhibition prompted guest exhibitions of foreign art associations in the Art Pavilion in Zagreb, followed by guest exhibitions of the Czech Association Mánes and the Polish Association Sztuka.

Among the guest exhibitions processed, for the purposes of this article, using digital network visualization tools developed as part of the *ARTNET scientific projects*, the exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association in the Zagreb Art Pavilion was specific in the sense that the guest exhibition of the Slovenian artists was held in Zagreb at the end of the same year in which the first exhibition of this Association had already

Exhibition of the Association of Croatian Artists in Zagreb in 1900/01.

38 Vladimir Lunaček, “Slovenski umjetnici,” *Život*, no. 1 (1901): 6–13.

39 Izidor Kršnjavi, “Druga izložba Društva hrvatskih umjetnika, I. Slovenski slikari,” *Narodne novine* (31 December 1900); reprint: Isidor Kršnjavi, *Listovi iz Slavonije – Članci*, ed. Katica Čorkalo (Vinkovci: Vinkovci Branch of the Matrix Croatia, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Vinkovci Center for Scientific Research, 1995), 313–319.

37 Cf. the network display of the First exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association in Ljubljana in 1900 and the exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association held as part of the Second

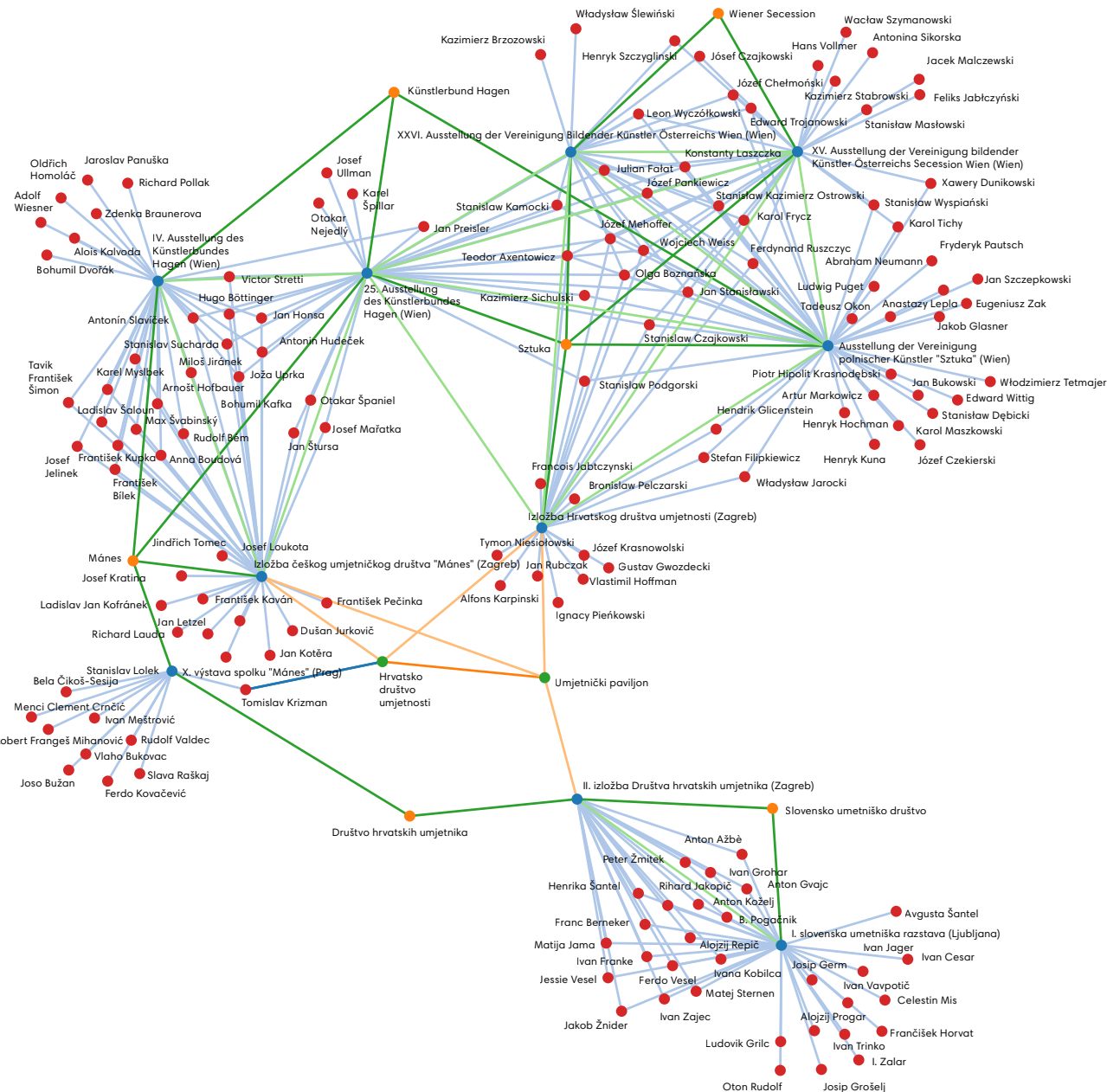


Fig. 3
Exhibitions of Central European artists' associations in the period from 1900 to 1911 (artists' associations, exhibitions and participants)

been held in Ljubljana. Taking into account the relatively short period between the two exhibitions of the newly established Association, it should come as no surprise that the Zagreb exhibition involved exclusively artists that had already exhibited their works in Ljubljana, whereby the number of artists in Zagreb was considerably smaller. The network display of these two exhibitions held in 1900, first in Ljubljana and then in Zagreb (Fig. 2), shows that the red nodes representing the artists who participated in both exhibitions are located between the blue nodes, which represent the exhibitions, whereas the red nodes representing the artists who only participated in the Ljubljana exhibition remain on the periphery of the display, outside of the intersection area. This clearly demonstrates that all artists whose works were shown in Zagreb had previously participated in the first exhibition of their association in Ljubljana.

The network display of all guest exhibitions covered by this analysis (Figl. 3) also indicates the isolated position of the 1900 exhibitions held in Ljubljana and Zagreb in relation to other exhibitions taking into consideration that the collective guest exhibition of the Slovenian Art Association in Zagreb was also the only guest exhibition of works by Slovenian artists organised abroad. They are linked to the rest of the network via the guest exhibition organized by Association of Croatian Artists (represented with an orange node) and the exhibition space of the Art Pavilion (represented with a green node) as the venue of the guest exhibition of the Czech Art Association Mánes organised in 1904 and of the Polish Art Association Sztuka organised in 1911.

THE MÁNES ASSOCIATION OF FINE
ARTISTS (SPOLEK VÝTVARNÝCH
UMĚLCŮ „MÁNES“) IN PRAGUE

The Czech art association emerged from a group of Czech students in Munich that took its name in 1890 after the renowned romanticist painter Josef Mánes. Mikoláš Aleš was the first president of the association. The association gathered painters, sculptors, architects, writers and art critics like Otto Gutfreund, Karel Hlavaček, Vratislav Hofman, Bohumil Kavka, Jan Kotěra, Josef Mařatka, Vladimír Županský, Antonín Hudeček, Jindřich Průcha, Antonín Slaviček, Joža Úprka, Max Švabinský, Jan Preisler and many others. They organised their first exhibition in 1898 together with a journal named *Volné Směry* in which they published their aims and objectives and emphasised the importance of organising exhibitions of works by Czech and other European artists as well as fostering of artistic individuality.⁴⁰ The exhibitions of works by foreign artists organised in Prague by The Mánes Association of Fine Artists left an important mark in the history of Czech art exhibitions, starting from 1902 and the exhibition of works by August Rodin to the exhibition of French avant-garde artists organised in 1914, which had a significant impact on Czech artists resulting in their inclination toward cubism.

The Mánes Association of Fine Artists from Prague presented the works of its members in Vienna at the 4th Hagenbund exhibition held in 1902. The exhibition was held in parallel with the exhibition of the Polish Sztuka Association, which had a guest exhibition at the Secession, thus demonstrating the openness of Vienna to art phenomena in other (national) centres of the Monarchy.

40 Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska and Mizia, "Sztuka-Wiener Secession-Mánes. The central European Art Triangle," 225.

Viennese critics, primarily Ludwig Hevesi and Berta Zuckerka, pointed out the importance of Švabinski, Uprka, Slaviček, Hudeček and Preisler together with Kupka and Šimon, as young rising stars.⁴¹ Hagenbund achieved a very good collaboration with the Mánes in Prague, which evolved in one of the most fruitful international art networks.⁴²

The connection between Prague and Zagreb resulted in guest exhibitions presenting works by Croatian artists at the Mánes Pavilion in 1903 and a reciprocal exhibition of the Mánes Association the Art Pavilion organised in May 1904. Documentation about those exhibitions has been preserved thanks to catalogues supported by the historical archives.⁴³ (Ill. 4) The works by the following Croatian artists were presented in Prague at the 10th exhibition organised by the Mánes Association: Josip Bauer, Vlaho Bukovac, Josu Bužan, Menci Clement Crnčić, Bela Csikos Sesia, Tomislav Krizman, Ferdo Kovačević, sculptors Robert Frangeš, Ivan Meštrović and Rudolf Valdec together with Slava Raškaj as the only female artist. As many as 192 works by Czech artists were transported for the exhibition held in Zagreb including works by Rudolf

Bém, Jugo Böttinger, Arnošt Hofbauer, Jan Honsa, Antonin Hudeček, Josef Jelínek, Miloš Jiránek, Dušan Jurković, Franta Kavan, Ladislav Kofránek, František Kupka, Richard Lauda, Stanislav Lolek, Josef Loukota, Josef Mařatka, František Pečinka, Antoniín Slaviček, Viktor Stretti, František Šimon, Max Švabinský, J. Tomec, Józsa Uprka, František Voves, sculptors František Bílek, Buhumil Kafka, Josef Kratina, Stanislav Sucharda, Ladislav Šaloun, O. Španiel, Jan Štursa, architects Jan Kotěra and J. Letzel, and a single female artist, Anna Boudová. Iso Kršnjavi commented the collaboration by saying the following:

Exhibitions like this one have to be observed from a practical point of view. No matter how his profession might be noble and beautiful, an artist has to live of his work and he needs to, as any other worker, look for a compensation, wherever he might find one.⁴⁴

Apart from the review of art critique reaffirming art creation in particular countries, one of the results of the exhibition was selling of artworks by Croatian artists in Prague as well as selling of artworks by Czech artists in Zagreb, out of which the wooden relief showing Jesus and Magdalena by František Bílek became one of the first acquisitions of the collection of the Modern Gallery in Zagreb, founded in 1905.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Naša umjetnost", *Narodne novine*, no. 261 (14 November 1903): 245.

⁴⁵ The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Art, Fine Arts Archives, Documentation on the exhibitions held in Zagreb, Envelope F 594, The exhibition of the Manes Association of Fine Artists. The records indicate that works by Bela Csikos Sesia, Menci Klement Crnčić, and Josip Bauer were sold in Prague, while works by the Czech artists Josef Kratina, Stanislav Lolek, Antonin Slaviček, Viktor Stretti, Stanislav

KATALOG IZLOŽBE ČEŠKOG UMJETNIČKOG DRUŠTVA „MANES“. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

CIJENA 30 FILIRA.

⁴¹ Agnes Husslein-Arco, et. al., *Hagenbund*, p. 124.; http://digitale-bibliothek.belvedere.at/viewer/image/1411477732019/1/LOG_0000/

⁴² Agnes Husslein-Arco, et. al., *Hagenbundi digital* <http://http://tools.fas.at/hagenbund/exhibition.html>; <http://digitale-bibliothek.belvedere.at/viewer/image/1412675348091/1/>

⁴³ The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Art, Fine Arts Archives, Documentation on the exhibitions held in Zagreb, Envelope F 594, the exhibition of the Manes Association. <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/1660>; <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/?-object=list&find=katalog+izlo%C5%BE-be+manes+zagreb>

The network display of all guest exhibitions covered here (Fig. 3) indicates the four exhibitions associated with the The Mánes Association of Fine Artists located next to the left margin of the network. Having in mind that they do not have any participants in common, the guest exhibition of Croatian artists organised by the Mánes in Prague in 1903 is located more marginally in relation to the three exhibitions of works by Czech artist organised in Vienna in 1902 and 1908 and in Zagreb in 1904. In the part of the network display linked to the three guest exhibitions of Czech artists organised abroad, six groups of red nodes indicate the Czech artists. Three groups of nodes located marginally next to blue nodes, which indicate the exhibitions, present those artists who exhibited their works in the framework of a single and corresponding exhibition while three groups of red nodes located inside of the field bounded by blue nodes for the three exhibitions indicate the artists who participated in several exhibitions. At the same time, the central position is taken by the group of seven artists whose works were showcased on all the three exhibitions. Visualisation of the network clearly suggests that the exhibitions held in a short period of time, i.e. in Vienna in 1902 and in Zagreb in 1904, comprised a significantly higher number of common participants (19) in comparison to the parallel display of the two exhibitions in Vienna (7) or the exhibition held in Zagreb and subsequently the one held in Vienna (10).

THE ASSOCIATION OF POLISH ARTISTS "ART" (TOWARZYSTWO ARTYSTÓW POLSKIH "SZTUKA") IN KRAKOW

The Association of Polish Artists Sztuka was established in opposition to then official The Association of Friends of Fine Arts in Krakow and Lvov. Józef Chełmoński and

Jan Stanisławski in 1890 started the founding initiative in Paris. A *Separate Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture* was organised in 1897 in Krakow and in November a new association was founded with the aim "to improve artistic life in the homeland and organise exhibitions both at home and abroad."⁴⁶ This international cooperation comprised a number of exhibitions during the period 1897–1914 in the following cities: Vienna, St. Louis, Munich, Düsseldorf, Antwerp, Leipzig, Dresden, Rome, Venice, Prague, Budapest and Berlin.⁴⁷ Having in mind that the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka appeared in public relatively frequently and that Polish artist had an open access to the European art market, the Association was not very active in organising reciprocal exhibitions of other art associations in Krakow.⁴⁸

Polish artists had individual exhibitions organised in the Secession in Vienna,⁴⁹ and the first group exhibition of works by the members of the Sztuka Association was organised in the autumn of 1902 at the Secession Pavilion in the framework of their 15th exhibition⁵⁰. The critics praised it – Ludwig Hevesi in particular who wrote about the national character of the Polish exhibition, describing it as a "grand pussée

46 Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska and Mizia, "Sztuka-Wiener Secession-Mánes. The central European Art Triangle," 219–20.

47 Ibid, 219; Brzyski, "Vienna Secession, Hagenbund, Sztuka and Mánes: competition and strategic collaboration among central European art groups," 4–18.

48 Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska and Mizia, "Sztuka-Wiener Secession-Mánes. The central European Art Triangle," 219. There was only one guest exhibition recorded, that of the Mánes Association in Krakow.

49 Ibid, 221, note 25.

50 Ibid, <http://digitale-bibliothek.beldere.at/viewer/image/1413884320733/1/>



III. 5

The catalogue of the exhibition of the Croatian Art Association, The Art Pavilion in Zagreb, 1911. The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Art – Fine Arts Archives, Zagreb

de tristesse”, and emphasising the quality of the painters such as Józef Mehoffer, Stanisław Wyspiański, Ruszczyk, Leo Wyczółkowski and Kontanty Laszczka.⁵¹ The next exhibition of the Sztuka Association at the Secession in Vienna followed in 1906, with a prominent appearance of works by Jan Stanisławski, Ferdynand Ruzyczk and Karol Frycz.⁵²

Polish researchers were unable to establish if the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka had a guest exhibition organised in Zagreb in 1911⁵³ (III. 5). The Art Pavilion organised the exhibitions of works by Polish artists, members of the Sztuka Association and members of the Croatian Art Association in parallel, which provided a possibility to compare and critically appraise the two national segments of art production. Polish artists were present with 82 artworks as follows: 17 painters: Teodor Axentowicz, Stanisław Czajkowski, Stefan Filipkiewicz, Gustaw Gwozdecki, Vlastimil Hoffmann, François Jabtczynski, Władysław Jarocki, Alfons Karpinski, Josef Krasnowolski, Józef Mehoffer, Tymon Niesiolowski, Stanisław Podgórski, Ignacy Pienkowski, Jan Rubczak, Ferdinand Ruszczyk, Jan Stanisławski and Wojciech Weiss, 2 sculptors: Henrik Glicenstein, Bronisław Pelczarski, and one female painter, Olga Boznańska. Croatian artists were presented by the works by Robert Auer, Leopoldina Auer-Schmidt, Ivan Benković, Anka Bestall, Josko Bužan, Menci Klement Crnčić, Bela Csikos Sesia,

Robert Frangeš Mišanović, Oton Iveković, Vilim Jenčik, Ferdo Kovačević, Miroslav Kraljević, Anka Löwenthal Maroičić, Celestin Medović, Franjo Pavačić, Zdenka Pexidr-Srića, Zora Preradović, Elsa Rehnitz, Iva Simonović, Jelka Stuppi, Branko Šenoa, Nasta Šenoa-Rojc, Rudolf Spiegler, Antun Štefčić and Rudolf M. Valić. Andrija Milčinić described the unconventional artistic vibrancy of the two art associations and nations, very much visible at this exhibition, by saying:

This wall around us does not allow us to breathe or to live. Our artists invited the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka in this politically charged atmosphere. One may support any kind of artistic perspective, one may foster artistic values in everything produced over the past few decades or one may neglect everything that piled up in old galleries; one may also be a vigorous opponent of this or that group, however, one must admit that inviting the members of the Sztuka to Zagreb is a great merit of the Art Association. The Art Association had invited the Czech artists from the Mánes at the time, it invited Vereščagin, Slovenian artists, Serbs and Bulgarians but never had they made such a distinct choice like in the case of the Sztuka. That act stands as a proof of self-awareness, enthusiasm, and patriotism to such an extent that one remains taken aback wondering: is this possible? Is it possible to inspire so much life, so much diversity and young aspiration and intention by way of presenting so many already established artistic directions and significant artworks having recently emerged from those artistic directions. One cannot do anything but ask how is

it that those paintings do not fall off the walls and those sculptures off their pedestals out of fear from that vehement antipathy, that disapproval and resistance so characteristic for such a heavy and suffocating atmosphere?... Upon inspecting all works by the Polish artists, one simply has to make the conclusion: The Poles do not know us, that is rather obvious, otherwise they would have not sent the works of art that so ruthlessly disturb our peace and ‘calm’ behind which we are hiding. (...)

Nowadays, the Poles are most certainly the first among the Slaves in doing so because they were successful in preserving their authenticity while marching next to the French and the others who had opened the new horizons in art. And although they live in different cities and different parts of the country, in many ways they stand as one. A few more exhibitions like this and maybe the artistic life in Zagreb will breathe the life it was breathing ten or fifteen years ago. It is better to remain unpopular, criticised and even persecuted than adored and close to the audience that still has not developed a real interest in art.⁵⁴

The critic evokes the inspiring and competitive early modern period before the First Croatian Salon and “the suffocating atmosphere” of the artistic life in Zagreb was a reflection of turbulent events taking place after the separation of a group of young Croatian artists that participated at the International Exhibition in Rome in parallel with this exhibition and thus showed

their inclination toward the Serbian artists.⁵⁵ In the framework of the network display of all of all guest exhibitions covered here (Fig. 3), the position of The Association of Polish Artists Sztuka is closest to the centre owing to the highest number of group exhibitions held according to the parameters attributed to the guest exhibitions organised by other central European art associations (five exhibitions in total), but also owing to the highest number of collaborations with other associations by way of cultural exchange in the form of exhibitions. As opposed to the Mánes Association, whose appearances in Vienna were organised exclusively by Hagenbund, the network display clearly indicates that the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka had two exhibitions organised at the Secession (one in 1902 and one in 1906) together with the exhibitions organised at the Hagenbund in Vienna (two exhibitions in 1908).

The position of red nodes representing Polish artists in relation to blue nodes indicating the exhibitions to which they are linked depending on their participation in this case reveals that those artists whose works were presented at one exhibition hold marginal positions on the network display on the one hand, and a more central position in the network of interconnections between the artists who took part in more than one exhibition on the other. Five artists who took part in all five group exhibitions of the works by the members of the Sztuka are located at the centre i.e. Teodor Axentowicz, Józef Mehoffer, Jan Stanisławski, Wojciech Weiss and Olga Boznańska as the only female artists.

51 Ibid.

52 Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska and Mizia, “Sztuka-Wiener Secession-Mánes. The central European Art Triangle,” 224; http://digitale-bibliothek.belvedere.at/viewer/image/1414425130841/1/LOG_0000/

53 Katalog izložbe Hrvatskog društva umjetnosti : u Zagrebu 1911. od 1. svibnja do 1. lipnja (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu, 1911).

55 Sandi Bulimbašić: Društvo hrvatskih umjetnika “Medulić” (1908–1919) umjetnost i politika (Zagreb: The Croatian Society of Art Historians, 2016), 227–259.

54 Andrija Milčinić, “Umjetnička izložba,” Savremenik, no. 8 (1911), 526–529.

CONCLUSION

In addition to individual appearances on the exhibitions at the Secession and the Hagenbund in Vienna, both of which served as platforms for organising exhibitions to present modern art from Central Europe and meeting points and places to learn about artists from other parts of the Monarchy, a special attention was given to guest exhibitions presenting the work of art associations organised between Vienna, Krakow, Prague and Zagreb. In Vienna, The Association of Polish Artists Sztuka had two guest exhibitions organised at the Secession in 1902 and 1906 and one exhibition at the Hagenbund in 1908 followed by one exhibition organised in Zagreb in 1911. The Mánes Association of Fine Artists had two exhibitions organised at the Hagenbund in 1902 and 1908, respectively and in 1904 they exhibited their works in Zagreb as a reciprocal visit following the guest exhibition of the Croatian Art Association in Prague in 1903. Taking into account that the guest exhibitions of the Mánes and the Sztuka art associations that took place in Zagreb have not been in the focus of any research done by Czech or Polish art historians so far, by extending the network of exhibitions to cover Zagreb we are contributing to the network of modern art in Central Europe during the first decade of the 20th century by adding another overlooked art centre. Visualisation of digital data by way of different networks indicating artistic collaboration between art associations and artists demonstrates a rather high number of artists coming from the Slavic regions of the Monarchy whose works were exhibited thanks to organised guest exhibitions. All these art associations also included works by female artists although their number was limited i.e. only seven female painters in total exhibited their works. Ivana Kobilca, as a member of the Slovenian Art Association,

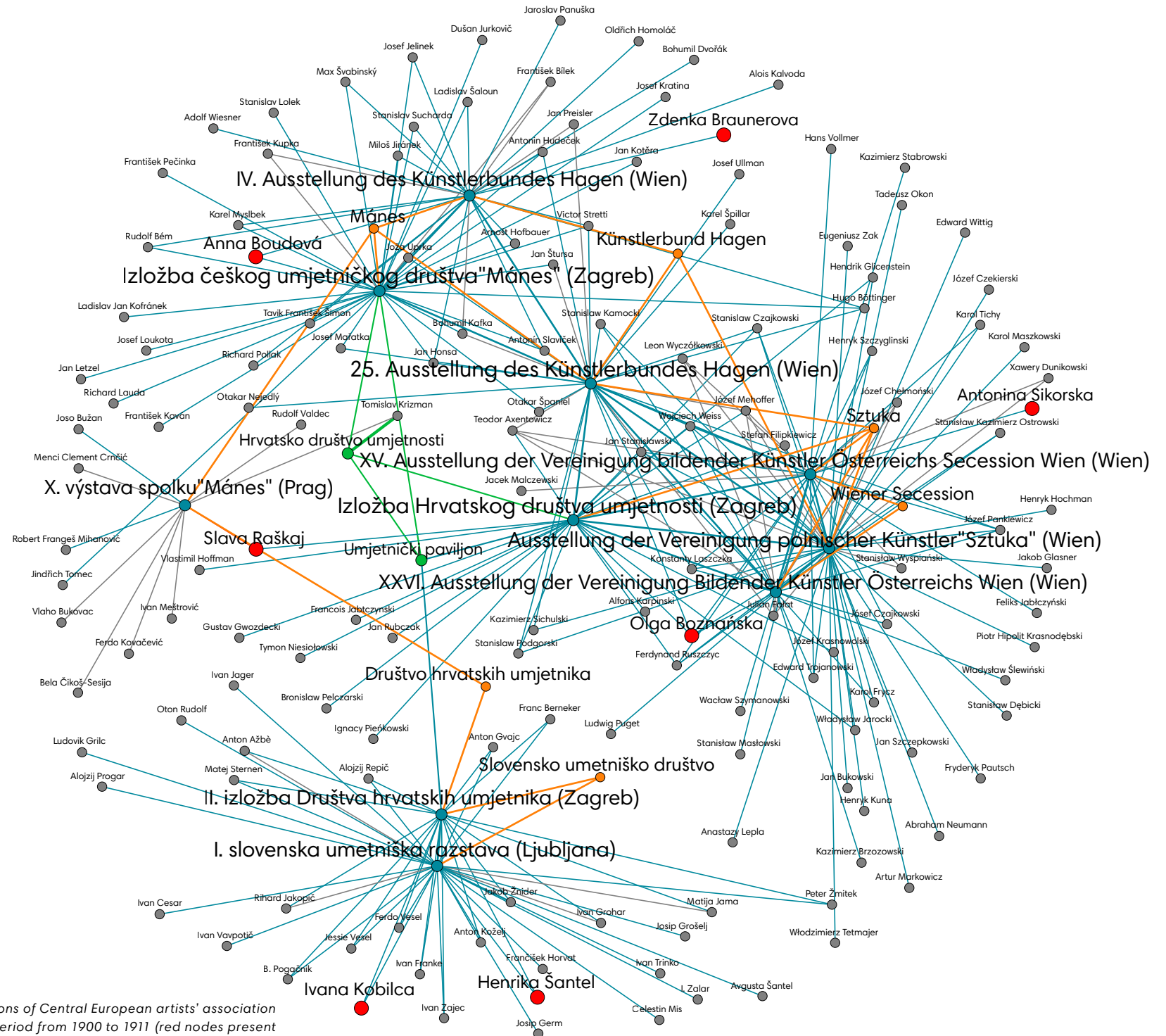


Fig. 4
Exhibitions of Central European artists' association
in the period from 1900 to 1911 (red nodes present
women artist participating in the exhibitions)

map2_1962-1963.pdf stands out with the quality of her paintings and the number of exhibitions in which she participated, the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka regularly included painter Olga Boznańska, while Anna Boudová exhibited her works together with other members of the Czech Mánes.⁵⁶ The network display comprises 147 artists in total: 89 painters, 26 sculptors and 6 fine artists from Slovenian, Czech and Polish circle and their activities are indicated in the selected examples of guest exhibitions in Zagreb, Vienna and Prague.

⁵⁶ Female Croatian artists who exhibited their works at the exhibitions organised by the Society of Croatian Artists, that is the Croatian Art Association, were more present than female artists who were affiliated to the Polish Art Association Sztuka or the Manes. Jelka Stuppi, Leopoldina Auer-Schmidt, Zora Preradović, Slava Raškaj, Anka Löwenthal Maroičić and Nasta Rojc had regular appearances on the exhibitions in Zagreb and abroad. To learn more about education of Croatian female artists and exhibitions of their works during the late 19th and the early 20th century see: Ljiljana Kolečnik, "(Ne) moguća priča. Utjecaj Münchenske Akademije na žensku umjetnost ranog modernizma," in *Akademija likovnih umjetnosti u Münchenu i hrvatsko slikarstvo*, eds. Irena Kraševac, Petar Prelog and Ljiljana Kolečnik (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2008), 88–107; Darija Alujević, "Beč kao mjesto formiranja umjetnica hrvatske moderne i njihov udio u likovnom životu Zagreba," in *Izazov moderne: Zagreb – Beč oko 1900* (exhibition catalogue), eds. Irena Kraševac and Petra Vugrinec (Zagreb: Klovićevi Dvori Gallery, 2017), 125–174; Darija Alujević, "Women Artists of Croatian Modernism," in *The Challenge of Modernism: Vienna and Zagreb around 1900* (exhibition catalogue), eds. Stella Rolig, Irena Kraševac and Petra Vugrinec (Vienna: Belvedere, 2017), 130–138.

This confirms that Czech and Polish artists made better use of their position in Vienna as a result of conditions provided to them by their art associations while Croatian and Slovenian artists had to organise themselves because their national associations did not have continuous or persistent activities.⁵⁷ Bringing the Slovenian Art Association, the Mánes Association of Fine Artists and the Association of Polish Artists Sztuka to Zagreb open doors to a better critical angle for Croatian artists (artists from Zagreb), audience and critique and strengthened the domestic position of artists facing turbulent phases in the beginning of the 20th century due to their inner disputes. By switching their membership from one art association to another, their international position was weakened by the end of the 19th century after their appearance on the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest and guest exhibitions in Copenhagen, St. Petersburg and Paris after that.

⁵⁷ Žerovc, Slovenski impresionisti, 75. The author explains that the Slovenian Art Association organised activities for only a brief period of time because of reasons related to its members' reluctance and various political plots. Another association named "Sava" was more successful and managed to organise a group exhibition at the u Miethke Gallery in 1904. http://digitale-bibliothek.belvedere.at/viewer/image/1433925050448/1/LOG_0000/

INTRODUCTORY NOTES: AN
INTERPRETATION BETWEEN
THE TRADITIONAL AND THE
DIGITAL ART HISTORY

One of the most significant Croatian sculptors in the 20th century, Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962), affirmed himself as a sculptor in the public eye mostly “ex-territorially”, i.e. outside of his homeland (Ill. 1).⁵⁸ His starting point was Vienna, the city with a distinctive cultural climate where he completed his formal academic education (a three-year degree course in sculpture and a two-year degree course in architecture). He was also a member of the Association of Visual Artists Austria – Secession and a very active participant in the exhibitions held by the Association.⁵⁹ In this text, his solo-exhibition at the of Vienna Secession in 1910 is taken as the starting point of the period under scrutiny, which extends to the end of the First World War and the artist’s return to his homeland, enveloped in a brand new socio-political climate, at the beginning of the 1920s. Wars always provide an interesting context for observing and analysing artists’ behaviours and creative outputs, and the same applies to Ivan Meštrović in the context to the Balkan Wars and the First World War, as well as to the Second World War at a later point in time.

58 The most comprehensive study on the life and art of Ivan Meštrović was written by Duško Kečkemet, who dedicated a significant portion of his career to this artist and interpreting his works. See: Duško Kečkemet, *Život Ivana Meštrovića* (1883 – 1962 – 2002), vol. I and vol. II (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009).

59 About the period that Ivan Meštrović spent in Vienna, see: Irena Kraševac, *Ivan Meštrović i secesija: Beč – München – Prag* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Fundacija Ivana Meštrovića, 2002).

However, Meštrović is an extremely interesting phenomenon not only from the perspective of the visual art production, but also from the perspective of setting up a wide network of acquaintances, especially with prominent individuals from the cultural and political arena. His political engagement was most pronounced during the First World War, but his inclination to establish politically affiliated contacts was a constant in the decades to come, until the end of his life. This political engagement was of great importance to the artist, as attested in his first book of memoirs, first published abroad, in Buenos Aires in 1961, and then, posthumously, in his homeland in 1969. We are, of course, referring to the book *Memories of Political People and Events* (*Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje*), where he recounted the events spanning from his move to Belgrade in 1904 to his move to the United States in 1947.⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that there are almost no protagonists from the art world featured in this book; Meštrović mentioned them – at least some of them – on other occasions. This book represents an outstanding contribution to political history, provided via autobiographical records and notes. However, Ivan Meštrović never considered himself to be a professional politician – he adamantly refused to be classified as such – and he used to point out that his vocation was exclusively that of an artist.

This text attempts to approach the interpretation of Ivan Meštrović’s activities by using entirely different tools than those usually implemented in art historical practice. It will show how to implement a quantitative analysis, more suitable – as hitherto perceived – to other disciplines, in the domain of art history research. The challenge

60 Ivan Meštrović, *Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1969).



is thus even greater because this kind of research usually deals in texts and textual explications, that is, they are, in most regards, logocentric. Indeed, from the very beginning, the question arises of how to reconcile the reflexive nature and approach to research in humanities – always verging on ambiguity, fluid, floating – with the exact and measurable data which quantitative analysis, as well as the new technology, necessitate. Actually, how do we even introduce quantitative analysis – and digital tools – into the field of art history, mostly perceived as being reflexive? Is there an antagonistic relationship between “traditional” and “digital” art history?

Perhaps the answer to this and similar questions can be found in an optimistic note in the article “Debating Digital Art History”, where Anna Bentkowska-Kafel analyses this specific relationship.⁶¹ Namely, the author claims that the attribute *digital* has a mere provisional and temporary character, and that it will become completely irrelevant and without any precise demarcation in the near future. So, only the umbrella term of art history will remain, of course, with all the changes and turns in the discipline ushered in by technological advancements and the implementation of new techniques. Nobody will even think in terms of an antagonistic relationship but about the critical moment which will have marked the redefining point of transition, that is, the implementation of new methods in research defined by a temporal format and technological context. We will attempt to demonstrate such a coexistence – or a hybrid – of traditional and digital art history methods by interpreting Ivan Meštrović’s oeuvre and worldviews, that is, his global critical reception.

61 Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, “Debating Digital Art History,” *International Journal for Digital Art History*, no. 1 (2015), 50–64. <https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2015.1.21634>

IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ’S PERSONAL NETWORK. NETWORK ANALYSIS A FRAGMENT OF LINEAR STORYTELLING

Right at the beginning, it should be noted that Ivan Meštrović’s social network was reconstructed herein based exclusively on his written correspondence, archived in Atelier Meštrović in Zagreb (Fig. 1).

This is a special archival fund, stored as the property of Mate Meštrović.⁶² A total of 606 letters have been processed, with a focus on the period from 1910 to 1920. The basic information about the letters, as well as content excerpts, have been entered into the digital database *Croatian Artists Networks Information System (CAN_IS)* that stems from an intensive interdisciplinary work on a five-year research project *Modern and Contemporary Artist Networks, Art Groups and Art Associations: Organisation and Communication Models of Artist Collaborative Practices in the 20th and 21st Century*. Furthermore, the visual depiction of Meštrović’s social network was created via software visualization tools which were integrated into the database.

As to be expected, this type of a reconstruction is not ideal. Namely, a large portion of the epistolary records lack a specified timeframe that cannot be inferred from its contents, so this analysis should not be taken at face value. However, it certainly does pave the way for future interpretations and will be complemented by each subsequent insight into the personal and official correspondence of Ivan Meštrović, stored in institutional or private archives. Nonetheless,

62 Meštrović’s Correspondence, Meštrović Atelier Archives, Archived letters (hereinafter: AAM, Zg, Pup). The letters are in the property of Mate Meštrović who was kind enough to grant his permission to us to use and inspect them.

exhibitions Association of Croatian Artists "Medulić"

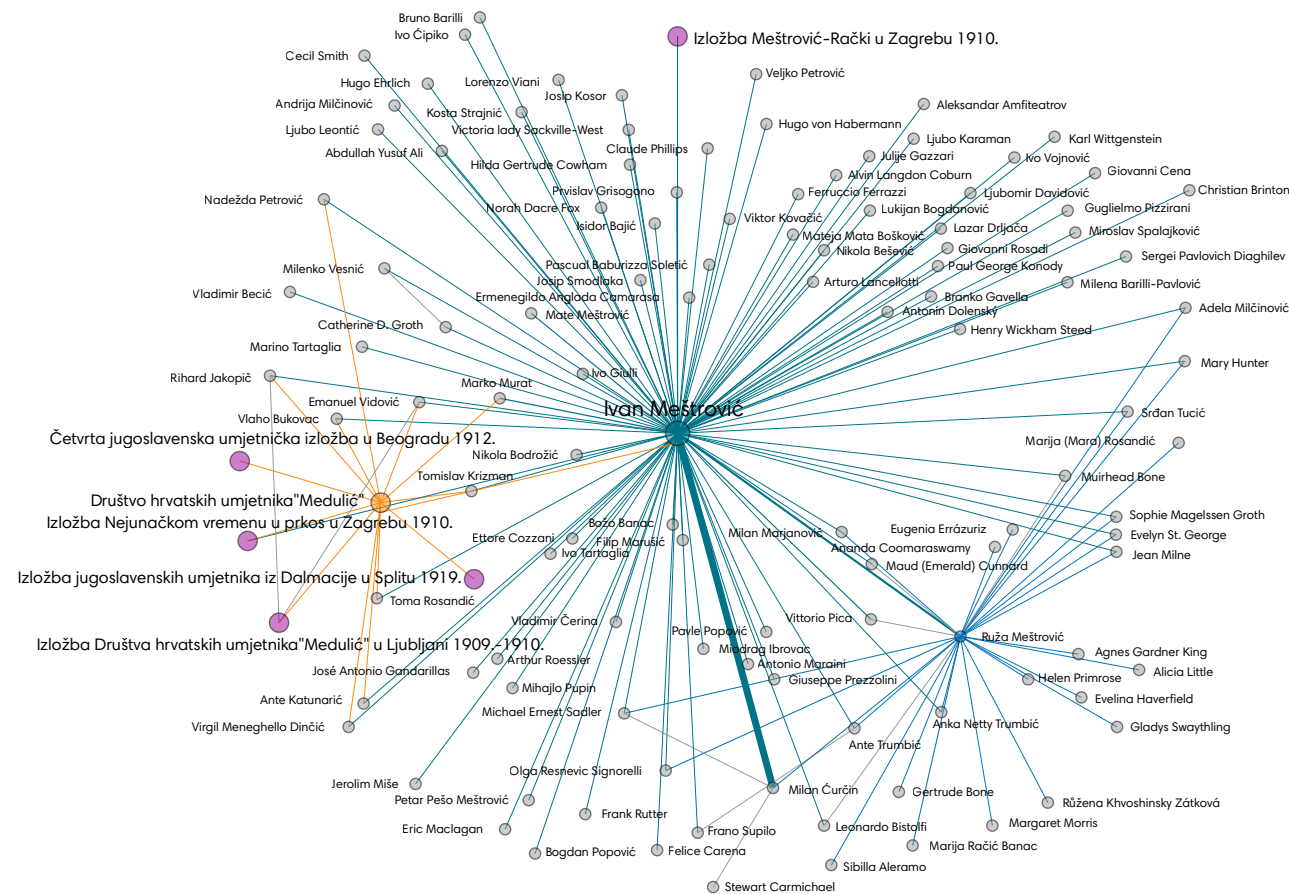


Fig. 1
Personal social network of Ivan Meštrović between 1910 and 1920, network visualization based upon data extracted from his personal correspondence

based on this sample, we can clearly differentiate the key layers of social protagonists who are mutually intertwined and reflect the character of Ivan Meštrović and his collaborative-communicative disposition. The artist's network is not one-dimensional – as they rarely are! – and includes the protagonists not only from his intimate-familial and cultural-artistic surrounding, but also from the historical-political context since, during the First World War, Meštrović became engaged in a concrete – or we might even define it as nation-building – political activism. Despite reconstructing the network based solely on the archived correspondence from one source, many key relationships with individuals whose letters were not contained within could be inferred. For example, especially important are the connections that Meštrović forged with the members of the ruling political class, such as the members of the Serbian royal family Karađorđević, since the very beginning of their rule in 1903. In addition, by holding important exhibitions and capturing the attention of experts and the wider public, Ivan Meštrović also met other royalty to whom he acted as a guide at the exhibitions, as he did for the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III of Savoy and his wife Jelena of Savoy, daughter of the king of Montenegro Nikola I Petrović-Njegoš, at the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Rome (1911).⁶³ Furthermore, the Grafton Galleries exhibition held in London in 1917, which he prepared with Mirko Rački and Toma Rosandić, was inaugurated by a member of the British royal family, Princess Patricia of Connaught. This omission, regarding domestic or international relations, also equally applies to numerous other protagonists from artistic and wider cultural circles.

First of all, we should address what social

network analysis means and how it sheds light on certain issues related to art history. When we refer to social network analysis, this usually implies two basic approaches: the sociocentric and the egocentric. The egocentric approach anchors a social network on an individual agent and observes the forms of social relations that emphasize the personal nature of society. The sociocentric approach, on the other hand, relies on the principles and structural connectivity of the network as a whole.⁶⁴ It is apparent that Ivan Meštrović's social network is of a personal – or in other terms – of an egocentric type. It cannot be conceived as a spatially delineated structure, in the sense of understanding the society itself as a territorially defined entity, but rather as a set of connections with the other actors who are part of the network. These are, of course, several kinds of connections (familial, friendship-based, cooperative, etc.) which belong to different geographical longitudes and latitudes, that is, to different socio-political and, in general, historical circumstances.

Ivan Meštrović's personal network – at least when it comes to its cultural-artistic and historical-political layer – is decidedly pragmatically motivated, that is, it is structured around organizing several key exhibitions, not just in regard to his personal affirmation, but generally in regard to the art history of this region and the political-ideological programme that permeated these exhibitions. There is no doubt that Meštrović's critical art narrative was directed against Austria and, in that sense, he was a prominent ideologue of one art association very significant for the

⁶⁴ More on the differences between sociocentric and egocentric networks, see: John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 69–81.

⁶³ Meštrović, *Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje*, 18–19.



III. 2

View of the XXXV. Vienna Secession exhibition, Vienna, 1910. (Ivan Meštrović Museum photo documentation, Gallery Meštrović, Split, FGM-3992, courtesy of Ivana Meštrović Museum)

socio-political and artistic context of the period under scrutiny. We are, of course, referring to the Association of Croatian Artists "Medulić".⁶⁵

The association was founded in 1908 in Split, and dissolved in 1919, when there were no more justified – political or societal – reasons to continue with its activities. This was one of the first important forms of cooperative artistic undertakings which aligned its exhibition narratives with the anti-Austrian and anti-Hungarian political framework. It goes without saying that the central actor in the Association – in regard to its founding, work and promotion – was Ivan Meštrović, so one part of the archived correspondence relates exactly to this segment of his engagement.

Although the programmatic axis of the Association was representing and promoting class interests and supporting its members, one of its advocated narratives was, unquestionably, the ideology of South Slavic unification. This was particularly pronounced at the Association's big exhibition organized at the Art Pavilion in Zagreb, in 1910, under the slogan *Despite the Unheroic Times*, coined by the poet Vojnović. It is worth mentioning that this exhibition was preceded by Ivan Meštrović's solo-exhibition at the Vienna Secession held in the same year, that is, the exhibition *Meštrović-Rački* in Zagreb, where the concept of sculpture and architecture articulated through the Vidovdan or the Kosovo cycle was first presented to the public. However, the complete cycle and the associated display, which Meštrović had already begun to showcase in Vienna, launched these works

to an entirely different sphere, the one of propaganda and political activism (Ill. 2). This dissident art-political programme would gain its momentum at the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Rome, in 1911. This is how Meštrović recounts the beginnings of the entire event:

The International Fine Arts Exhibition was to be held in Rome, in 1911. I was invited by the Vienna Ministry to participate with 'the most abundant number' of exhibits. I refused, prompted by the opinion that me, as a Croat, had no place there. After a little while, the Head of religion and education, Milan Amruš, invited me to talk and said that the Government had received an invitation, sent by the joint Hungarian Government, for Croats to participate in the exhibition in Rome. The "Hungarian pavilion" was to have a separate Croatian section, where all the Croats from the Triune would be able to participate. Pest would arrange it with Vienna not to run afoul of the Croats from Dalmatia, because they, the Hungarians, also believed that the territory belonged under the Crown of Saint Stephen. I laughed off the proposal and said that I wouldn't participate, while I could not speak for others.⁶⁶

The conversation with Amruš spurred Meštrović to write to Belgrade, asking whether the Kingdom of Serbia would have its exhibition pavilion where one could showcase his works "if the Croatian Government will not want or be able to stage a Croatian pavilion."⁶⁷ As early as 31 May

⁶⁵ More on the Association of Croatian Artists "Medulić", see: Sandi Bulimbašić, Društvo hrvatskih umjetnika "Medulić" (1908–1919): umjetnost i politika (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2016).

⁶⁶ Meštrović, *Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje*, 16.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 17.

1910, Stevan Todorović, the president of the Rome Exhibition Committee, informed Ivan Meštrović that his participation was approved, as well as the unrestricted exhibition space, while all the other artists that Meštrović mentioned would have to apply on their own with all the necessary information.⁶⁸ The greatest success was achieved by Ivan Meštrović himself, winning the Grand Prix for Sculpture and participating, as the data extracted from the CAN_IS database show, in all the segments of the exhibition's realization: maintaining correspondence with the members on different committees, cooperating with the architect Petar Bajalović on devising and assembling the exhibition pavilion, undertaking motivational activities in order to prompt the artists to participate in the exhibition, and so on. Of course, the consequences were far-reaching. The success in Rome had also prompted the creation of the entire network of Ivan Meštrović's acquaintances with protagonists from the art and wider intellectual circles. It suffices to point out the prominent individuals such as the sculptor Leonardo Bistolfi, the sculptor Giovanni Prini and his wife Orazia Belpito Prini, Sibilla Aleramo (a famous writer who published a comprehensive article on Meštrović's works in the magazine *Lettura*), the poet Vincenzo Cardarelli, and many others. It would not be deemed impertinent to mention that the real moderator of Meštrović's social life was his wife Ruža who, in part, managed the correspondence due to her knowledge of several world languages. She, for example, exchanged letters with Sibilla Aleramo, who sent her the French translation of her acclaimed novel *A Woman at Bay* (*Una donna*). The first contact with Vittorio Pica, that is, Ivan and Ruža's correspondence with the director of the art journal *Emporium*, prom-

inent art critic and the secretary general of the Venice Biennale, also coincides with the exhibition in Rome. Many of them used to meet at the home of Signorelli family. The home of Olga Resnevic-Signorelli, a physician, writer and translator of Russian origin, and Angelo Signorelli, a distinguished Roman pulmonologist and renowned collector, situated on the ground floor of the Villa Bonaparte on XX Settembre Street, was the centre of artistic and intellectual circles during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁹ Auguste Rodin, cellist Livio Boni, as well as actress Eleonora Duse, and, for example, writer Maksim Gorki, were frequent guests at Signorelli's salon. Meštrović and Ruža encountered them at this interesting Roman social salon, having the opportunity to socialize with them.

After the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Rome and his outstanding success, Ivan Meštrović would solidify his international position by participating in the *Venice Biennale* in 1914. Of course, the arrangements about the solo showroom went directly through Vittorio Pica. It is interesting to look into the correspondence between Pica and Meštrović where, at one point, the secretary of the Venice Biennale expressed his exasperation because Meštrović – probably preoccupied with organizing his participation in various significant exhibitions – did not respond in a timely fashion to his enquiries, although Pica did everything in his power to respect all the artist's wishes. So, in 1913, visibly displeased Pica wrote to Meštrović as follows:

Artists, even when they are good, kind and intelligent as You, are always im-

69 For more, see: Karmen Milačić, *Talijanska pisma Ivanu Meštroviću [Italian Letters to Ivan Meštrović] 1911 – 1921* (Zagreb: Globus, 1987).

possible *enfants terribles*, and often, to gain an enemy, there is nothing worse than, prompted by the burning power of friendship, to give them what they ardently desire. Unfortunately, I had a bitter experience with Anglada and with some other artists, and I would not want the same to happen with my friend Meštrović...⁷⁰

The qualifier “friend” which defines the character of the relationship that Meštrović had with Pica and his wife Ana, whom he portrayed, is especially interesting. In any case, this collaboration turned out to be a success.

In addition to sculptures inspired by folk traditions and idea of Yugoslavism, at the 1914 Venice Biennale, the artist also exhibited the wooden model of the Vidovdan Temple, along with some other works inspired by religious motifs. The poet and prose writer Ettore Cozzani devoted an entire issue of *L'Eroica* magazine to Meštrović and his work, which had a resounding effect in the Italian and European intellectual circles. Due to the archived letters, it is possible to gain insight into the compelling network of Ivan Meštrović's relationships with prominent protagonists from the Italian intellectual milieu at that time. These contacts were largely epistolary in character, but there were also meetings and conversations held outside the confines of written correspondence. Although many of these contacts were prompted by the cultural and artistic context, some of them belong to a more intimate and emotional sphere, in the sense that close friendships had been maintained throughout their lives and passed onto their descendants, for example, the one with the Signorelli family.

On the other hand, Ivan Meštrović's political engagement would gain momentum after

the assassination in Sarajevo and the beginning of the First World War. At the time of the Sarajevo assassination, Meštrović was in Venice. After a short stay in Split, Meštrović went to Italy again to avoid being arrested. Namely, the Austrian authorities had arrested a large number of politically engaged individuals to halt their political activities and circumvent any problems that might have otherwise arisen.

Not only Ivan Meštrović, but also Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo lived abroad, and this immigration enabled political activity. Thus, the historian Norka Machiedo Mladinić points out that: “Ivan Meštrović's first contribution to the assembling of the expats at the beginning of the First World War consisted of encouraging our people to leave their homeland and move to then neutral Italy. Trumbić, Supilo and Meštrović met in Venice. The main focus of their efforts was to achieve the liberation of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs from Austro-Hungary and their unification with Serbia and Montenegro in one country.”⁷¹ Thus, it was at that time that the idea of establishing a political body – the Yugoslav Committee – in charge of carrying out the project of the Yugoslav unification was conceived.⁷² Numerous letters and data from CAN_IS database refer to the work of this entity and its actors, providing a detailed account of the historical-political layer of Meštrović's social network.

It is important to note that not a lot of people from the art circle were as exposed to the public as Ivan Meštrović was. That is why he was such a valuable asset in initiating first contacts and conversations

71 Norka Machiedo Mladinić, “Prilog proučavanju djelovanja Ivana Meštrovića u Jugoslavenskom odboru,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 39, no. 1 (June 2007), 135.

72 The Yugoslav Committee was founded in Paris, on 30 April 1915.

68 Meštrović's Correspondence: Todorović, Stefan, ident. 861 (AAM, Zg, Pup).



III. 3

Exhibition of Serbo-Croatian Artists: Meštrović-Rački-Rosandić, Grafton Galleries, London, 1917 (Ivan Meštrović Museum photo documentation - Galleries Meštrović, Split, FGM-640, courtesy Ivan Meštrović Museum)

with various political entities and delegations. For example, due to his connections, Meštrović was able to reach the Serbian emissary in Rome, Ljubomir Mihajlović, and inform him about the intention to establish the organization of Yugoslav expats. Consequently, via Mihajlović, the trio Supilo-Trumbić-Meštrović were granted an audience with the French (Camille Barrère), English (Sir James Rennell Rodd) and Russian (Anatolij Nikolajevič Krupenski) emissaries to Rome, at the end September, in 1914.⁷³ They delegated the plan of the South Slavic unification to their respective governments. However, their work could not continue in Italy due to the Italian territorial pretensions aimed towards the east coast of the Adriatic, so they relocated it to London, the centre of Allied diplomacy. In London, there was only a handful of cultural workers and intellectuals familiar with the programme: Robert Seton-Watson (a scholar in Slavic studies and Ivan Meštrović's close friend, who was portrayed by the artist and gifted some of his works), Wickham Steed (editor of the Foreign Policy section in *The Times*, also portrayed by Ivan Meštrović) and Arthur Evans (a renowned archaeologist who was a great admirer of Ivan Meštrović's work).

One way or the other, the point of direct contact between the political and the artistic engagement were Meštrović's exhibitions held primarily in London, during the First World War. The first one was held in the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1915 and had strong political implications affirming the Anti-Austrian sentiment embodied through the staging of the Kosovo Cycle and displaying the model of the Vidovdan Temple.⁷⁴

⁷³ Machiedo Mladinić, "Prilog proučavanju djelovanja Ivana Meštrovića u Jugoslavenskom odboru", 135-36.

⁷⁴ For a comprehensive analysis of Meštrović's exhibition in the Victoria

The second exhibition was organized in the famous Grafton Galleries, which was also marked by a pronounced political stigma but without an explicitly political narrative footing, because the artist did not display his, so-called, Heroic Cycle but works inspired by religious themes and portraits that he made in London (III. 3).

Both exhibits are very interesting because they attest to the extremely wide social circle that Ivan Meštrović established in the UK at the time.⁷⁵ His stay in the UK had resulted in the relationships forged with some of the most prominent cultural and social protagonists. The solo-exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London had ensured Ivan Meštrović a prestigious position in English society. The artist made a number of acquaintances and social connections with high-profile individuals in London, whom he often portrayed. He made portraits of Lady Maud Cunard and Sir Thomas Beecham, who were associated with the avant-garde theatre, in particular, with Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*. He also made a portrait of Eugenie Errázuriz, who was colloquially known as "Picasso's Other Mother", thus succeeding Gertrude Stein. Furthermore, he made a portrait of Tony Gandarillas, a controversial diplomat, and his wife Juana Edwards. Tony Gandarillas was the nephew

& Albert Museum and its reception, see: Elizabeth Clegg, "Meštrović, England and the Great War," *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 144 (December 2002), 740-51; and Dalibor Prančević, "Odjek Ivana Meštrovića u Velikoj Britaniji nakon izložbe u Victoria & Albert Museum," in *Zbornik II. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2007), 395-403.

⁷⁵ More on the exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London, see: Dalibor Prančević, "Sculpture by Ivan Meštrović at the Grafton Galleries in 1917: critical and social contexts," *Sculpture Journal* 25, no. 2 (2016), 177-192.

of Eugenie Errazuriz and also associated with the avant-garde circle of artists in Paris and London. Meštrović was greatly aided by his wife Ruža in these social interactions.

RUŽA MEŠTROVIĆ AND HER SOCIAL CAPITAL

Of course, there is a strong network connection between the two spouses, the one that is not based solely on emotional grounds, but one that is also social, because it is evident that Ruža occupies a prominent position in the articulation of Meštrović's social contacts. We should take note of one anecdote which attests to Ruža Meštrović's remarkable resourcefulness and social competence, the kind that promotes dialogue on equal terms and balances out the differences that arise from one's social status or public recognition, but also to her youthful vehemence.

When Ruža and Ivan first went to meet Rodin, he returned the business card on a plate with 5 francs, because he thought that the young sculptor had come to ask him for something. Ruža found her bearings and return 10 francs to Rodin.⁷⁶

Although, in the beginning, a large part of Ruža Meštrović's social network was defined by the artistic and social status of her husband and the general interest in his fine artworks that would soon change. Namely, Ruža was also engaged in creative artwork, producing a number of sculptural portraits at the time, and could discuss at length not only art in general but also the methodology of the sculpting process. For example, she portrayed her

76 Vesna Barbić's record of the conversation with Tvrtko Meštrović (1925–1961), Ivan Meštrović's eldest son. See: University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556, Ivan Meštrović Papers, 1924–1962.

husband's correspondents, such as the writers Ivo Ćipiko and Vice Iljadica. She could, therefore, be a very interesting conversationalist to various participants in the social sphere. Ruža would soon begin to make her own social connections from which arose her own social ego network and social capital.

In visualizing Ivan and Ruža Meštrović's contacts, it is evident that some names are only connected to Ruža. For instance, especially interesting are her hitherto unexplored contacts with the protagonists from the activist and suffragist enclaves. In that regard, we should mention Evelina Haverfield, who often took part in the suffragette protests. During the First World War, Evelina participated in the women's humanitarian aid and relief efforts in Serbia, and closely cooperated with the Scottish suffragette and renowned doctor Elsie Inglis, spending some time with her in Serbia. Tellingly, Ivan Meštrović made a posthumous portrait of Elsie Inglis in 1918. Ruža Meštrović's personal network became notably emancipated through her engagement in humanitarian activities, for example, via a charity tea party, that is, a concert that she organized in London in early 1916. It was a multifaceted event with the aim to present the richness of the cultural life and folk traditions, predominantly related to Serbia, for which voluntary donations were collected. Similar humanitarian events were also organized in Rome, for example in Villa Medici in November 1914, with Ivan Meštrović illustrating the programme's cover.⁷⁷

Many high-profile protagonists from London's social life participated in preparing and promoting Ruža's event in London. For example, Lady Helen Primrose wrote in high praise of the event's organization and sent the money she, herself, raised from ticket sales.⁷⁸ The initiative of the writer and

77 Milačić, *Talijanska pisma Ivanu Meštroviću*, 6.

78 Meštrović's Correspondence: Primrose,

the artist Muirhead Bone's wife, Gertrude Bone, who had just completed one of her children's books, and who wrote to Ruža Meštrović how she would gladly donate the book's profits to helping Serbian children, can be examined within the same contextual framework.⁷⁹ Alice S. Green also offered to help with the ticket sales and donated to the cause.⁸⁰ Based on the archived letters, it is obvious that Ruža Meštrović put in a lot of effort in organizing this charitable event thus inviting the famous Vivian Edwards to perform her solos and recitals.⁸¹ However, Edwards was unable to participate due to her health, but expressed hopes that, despite everything, she would be able to visit Ruža's "Serbian Tea Room". Based on the archived correspondence, it is evident that Vivian Edwards was on good terms with Ivan Meštrović and Dimitrije Mitrinović. Furthermore, Ruža's cooperation with Ananda Coomaraswamy, the cultural worker who ardently advocated for the reception of Indian culture and art in the West, is particularly interesting.⁸² He was friends with prominent artists of the time, such as sculptors Jacob Epstein and Eric Gill, as well as many others. He was also friends with the Countess Sybil of Rocksavage, to whom Ruža sent an invite to the concert. Coomaraswamy's participation in the whole event was undoubtedly important because he sent Ruža the draft of the programme for corrections. He noted that, upon printing the programmes, Ruža should make a list of addresses where the programme was to

Helen, ident. 707 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

79 Meštrović's Correspondence: Bone, Gertrude, ident. 137 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

80 Meštrović's Correspondence: Green, Alice, ident. 338 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

81 Meštrović's Correspondence: Edwards, Vivian, ident. 270 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

82 Meštrović's Correspondence: Coomaraswamy, Ananda, ident. 205 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

be delivered, that is, that the printing bill was to be sent directly to him.

Indeed, this was just one of the event that contributed to the spreading of Ruža Meštrović's ego network, as attested by the data from the CAN_IS database and the accompanying visualizations. In addition, Ruža and Ivan were invited to social gatherings by many prominent hostesses of social salons in London, such as Lady Maud Cunard, Baroness Gladys Swaythling, Clara C. Bergheim (who was connected with the pianist Arthur Rubinstein and the violinist Eugene Ysaÿe), and many others.

The data collected in the CAN_IS database – focusing on the correspondence dated between 1915 and the first half of the 1916 – and the accompanying visualization tools, make it possible to discern the value of social capital wielded by Ivan and Ruža Meštrović, but also the physiognomy of Ruža's distinct network that would become increasingly emancipated in the years to come. Ruža mobilized that network, in its full capacity, when she started living alone, after a severe marriage crisis and divorce that ensued in the mid-1920s.

IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ AND THE SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF HIS CRITICAL FORTUNE

Ivan Meštrović is one of the few artists from this region whose presence on the European art and the cultural scene, in general, was particularly noted. The various contextual frameworks in which he embedded his art, especially the political one, articulated just before and during World War I, contributed to this public standing. At this point, we should also mention the importance of large exhibition projects, organized in European cities, in which he participated – either individually, or collectively. Even in those cases where he exhibited his work alongside other artists, his

dominance was without question, as can be seen in the written reviews and critiques that followed these exhibitions. We should thereby focus on several exhibition projects by Ivan Meštrović, within the given timeframe, and which proved to be important geographical markers and platforms around which the written reviews and newspaper articles about the author revolved: Vienna (XXXV Exhibition of the Vienna Secession, 1910), Zagreb (Meštrović-Rački, 1910, and Despite the Unheroic Times, 1910), Rome (the International Fine Arts Exhibition, 1911), Venice (Biennale, 1914), London (Solo-exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1915, and Exhibition of Serbo-Croatian Artists: Meštrović, Rački, Rosandić in the Grafton Galleries, 1917). Based on the cities where these exhibitions were articulated, it is clear that Meštrović's immediate point of interest was the Old Continent. Despite the fact that this part of the world was going through an extremely difficult period of geopolitical reconfigurations, accompanied by numerous human and material losses, demanding "sculpture" exhibitions – marked by Meštrović's conspicuous activist nerve – were still being held. This political nerve, already affirmed in Vienna, albeit in a somewhat contained form, became clearly articulated in Rome, and finally in London, as it became completely attuned with the artist's participation in the Yugoslav Committee.

Thus far, there were no attempts to use quantitative data analysis for examining Ivan Meštrović's specific period of life, or his life in its entirety, nor was there an attempt made to analyse his reception through such a prism (Table1). Therefore, 1500 bibliographic units, which include various published materials that contributed to the dissemination of news about Ivan Meštrović and his art during the 1910s, were gathered in one place. Among such mate-

rials are exhibition catalogues, pamphlets, and expert texts in specialized magazines, published books, or book chapters, critical articles and reviews in daily, weekly, bi-weekly and monthly journals.

Place	Account for 1910-11	Account for 1912-15	Account for 1916-20
Zagreb	220	75	126
Belgrade	69	43	20
Split	63	28	45
Zadar	40	24	5
Vienna	22	2	3
Rome	16	5	1
Novi Sad	12	1	2
Rijeka	11	4	/
Dubrovnik	10	4	1
Sremski Karlovci	8	3	/
London	5	64	58
Prague	5	3	/
Sarajevo	5	5	3
Leipzig	4	/	/
Milan	4	1	/
Saint Petersburg	3	/	/
Ljubljana	3	2	4
Munich	3	2	2
Osijek	2	1	5
Bergamo	2	3	/
Darmstadt	2	/	/
Paris	1	1	21
Nuremberg	1	/	/
Florence	1	/	/
Turin	1	/	/
Stuttgart	1	/	/
Leskovac	1	/	/
Cetinje	1	/	/
Warsaw	1	/	/
Nova Gorica	1	/	/
Leeds	/	13	6
New York	/	12	9
Manchester	/	7	1
Punta Arenas	/	6	1
Buenos Aires	/	5	17
Glasgow	/	4	4

Place	Account for 1910-11	Account for 1912-15	Account for 1916-20
Boston	/	3	/
Šibenik	/	2	/
Venice	/	2	/
La Spezia	/	2	/
Amsterdam	/	2	4
Nova Gradiška	/	2	1
Vinkovci	/	1	/
Duluth	/	1	/
Trieste	/	1	2
Varaždin	/	1	/
Berlin	/	1	/
Kolkata	/	1	/
Aberdeen	/	1	/
Cape Town	/	1	/
Graz	/	1	/
Nottingham	/	1	/
Liverpool	/	1	/
Budapest	/	1	/
Rotterdam	/	1	3
Madrid	/	/	4
Geneva	/	/	4
Brighton	/	/	4
Bradford	/	/	3
Oruro - Bolivia	/	/	2
Odessa	/	/	1
Valparaiso	/	/	1
Thessaloniki	/	/	1
Cambridge	/	/	1
Edinburgh	/	/	1
Chicago	/	/	1
Melbourne	/	/	1
Bizerta	/	/	1
Moscow	/	/	1
Vršac	/	/	1
Sussex	/	/	1
Marseille	/	/	1
Maribor	/	/	1
Subotica	/	/	1

Table 1. Number of articles on Ivan Meštrović published between 1910 and 1920, and ordered according to the location of the source publication

Several data sources were crucial in conducting the analysis. First of all, an important source was the *Grada za bibliografiju Ivana Meštrovića od 1899. do 1993*. [Ivan Meštrović's bibliography materials from 1888 to 1933], which holds an extremely high number of the processed bibliographic units.⁸³ However, as valuable as that bibliographic unit is, it is by no means sufficient for conducting a more comprehensive analysis. Therefore, it needed to be complemented by materials collected during several years of fieldwork and research in numerous cities, such as London, Leeds, Los Angeles, Prague, Venice, Rome, Zagreb, and Belgrade.⁸⁴ A six-month stay in the USA and research in their archives and museum institutions, as well as public libraries, must also be added to the list.⁸⁵ The newly collected bibliographic units, with the focus on the 1910–1920 period under scrutiny, significantly expanded the list

83 Jasna Ivančić and Sanja Kreković-Štefanović, eds., *Grada za bibliografiju Ivana Meštrovića od 1899. do 1993*. (Zagreb: Fundacija Ivana Meštrovića, Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1993).

84 Archival materials used in this research are stored in the following institutions: Henry Moore Archive, Leeds, Malvina Hoffman Archive, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, National Art Library Archive, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee, Venice, Archivio Signorelli, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, National Gallery, Prague, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Rome, Archive of Fine Arts – HAZU, Zagreb.

85 Fulbright Scholar Programme: Dalibor Prančević, "Ivan Meštrović and the Anglophone Cultures (Example of Cross-cutting of Various Cultural, Historic and Artistic Experiences", February – July 2018 (Syracuse University).

of texts published about Ivan Meštrović's artistic activities, as well as about his life. Furthermore, Duško Kečkmet's unpublished manuscript, *Ivan Meštrović: Bibliografija*, was used as an important source which contributed greatly to this analysis.⁸⁶ However, the aim of this analysis is not to provide an exhaustive interpretation of Ivan Meštrović's individual exhibition projects. Rather, it is to take note of and try to interpret certain interesting moments found through the application of procedures that differ from the traditionally established procedures in art history practice. This includes the use of digital tools which can set in motion an inert assembly of data to recognize new discourse platforms which enable us to examine one artist's oeuvre or life trajectory.

For instance, it is interesting to examine where the largest frequency of texts on Ivan Meštrović, during 1910 and 1911, can be noted (Map. 1): Zagreb (220), Belgrade (69), Split (63) and Zadar (40). Unsurprisingly, Zagreb takes precedence, since there were two exhibitions held in that city in 1910, where Ivan Meštrović became synonymous with artistic-political expression. Regardless, the numbers related solely to his name are truly impressive, which speaks volumes about the propulsive nature of the artist who, at that time, had not even turned thirty. His artistic talent was unquestionable, which can be attested by the fact that he had already exhibited his work in important exhibitions, and received positive reviews. Even Auguste Rodin, himself, spoke highly of him.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, all of

this cannot be examined separately from the socio-political configurations present during the 1910s, in the period of consolidating the "New Course" policy, that is, the political programme whose primary goal was to improve the constitutional status of Croatian territories within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, i.e., their unification (Banovina of Croatia and Dalmatia). This policy was promoted by Ante Trumbić, Frano Supilo, and Pero Čingrija, all of whom Meštrović knew personally, maintained correspondence with (especially later on), and even made portraits of some of them. That policy, through the adoption of two documents, the Zadar and Rijeka Resolutions, enacted the prerogative of forming a Croatian-Serbian alliance, that is, the founding of the Coalition in 1906 – at first with Supilo at the head, and after he stepped down, with Svetozar Pribičević. All of these names are present in Meštrović's correspondence, and they constitute important elements of his later "political" networking. The conversion of the data into a digital medium, and its processing, in fact, point to the overlapping of the crucial locations of Meštrović's critical fortune with locations of important political activities, with the ramifications thereof becoming most pronounced during the 1910s: Zagreb-Belgrade-Split-Zadar.

Nevertheless, the appearance of Saint Petersburg on the map of Meštrović's reception during these early years is definitely surprising. It should be mentioned that the number of published texts is not large, but it is more than sufficient to raise the question of Ivan Meštrović's presence within the artistic discourse of that city, but also Russia in general. Most of the texts refer to Meštro-

Zagrebu, eds. Jasminka Poklečki Stošić and Barbara Vujanović (Zagreb: Umjetnički paviljon, Muzeji Ivana Meštrovića, 2015), 60–84.

86 Duško Kečkmet, *Ivan Meštrović: Bibliografija 1899 –2002* (Split: Filozofski fakultet u Splitu, Duško Kečkmet, forthcoming).

87 See more in: Barbara Vujanović, "Doticaji umjetnika: Auguste Rodin i Ivan Meštrović," in *Rodin u Meštrovićeveu*



Map 1.
Spatial distribution of articles on Ivan Meštrović published in 1910 and 1911
(data processed using Tableau software)



Map 2

Spatial distribution of articles on Ivan Meštrović published between 1912 and 1915

(data processed using Tableau software)

Map 3

Spatial distribution of articles on Ivan Meštrović published between 1916 and 1920

(data processed using Tableau software)

vić's success at the Rome exhibition.⁸⁸ It is especially interesting that one of the texts was written by Alexandre Nikolayevich Benois, Russian artist and art critic known for his close collaboration with Sergei Diaghilev. The domestic public also took notice of that text and the "Russian opinion" on Meštrović.⁸⁹ Indeed, Ivan Meštrović's connections with the Russian cultural circle of that time have not been particularly noted up to this point. A digital map, of sorts, raises the question on the possibility to analyse and reconstruct these connections, while this text will later provide a "rough" sketch of their possible physiognomy. The following two maps clearly show the dissemination of information on Meštrović's work and his engagement as a sculptor, after successful exhibitions in Europe (Map 2 and Map 3). After his successful London exhibition, he also toured other British cities, thus frequent written mentions of the artist were to be expected in the British cultural circle. However, it is relatively surprising that there is a certain number of texts from South America that also referred to the artist. It is intriguing that Meštrović also received letters from South America, primarily due to the economically motivated immigration wave from Croatia, starting at the end of the 19th century, but also due to the more recent immigration waves. Immigrant communities disseminated information about cultural events and political initiatives, especially about the work of the Yugoslav Committee.

88 Yakov Tugehhol'd, "O Meštrovićevim djelima na Rimskoj izložbi," *Apollon* (1911); Alexandre Nikolajevič Benois, "O Meštroviću povodom Međunarodne izložbe u Rimu", *Ryech* (1911).

89 "Rus o Meštroviću", *Srbobran*, 4 April 1911; "Ruski sud o Meštroviću", *Brankovo kolo*, 13 October 1911; "Ruski glas o Meštroviću", *Narodni list*, 9 September 1911.

For example, in Argentina, the magazine *Jadran* was launched in Buenos Aires, and it published texts about Meštrović and his European exhibitions. The texts were written by Meštrović himself, his friend and English critic, James Bone, and the prominent members of the Yugoslav Committee, Josip Jedlowsky, Ljubo Leontić, and Marjan Marjanović. Naturally, this geographic distribution of critical texts is also accompanied by the respective Meštrović's correspondence. For example, whereas Ljubo Leontić wrote very favourably to Meštrović about his life in South America – Antofagasta in Chile, and Buenos Aires in Argentina – expressing his opinions on the Yugoslav question and the work of the Committee, Marjanović was not overly satisfied with his stay in Valparaíso in Chile, where he lived in 1918.⁹⁰

Furthermore, the maps show that Meštrović's success was recorded even in India, namely, Kolkata. The direct connections between the artist and India have not yet been established – at least not in that period – but certain individuals linked to Meštrović were in direct contact with the Indian cultural milieu. In that regard, we should mention Ananda Coomaraswamy, whose efforts in promoting Indian art might have had a certain morphological effect on Meštrović's art in 1917 or 1918, which definitely requires further study and comparative analysis. Also worth mentioning is Abdullah Yusuf Ali, from Bombay by birth and part of the Islamic tradition, who published a booklet on Meštrović's art in London, in 1916, and who exchanged correspondence with and even met with the artist in London and Paris.

Therefore, such a geographical dispersion of texts about Meštrović, and their visualization, actually prompt the need to reconstruct Meštrović's presence in certain cul-

90 Meštrović's Correspondence: Leontić, Ljubo, ident. 508 and Marjanović, Milan, ident. 542 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

tures or continents, which, in large part, has not yet been addressed or emphasized in the interpretations of the artist's work or life. This also applies to the African continent, where certain texts were also published, but which cannot be further explicated at this point. However, with additional insights into the issue of the modernist heritage in Africa, this predicament is sure to change.

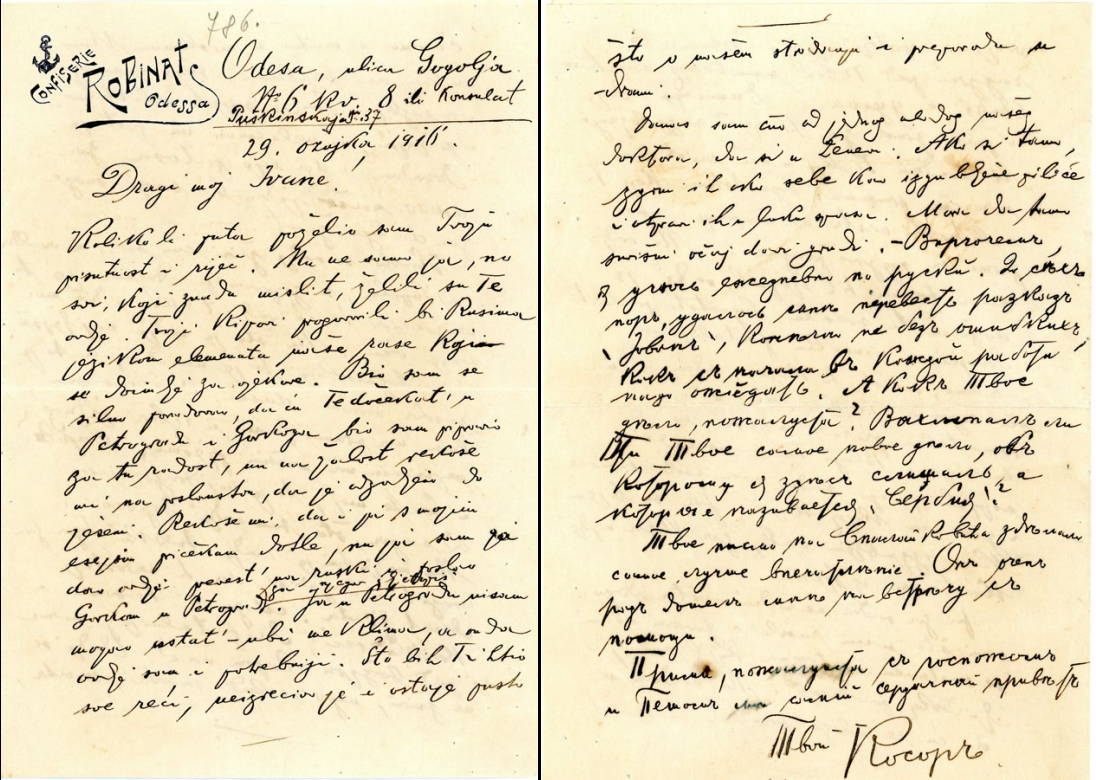
UNREALISED EXHIBITIONS
IN RUSSIA AND AMERICA

The data on the reception of Ivan Meštrović's work in Russia, i.e., Saint Petersburg, were noted as early as 1911, and result from Meštrović's intense exhibition activities and success at the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Rome. The connections with Russian culture are not one-sided, and they were most certainly mediated by Signorelli's social salon in Rome because Olga was of Russian origin and many important cultural protagonists from Russia gathered in her Salon. Furthermore, it is important to mention Meštrović's exchange of letters with writer and journalist, Alexander Amfiteatrov, who had connections with Saint Petersburg and Sergei Diaghilev. However, the initiative for organizing an exhibition in Saint Petersburg was undertaken at a somewhat later date in 1916. We should also mention a very interesting letter which was sent to Meštrović from Odessa, on 29 March 1916, by writer Josip Kosor (Ill. 4).⁹¹ Kosor had been truly excited that he would see Meštrović at the exhibition in Saint Petersburg, and he informed Maksim Gorki of that occasion, so he expressed regret over postponing the exhibition till autumn. As he notes, he was asked to put off the publishing of his essay until the beginning of autumn

91 Meštrović's Correspondence: letter from Josip Kosor to Ivan Meštrović, ident. 461 A1 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

when the exhibition would open. However, he already had the text translated into Russian and sent it to Gorki in Saint Petersburg for his chronicle. Kosor wrote to Meštrović that the ambassador of the Kingdom of Serbia in Russia, Miroslav Spalajković, would certainly support Meštrović's exhibition and help in its realization. Meštrović would soon receive a letter from university professor Pavle Popović, a renowned philologist and a politically active member of the Yugoslav Committee, urging him to cancel the exhibition in Russia, and reorient to Paris, due to financial obstacles.⁹² This turn of events cannot really be explained by one specific event, but it might have resulted from a discussion that certain political protagonists had in relation to the question of the South Slavic unification, which certain individuals in Russia did not support.⁹³ On 15 June 1916, Miroslav Spalajković sent an official telegraph to Meštrović, informing the artist that the committee in Saint Petersburg can only provide moral and not financial support for his exhibition. He furthermore suggested that the organisation of the exhibition be funded by the Yugoslav Committee or the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia.⁹⁴ During May 1916, Ivan Meštrović sent letters to Ante Trumbić, inquiring about the exhibition.⁹⁵ Namely, he made all the necessary arrangements for the transport of the artworks, and it was his intention to also send new artworks, religious in character, which he created in Geneva. He pointed out that

92 Meštrović's Correspondence: Popović, Pavle, ident. 698 (AAM, Zg, Pup).
93 Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 39–40.
94 Meštrović's Correspondence: Spalajković, Miroslav, ident. 799 (AAM, Zg, Pup).
95 Meštrović's Correspondence: Trumbić, Ante, ident. 868 (AAM, Zg, Pup).



Ill. 4
The letter of Josip Kosor to Ivan Meštrović, Odessa, dated 29 March, 1916. (Letter from the Correspondence collection of Atelier Meštrović Archives, Zagreb; ident. 461 A1, courtesy of Mate Meštrović)

he only expected that which the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia, Nikola Pašić, instructed to be done. In a letter sent at the end of May, he broached the issue of insurance, without which the artworks could not be transported, so it was necessary to issue an order from Saint Petersburg demanding procurement of the insurance either via the Russian or Serbian embassy. He also wrote to Milenko Vesnić, ambassador of the Kingdom of Serbia in Paris, concerning this issue, asking him to get in touch with Spalajković. In June he also sent letters to Trumbić, asking for urgent action. In the letters sent to him at the end of June, Ante Trumbić mentioned that both Pašić and Vesnić, with whom he personally discussed the exhibition in Russia, were very positively inclined.⁹⁶ However, on 5 August 1916, in a letter Trumbić sent to Meštrović, it is obvious that he was taken aback by the changes which had perspired in Saint Petersburg, and advised Meštrović to write to Pašić as soon as possible, and to inquire about further actions regarding the exhibition.⁹⁷ Organising an exhibition without political implications and support was unfeasible, but since the support had been overdue, even the information on the initiative to stage an exhibition of Meštrović's works in Saint Petersburg eventually dissipated. It was important to present this information to demonstrate Meštrović's aptitude in discussions with politicians about organising an exhibition as a cultural and political project. However, as one initiative was discontinued, another gained momentum: the affirmation of Ivan Meštrović in America. It a well-known fact that the initiative to stage Meštrović's exhibition in America was set off by his great success at the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Rome, 1911, and primarily prompted by Cornelia

96 Ibid.

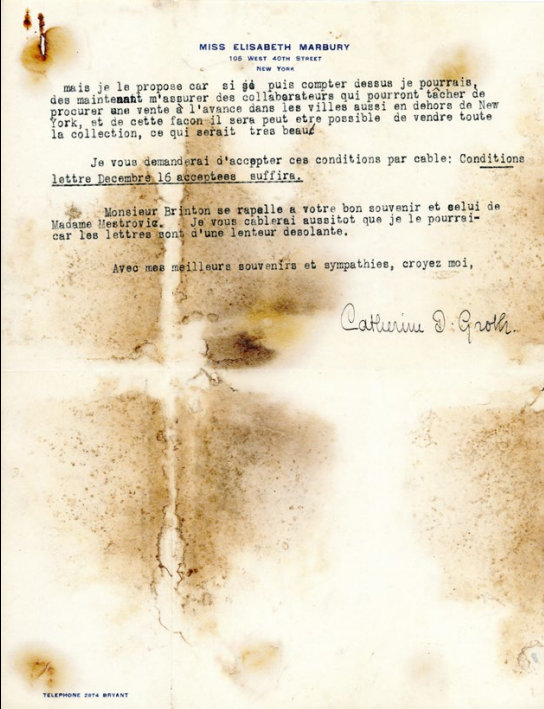
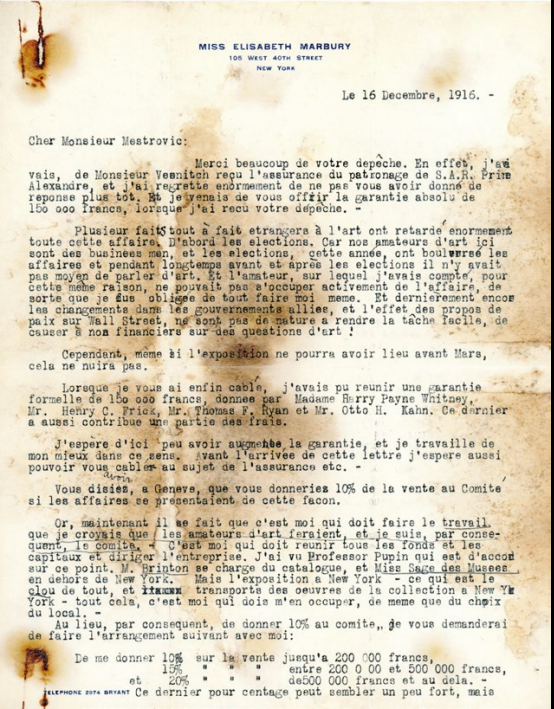
97 Ibid.

Sage-Quinton, the director of the Buffalo Fine Art Academy – Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo. Furthermore, it is indicative that on 30 June that same year, Christian Brinton – who would conceive and curate the exhibition in the Brooklyn Museum in New York in 1924 – sent Meštrović a letter, because he saw some of his works in Europe, giving special praise to the works exhibited in Munich, at the International Munich Secession Exhibition.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Cornelia's interest in organising Meštrović's solo-exhibition would again be evinced after Meštrović's very successful exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. The preparations were in advanced stages, and a committee was even founded, but due to the war and precarious transport routes, the artworks prepared for transport from Liverpool were returned to London, to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they remained until the end of the war.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, in the visualized connections in Ivan and Ruža Meštrović's social network, two individuals come to the fore. Their names were largely unknown in the earlier studies of Meštrović's oeuvre, but they were obviously involved in the initiative of preparing the American exhibition: Sophie Magelssen Groth and her daughter Catherine D. Groth.¹⁰⁰ During 1916, Sophie sent several letters to Ruža Meštrović, writing about her stay on the French Riviera, namely, Cannes, but also about Meštrović's exhibition in America, pointing out that her daughter

98 Meštrović's Correspondence: Brinton, Christian, ident. 152 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

99 See, Dalibor Prančević, Ivan Meštrović i kultura modernizma: ekspresionizam i art déco (Split: Filozofski fakultet u Splitu, Muzeji Ivana Meštrovića, 2017), 323–327.

100 Meštrović's Correspondence: Magelssen Groth, Sophie, ident. 346 i Groth, Catherine D., ident. 345 (AAM, Zg, Pup).



III. 5

The letter of Catherine D. Groth to Ivan Meštrović, New York, dated 16 December, 1916. Letter from the Correspondence collection of Atelier Meštrović Archives, Zagreb, ident. 345 A7, courtesy of Mate Meštrović)

was an exceptionally successful manager who could bring Meštrović not only moral but also material success in America. This exhibition was a collaborative project on a higher political level as well. Namely, at the beginning of November, Milenko Vesnić sent a telegram to Groth from Paris, informing her that the prince regent, Alexander Karađorđević, agreed to be the patron of the exhibition. Groth informed Meštrović about this, providing a lot of interesting information in the letter sent on 16 December 1916 (Ill. 5).¹⁰¹ Namely, Christian Brinton was mentioned in the letter as the person in charge of the catalogue, and Cornelia Sage for museums outside New York. Also of interest is the naming of prominent New York cultural figures who promised initial financial support. Among those mentioned was the wife of Harry Payne Whitney, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, a well-known patron of the arts and a sculptor herself, future founder of the famous New York museum, Henry Clay Frick, an industrialist, patron of the arts, and future founder of the Frick Collection in New York, Thomas Fortune Ryan, industrialist and businessman, and Otto Hermann Khan, a banker, philanthropist and patron of the arts. Of course, the key figure was the scientist Mihajlo Pupin. However, the war and the precarious transport conditions interrupted the organisation of the exhibition and it was postponed until it was finally scrapped. Throughout the correspondence, it is interesting to take note of Catherine D. Groth's resolute business attitude, since Meštrović's former associates had certain complaints about her, especially Božo Banac, who was in charge of the transport of the artworks.¹⁰² This is made

clear in the letters he sent to the sculptor, where he commented, among other things, that the names Groth mentioned were truly the wealthiest people in New York, but that he should be wary because she would demand a hefty percentage. It seems that things got more complicated over the following months, leading Milan Ćurčin to write to Ivan Meštrović on 5 March 1917, saying he did not think that there was any conspiracy on the part of Groth, since she still wanted to manage the entire project, but that it was obvious that she was also, naturally, working in her own favour.¹⁰³ He stated that she actually perceived everything as a business arrangement. Shortly afterwards, in March, all the packaged artworks were returned to London, supposedly because trans-Atlantic ships were in danger of being torpedoed. Looking at the geographic distribution maps of texts about Ivan Meštrović, it is interesting to note his gravitation towards the western hemisphere, which would, in a way, ensure his affirmation in America in the following period, attested by his solo-exhibitions held – first in the Brooklyn Museum, and then in other American cities – and the fact that he was commissioned to create a sculpture of the Equestrian Indians by the city of Chicago. On these occasions, Cornelia Sage and Malvina Hoffman proved to be very apt “managers”. It is especially interesting to note that women were the ones who undertook much of the initiative and activity in organizing Meštrović's exhibitions in America, as well as in his promotion in that cultural space.

101 Meštrović's Correspondence: letter from Catherine D. Groth to Ivan Meštrović, ident. 345 A7 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

102 Meštrović's Correspondence: Banac, Božo, ident. 94 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

103 Meštrović's Correspondence: Ćurčin, Milan, ident. 234 (AAM, Zg, Pup).

Active between 1928 and 1959, the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM – *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*) was a leading forum on modern architecture and urbanism, playing a key role in their affirmation and dissemination both before and after the Second World War. Over the course of ten thematically focused congresses, several executive committee and council sessions, and numerous meetings, CIAM evolved as an extensive international network of architects. The logic of its organisation combined two opposing models, which were typical for architecture and fine arts of the 19th and 20th century – a model of artistic/architectural groups that were founded on ideologically and formally close standpoints, and a model of professional association. Whereas the first model of organisation is often based on informal, non-hierarchical relations, the second model is often characterised by a centralised decision-making process. As we argue in this paper, the frictions of these essentially different organisational concepts, are one of the main causes of discursive ruptures that lie behind the turbulent evolution and finally the end of CIAM. Although gathered around a common idea of modern architecture, CIAM members did not have the possibility of independent creative action and expression of personal stances, nor any real opportunity to participate in the overall decision-making. Aspiring to overcome academism and secure a predominant position of new architecture within an official public discourse, CIAM followed a strictly defined hierarchical structure, similar to the organisation of professional associations.

The second, not less significant reason of discursive ruptures were the differences in the understanding of architecture's social role and the associated political

views of CIAM's members.¹⁰⁴ From the perspective of groups close to the left political spectrum, the role of architecture surpassed the technical and formal aspects of the profession and delved into the domain of social and political action. This view was opposed to the idea of architecture as a technical discipline with no predefined ideological position, which can easily align with different political standpoints.¹⁰⁵ Ideological conflicts were also the conflicts between generations that were advocating different models of CIAM's organisation and action. Therefore, there was the “revolutionary youth” yearning for democracy on one side, and older generation prone to opportunism on the other. The latter primarily refers to Le Corbusier, CIAM's secretary Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius, who were in favour of an autocratic type of management of CIAM.

Despite different standpoints and frequent conflicts, CIAM was perceived as a monolithic organisation. Along with Le Corbusier, its co-founder and ideologist, CIAM became the synonym of modern architecture rooted in the canonical concepts of “a functional city” and “five points of modern architecture”. As pointed out by Kenneth Frampton, the image of CIAM began to be perceived differently because of the research and publications

¹⁰⁴ They belonged to different political orientations – radical left, centre and right. While the Nazis were the opponents of Neues Bauen, which was deemed a communist and Jewish creation, the Italian group was in its favour.

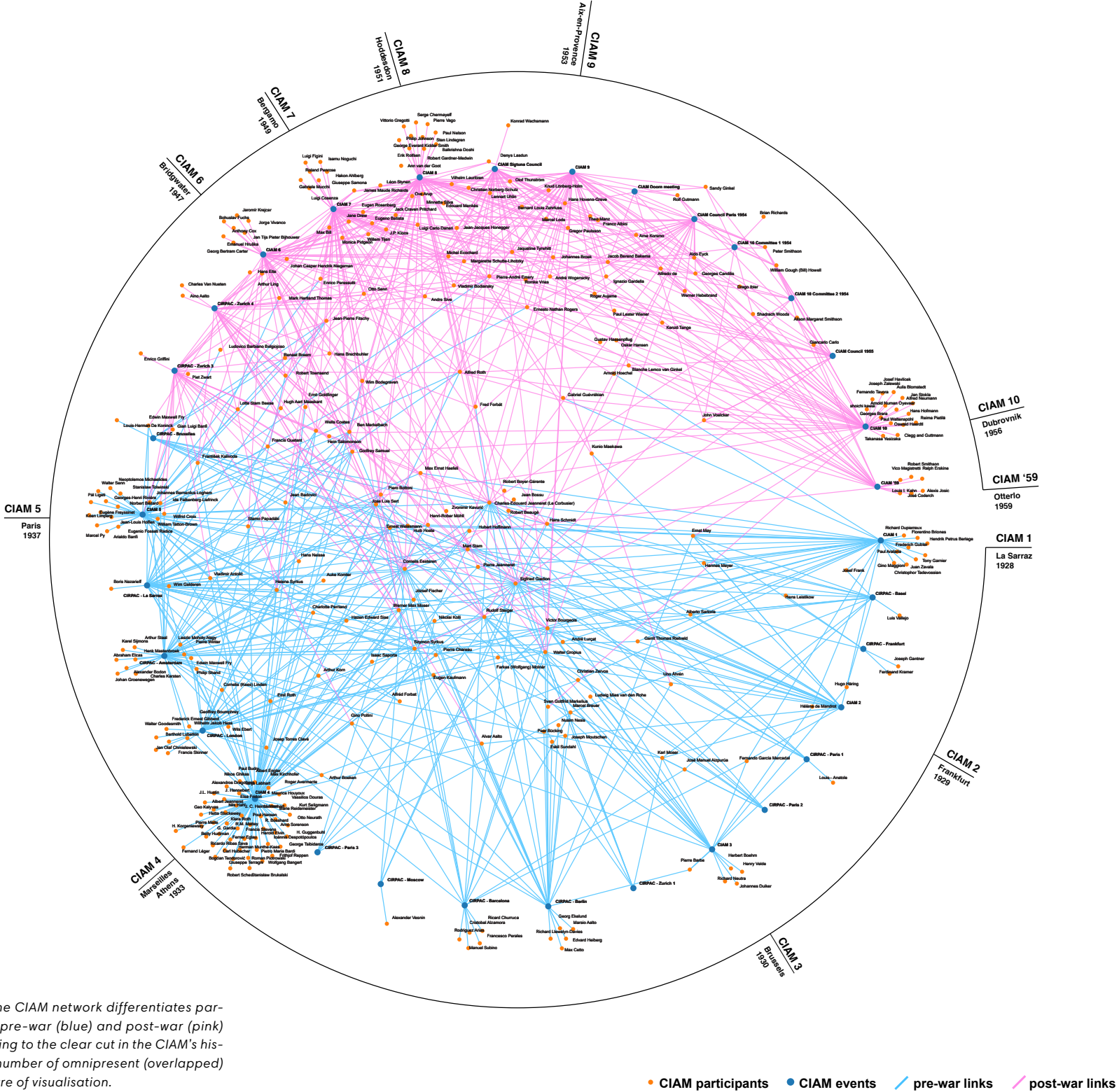
¹⁰⁵ The positions assumed significantly affected the approach to planning, building and design. The subject of controversy was the level of typifying, standardisation and prefabrication. Whilst the first group saw these as tools, the other understood them as a necessity.

by Ulrich Conrads and Eric Mumford, the author of the first comprehensive overview of CIAM's work, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, which provided an insight into all its congresses, working bodies and participants.¹⁰⁶ This book provides an insight into the role of each member of CIAM in the tailoring of its history and thus – directly or indirectly – in the tailoring of the history of architecture and urban planning of the 20th century. In order to get a comprehensive view of the pre-war history of CIAM, it is equally important to look at the research undertaken within the project *Atlas of the Functional City: CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* and to explore the research on Cornelis van Eesteren carried out by Kees Somer, while for the history of Team 10, Alison Smithson's *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984* and the study of a group of authors *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981* were crucial.¹⁰⁷ Based on the abovementioned sources, as well as on the research of archival materials from the Institut für Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur (gta) ETH in Zürich, the Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris and Het Nieuwe

106 Foreword by Kenneth Frampton in: Eric Mumford: *The CIAM discourse on urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

107 Kees Somer: *The Functional City. The CIAM and Cornelis van Eesteren, 1928-1960* (Rotterdam: nai010 publishers, 2007); Evelin van Es et al., eds., *Atlas of Functional City. CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Zürich & Bussum: gta Verlag & Uitgeverij THOTH, 2014); Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984* (Delft: Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, 1991); Max Risselada & Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981* (Rotterdam: nai010 publishers, 2006).

Fig. 1. Visualisation of the CIAM network differentiates participation on the pre-war (blue) and post-war (pink) congresses, pointing to the clear cut in the CIAM's history, as well as a number of omnipresent (overlapped) figures in the centre of visualisation.



Instituut in Rotterdam, this paper will for the first time show and analyse CIAM as a social network. The aim of this approach is to trace formation and transformation of left tendencies within the overall network and detect discursive ruptures which they directly or indirectly caused.

This research was carried out using digital tools for network analysis and data visualisation developed within ART NET project.¹⁰⁸ The network is visualised in a circular form, defined by the events that chronologically (clockwise) concatenate on its perimeter. Each of these events is linked with a line to the persons who participated in it. The participants of a single event remain outside the circle's perimeter, whereas those who participated in two or more events are located within the circle. Based on a calculation of the measure of centrality, specific positions of persons within the circle point to their greater contribution to CIAM's discourse (Fig. 1). Furthermore, the circular network's topography enables mapping of social encounters in time and space and identification of certain groups with potentially firmer inner cohesion ("social clique").¹⁰⁹ A more precise description

¹⁰⁸ The data on 331 architects, members of CIAM, 22 corresponding national groups and 32 events – CIAM congresses and related executive committee and council meetings was processed. The materials from the mentioned archives were used as a source of data on congresses, meetings and their participants, while the complete list of CIAM events brought by Eric Mumford was used as a reference point. (Mumford, *The CIAM*, 275–276).

¹⁰⁹ The simultaneous and multiple type of space and time overview, as well as social events linked to it, which are the backbone of the proposed visualisation, theoretically relies on the concept of time geography, and more specifically on

of relations between the persons within a clique requires processing additional archive material (the content of mutual correspondence, different types of co-operation, mentorships, friendships etc.), which goes beyond a mere presence at a same event. The latter is key to the overview and analysis of ruptures, which are in the focus of this paper.

MODUS OPERANDI OF CIAM AND ITS RUPTURES

Gathered in La Sarraz in 1928 as a group of individuals with a mission to promote modern architecture, CIAM very soon articulated an atypical organisational structure that serviced the main working platform – so-called working congresses.¹¹⁰ Set up according to the bottom-up model, CIAM national groups were the basis of this structure. Its members participated in the work of the CIAM's general assembly, which was held during each congress.¹¹¹ The groups produced congress material used to articulate CIAM's strategic documents – recommendations

the work of Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (1916–2004). See: Torsten Hägerstrand, "What about people in regional science?", *Papers of the Regional Science Association* no. 1 (1970): 6–21.

¹¹⁰ Although established as a biannual event, the congresses were held in 1928 (CIAM 1), 1929 (CIAM 2), 1930 (CIAM 3), 1933 (CIAM 4), 1937 (CIAM 5), 1947 (CIAM 6), 1949 (CIAM 7), 1951 (CIAM 8), 1953 (CIAM 9) and 1956 (CIAM 10).

¹¹¹ The assembly provided personal contacts among CIAM members, enabled voting on declarations, and dissemination of CIAM's objectives (Commission II. Reorganisation, in: CIAM 5 documents. Bridgwater, 1947 (Zürich: gta ETH, 42-AR-1-9).

for further development of urban planning and habitat of the 20th century. The themes (tasks) became more complex over time. Prior to the Second World War, these involved minimum dwelling (CIAM 2) and rational planning of residential areas (CIAM 3), functional cities (CIAM 4) and regional planning, i.e. "logis et loisir" (CIAM 5). After the Second World War, the congresses entailed several architectural and urban planning issues focusing on habitat (CIAM 7, CIAM 9 and CIAM 10) and the city "core" (CIAM 8) discussed through recent projects.

Nominally, until the Second World War, the main body of CIAM organisation was the (Executive) Committee for the Solution of the Problems of Modern Architecture (CIRPAC – *Comité international pour la réalisation des problèmes d'architecture contemporaine*). CIRPAC directed and organised the work of CIAM. It was composed of two representatives – delegates – from each national group who controlled the flow of information from CIRPAC to the national base and who introduced new national members to CIAM. This type of organisational structure entirely relied on personal contacts, friendships and connections. Unlike international professional organisations, whose members are nominated by national professional entities, this type of organisational structure is another particularity of CIAM, and the argument in favour of approaching it in terms of a social network.

Regardless of the official organisational structure, decisions were taken from 1931 onward within the circle – Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius, who were later joined by José Luis Sert. The central position of core actors within CIAM's network confirms their influence (Fig. 1). At last their position was formalised during the first post-war congress by their appointment to the newly founded execu-

tive body – Council, while CIRPAC lost its importance.¹¹² National groups continued to have their delegates, but they no longer participated in the work of CIAM's executive body.¹¹³ Taking into consideration the desire for democratisation of CIAM, the establishment of the Council, whose task was "to meet more frequently for the direction of CIAM and the representation of CIAM aims", produced quite the contrary effect.¹¹⁴ The position of national groups remained the same (each country was allowed to be represented by several groups, and so France had groups Ascoral and Bâtir, and the Netherlands Opbouw and De8), while the impact of the delegates on CIAM's policy and programme was significantly reduced and extremely localised.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, as the visualisation shows (Fig. 1), there is a clear cut between CIAM's network prior and post war, which is confirmed by a relatively low number of names appearing in both periods. The group with a continuity of presence, having thus the biggest impact

¹¹² Rudolf Steiger and Cornelius van Eesteren were also the members of the Council. In the light of the Allies' victory, they were joined by the less prominent representatives of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

¹¹³ The setting up of the council was the result of reorganisation, which was the topic of the first post-war congress in Bridgwater in 1947. A separate commission was in charge of discussed congress topics. This practice was already established before the Second World War.

¹¹⁴ Commission II. Reorganisation, in: CIAM 5 documents, 10.

¹¹⁵ "The delegates or vice-delegates shall be accepted as the intermediaries for ensuring that the work of the local groups is in conformity with the aims of CIAM." Commission II. Reorganisation, in: CIAM 5 documents, 9.

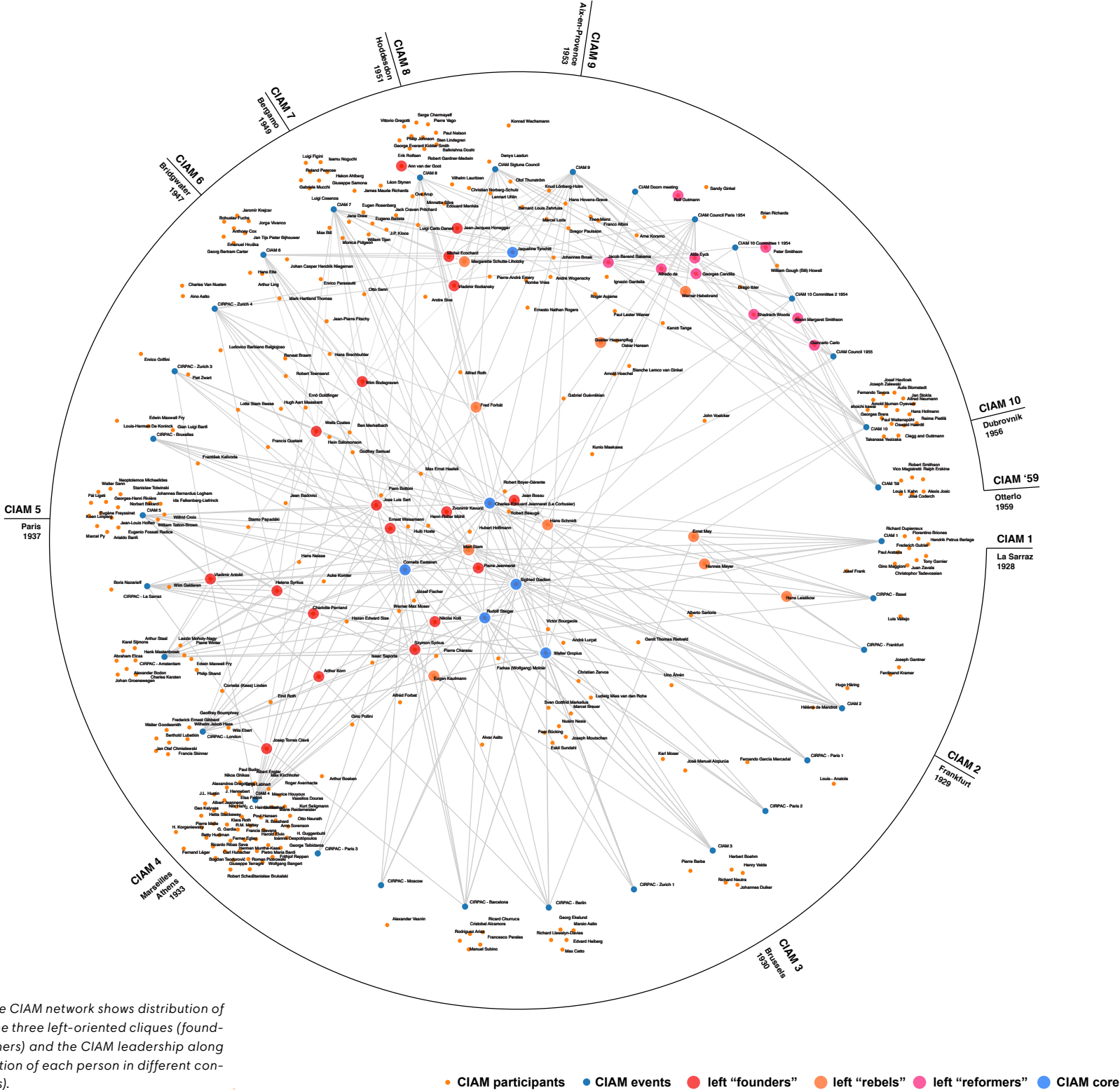
on CIAM, is the mentioned clique that is located in the central position within the network's topography.

Notwithstanding the significance of Le Corbusier's role in the history of architecture or his unique talent, from the very beginning, CIAM existed in Le Corbusier's shadow. The uncompromising imposition of his own vision of architecture and urbanism, his professionally dubious actions and political views, elitism, egocentrism and desire for power placed him at the very centre of CIAM's network. At the same time, his central position was also an incentive to develop a different vision of CIAM's organisation and to rethink the social role of architecture. Le Corbusier's most fervent critics and opponents were recruited from the circle of his collaborators. Therefore, Le Corbusier can be seen as the centre of CIAM's network but also the main cause of the abovementioned ruptures.

Le Corbusier was continuously opposed by the cliques of left-wing architects, the advocates of the idea of an egalitarian democratic society, which they wished to introduce into CIAM organisation. The composition, dynamics and mode of action of these cliques changed in sync with the changes of social and political circumstances. Given the historical context, the roles of cliques moved from *founders / leaders* (1928–30) and *opposition / rebels* (1932–37) to *reformers* (1953–59).¹¹⁶ They all shared a common understanding of architecture as a tool for developing a more equitable society and advocated

116 The first and the second clique was focused on the existential minimum (slums clearance and social housing) while the third clique delved into a stimulating living environment under the conditions of constant growth and mass housing production in a welfare state.

Fig. 2
Visualisation of the CIAM network shows distribution of the members of the three left-oriented cliques (founders, rebels, reformers) and the CIAM leadership along with the participation of each person in different congresses (grey lines).



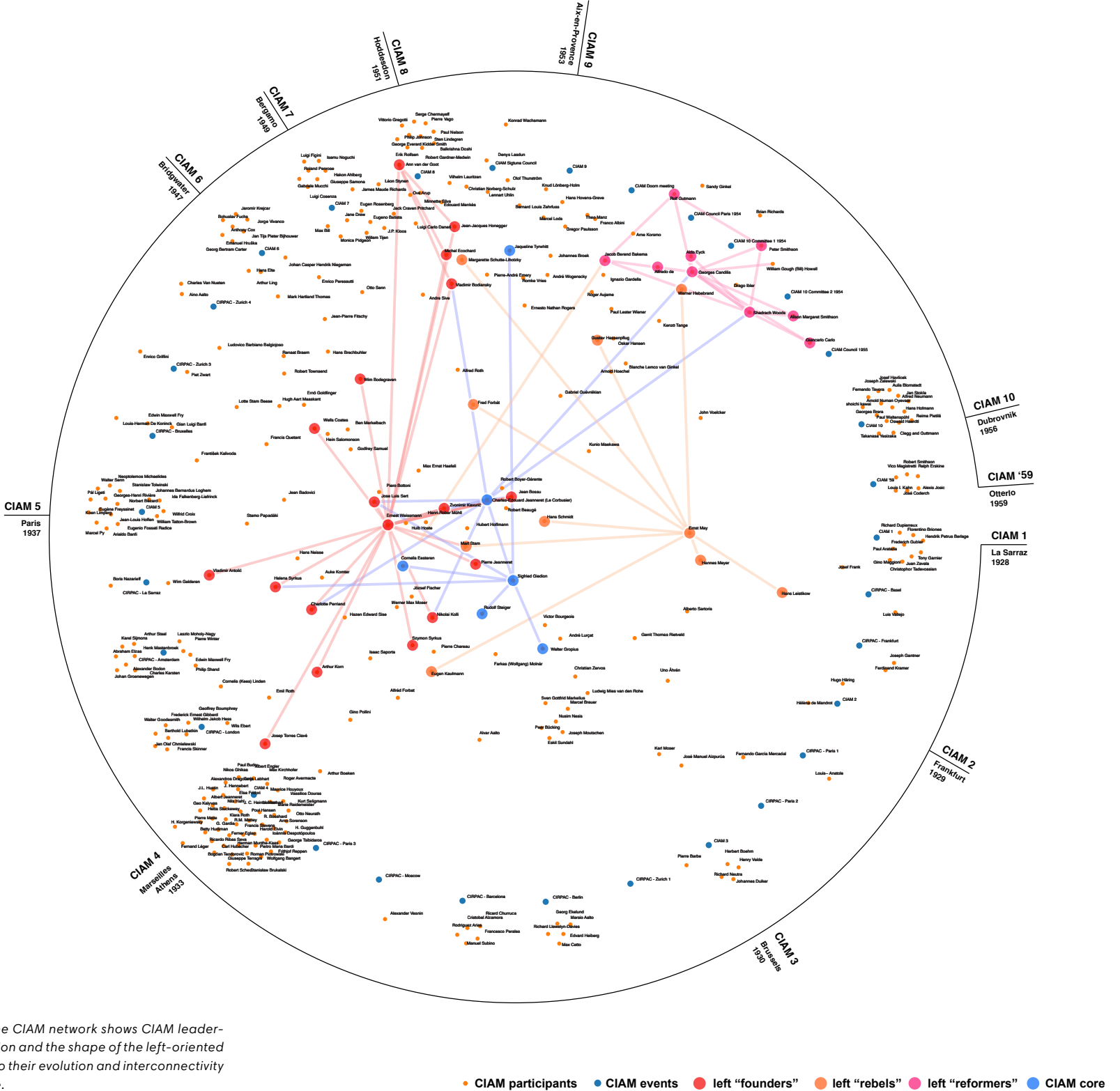
participation and teamwork as opposed to the hierarchy imposed by the CIAM leadership.

In the centre of each of these three left-wing cliques of CIAM, there were one, or more individuals who were either initiators or mediators of ideas, capable of gathering like-minded individuals around them. The first clique included Ernst May (b. 1886), Hans Schmidt (b. 1893) and Mart Stam (b. 1899), the second was made of Ernest Weissmann (b. 1903) and José Luis Sert (b. 1902), while the third one gathered Georges Candilis (b. 1913) and Jaap Bakema (b. 1914). All three cliques have already been explored and their genealogies are known. The first clique gathered the members of the constructivist Swiss ABC group and the associates of Ernst May involved in the construction of Neue Frankfurt, later the so-called May's brigade.¹¹⁷ The second clique was made mostly of young European architects who worked in Le Corbusier's studio in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the third one involved the members of Team 10, among whom was another Le Corbusier's collaborator, Georges Candilis.¹¹⁸ Personal contacts and cooperation with Le Corbusier seemed to be a precondition for the critical attitude towards his political, architectural and urban planning con-

117 The most prominent brigadiers were Eugen Kaufmann, Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky, Wilhelm Schütte, Alfréd Forbát, Werner Hebebrandt, Hans Leistikov etc. Benedikt Huber: Die Stadt des Neuen Bauens. Projekte und Theorien von Hans Schmidt (Zürich: gta ETH, 1993).

118 The second clique was discussed in: Tamara Bjažić Klarin: Ernest Weissmann: društveno angažirana arhitektura, 1926 – 1939 / Ernest Weissmann: Socially Engaged Architecture, 1926–1939 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Hrvatski muzej arhitekture, 2015).

Fig. 3
Visualisation of the CIAM network shows CIAM leadership and distribution and the shape of the left-oriented cliques, pointing to their evolution and interconnectivity in space and time.



cepts. The analysis of the visualisation of the CIAM's network helps to locate the ruptures caused by the formation of the mentioned cliques – to determine a place and time of their beginning and to identify the mediators – persons who provide their continuity. The first one took place between the CIAM's Second Congress in Frankfurt in 1929 and "Special Congress" in Berlin in 1931.¹¹⁹ The second rupture occurred during the Fourth Congress in Athens in 1933, while the third one came to be exactly two decades later, on the occasion of the Ninth Congress in Aix-en-Provence in 1953.

May, Schmidt, Stam and their like-minded associates briefly led CIAM, from its founding congress in La Sarraz in 1928, until the preparation of CIAM 3 when all participants were acquainted with the achievement of the Weimar Republic – new workers' housing estates and social standard facilities. Only after this group left to the USSR in 1930 and formed the so called May's Brigade, did Le Corbusier come to power.¹²⁰

After this first wave of exodus of German architects to the USSR, the second exodus occurred in the mid-1930s when the Nazis came into power. Many left-wing and Jewish architects, including those who returned from the USSR disappointed with Stalin's politics, left for the Great Britain and the USA. As a consequence, the engagement of May's Brigade members in

the further work of CIAM was limited to a minimum, but their contribution was never irrelevant. They were the ones to encourage the young, both directly and indirectly, to rebel in 1933 and 1937. In this year, Eugen Kaufmann and Mart Stam participated in CIAM 5 in Paris along with Arthur Korn (Fig. 2).¹²¹

After the Second World War, two of Meyer's "brigadiers" continued to be active in CIAM – Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky, acting as the delegate for Austria, and Werner Hebebrandt, representing West Germany. The post-war position of West German architects within international organisations was far from envious. In the topography of the CIAM's network, Schutte-Lihotzky is very close to Michel Ecochard and Vladimir Bodiansky, while Hebebrandt is close to the members of Team 10. Their potential direct personal contacts with Team 10 are yet to be explored. Hans Schmidt and Ernst May, as the founders of the first left clique, participated only in one congress after CIAM 2 in Frankfurt. While May's presence at the last CIAM congress in Dubrovnik was almost a symbolic one, the presence of Hans Schmidt at CIAM 7 in 1947 in Bergamo seems to be an important one. His participation marked a first direct link between the founders and reformers, future members of Team 10. Schmidt is therefore, given his particular mediating position, located closer to the centre of the network's topography (Fig. 2). The same can be said for Mart Stam who took part in introducing Ernest Weissmann, and thus the second generation of "rebels", to CIAM as early as in 1928.

121 Arthur Korn was not the Brigade member, but he shared its fascination with USSR.

"WE HAD ANOTHER VERSION OF THE CHARTER"¹²²

The "rebels" were doomed to fail because of the lack of their authority. They were mostly young architects, born in the beginning of the 20th century, who were unable to achieve their potential amidst the omnipresent economic crisis. An exception to this was José Luis Sert, a member of GATCPAC, involved in the construction of a respectable number of public buildings during the Second Spanish Republic. Furthermore, together with Weissmann and Sert, the core of the "rebels" involved Josep Torres Clavé, Charlotte Perriand, Pierre Jeanneret (Le Corbusier's partner) and Jean Bossu. All of them, except Torres Clavé, worked in Le Corbusier's studio where they were introduced to Sigfried Giedion and Mart Stam. The studio was a meeting point of CIAM's senior leadership and members who would stop in Paris on their journeys through Europe. Le Corbusier rarely involved his collaborators in the discussions about CIAM and its organisation. For example, it was Weissmann who proposed Sert's participation at Frankfurt congress to Giedion, not Le Corbusier. Moreover, in a letter sent to Giedion, Weissmann complained that Le Corbusier did not share any information with his collaborators. For him, CIAM was a circle of elite architects, rather than a polygon for the affirmation of young generations.¹²³

122 Ernest Weissmann, "We had another version of the charter", *Arhitektura* no. 189-195 (1984-1985): 32-37.

123 This is explicitly seen in the invitations sent for CIAM 1, one of these being addressed to Weissmann's professor Hugo Ehrlich. Weissmann attended CIAM 2 together with Sert and Kunio Maekawa. Ernest Weissmann, Letter to Sigfried

The occasion for the open confrontation between youth and CIAM leadership was the cancellation of the Fourth Congress in Moscow.¹²⁴ The young maintained close connection with the USSR and were fully acquainted with the work of Russian and German urban planners on the linear city concept (Sotsgorod).¹²⁵ Following a two-year break, Weissmann once again took part in the CIAM during the CIRPAC meeting in Barcelona in 1932. At that very moment, he was aware of the significant ideological changes that occurred within CIAM. The departure of German architects and the inclusion of the Italian Gruppo Sette, supporters of Mussolini's fascist regime, made CIAM leadership take an apolitical stance. Detached from the real-life, official CIAM leadership tended to deal with the burning issues of the 20th century (primarily housing crises) without any real involvement in their social and political causes. The apolitical and socially inactive stance provoked a second wave of resistance. As a central figure of this resistance, Weissmann responded promptly by gathering all like-minded members of CIAM national groups and organising a public debate at the upcoming CIAM 4. Due to many connections and activities they had, both Weissmann and Sert are centrally located in

Giedion, November 19, 1930 (Zürich: gta ETH, 42-K-1930-W).

124 Giedion and Van Eesteren's visit to Moscow preceded the cancellation of the congress. The congress was postponed in order to prepare a thorough overview of new soviet cities with the aim of comparing them to the cities of the capitalist West. The visit was possible, since the very same year L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui organised an excursion of French architects to the USSR Anon., "Architecture et urbanisme en U.R.S.S.", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui no. 8 (1932): 49-96.

125 They planned a trip to the USSR in 1933 prior to CIAM 4.

119 Mumford, *The CIAM*, 59.

120 Hannes Meyer also participated in CIAM 1. Hans Schmidt left for Moscow in 1930 to fill the position of advisor to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry. Along with his international reputation, acquired in the 1920s thanks to publicist and theoretical work, Le Corbusier also realised his first public building at that time.

the pre-war “hemisphere” of CIAM’s activity, as the opponents to the leading figures (Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

In the summer of 1933 in Athens, rebellious Croatian, Spanish and French architects were joined by their English, Polish and Dutch like-minded peers (Wells Coates, Szymon Syrkus, Helena Syrkus and Wim van Bodegraven). Dissatisfied with the intention to limit urban planning merely to technical aspects, the group suggested an alternative version of the *Athens Charter*, in order to bridge a gap between the apolitical ‘inherent’ professionalism of architects, urban planners and civil-engineers and their real social-political functions in societies with different economic systems, at different levels of technology and industrialisation.¹²⁶

A prerequisite for realising an alternative charter was the necessary change in the modality of land use and appropriation of the means of production. In order to achieve it, Weissmann proposed a radical political act – abolition of private ownership on behalf of the common good and the “distribution of urban elements irrespective of private interests”.¹²⁷

Quite expectedly, the requests of young architects were unacceptable to the pragmatic leadership of CIAM. To Le Corbusier, architecture was the means to ensure status quo, and to prevent a possible revolution. At the first CIRPAC meeting held after CIAM 4 in London in 1934, Corbusier and Giedion managed to restrain the revolutionary

youth’s ambitions.¹²⁸ Once again, CIAM was designated as a par excellence professional association, providing exclusively technical solutions for the problems of the modern city. Their implementation was politicians’ responsibility. Afterwards, “rebels” briefly retreated into a “grey zone” but remained in contact and active, both within the British MARS Group and in the French CIAM Group.¹²⁹ Aware of this shift, Gropius warned Giedion of the “communist” activity of certain CIAM members and urged him to decisively oppose to the intentions to push CIAM in a different direction.¹³⁰

From 1935 on, Paris was the centre of CIAM’s left-wing tendencies, which reached peak during the time of the Popular Front government. Due to the rise of Nazism and the Spanish Civil War, the French group of CIAM took over the organisation of CIAM 5 in Paris in 1937.¹³¹ The French Group had already accrued an extremely complex and colourful history, both because of the conflict between Le Corbusier and leftist architect André Lurçat and because of a relatively large number of fluctuating foreign members such as Paul Nelson, now

128 Weissmann, Sert, Szymon Syrkus, Coates and Torres Clavé attended the meeting.

129 The “rebels” followed the established working agenda. Limited by funding they gathered right before the CIRPAC meetings.

130 Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, February 14, 1935 (Berlin: Bauhaus Archive, Gropius-Nachlass Collection, 12/505).

131 It was initially planned to continue to work on the issue of the functional city discussing particular projects and then to proceed with regional planning. In January, it was then decided to go for a more populist theme, interesting to a broader public. The Congress was held at the time of the Paris International Exhibition.

émigré José Luis Sert, and Weissmann. From 1935, the latter one continued to be the main mediator of the left-wing opposition. At CIRPAC meeting held in the same year in Amsterdam, the group was joined by Mart Stam who had just returned from the USSR. His engagement united the founders (May’s brigades) and the new generation of the CIAM left. Interestingly enough, Weissmann’s political role during the pre-war period, was three decades later assumed by Jaap Bakema, Stam’s graduate student, and a central figure of Team 10 (Fig. 3). The young architects began a new phase of their work with an exhibition in the Cahier d’Arts Gallery.¹³² Its organisers, Weissmann, Charlotte Perriand and Robert Poursain, presented the work of national groups (Spanish GATEPAC, Polish PRAESENS and U, and Yugoslavian Radna grupa Zagreb), an invisible base of CIAM, which carried out huge and complex tasks for the needs of the congresses, but had no right to participate in the development of its programme nor in the overall organisation’s decision-making. The goal of the exhibition was to point to the need for reorganisation of CIAM to reach a greater degree of participation of all its members in the work of the congress. As expected, the exhibition was not well received by Le Corbusier with whom Perriand, Pierre Jeanneret, Jean Bossu and Weissmann terminated collaboration following heated tensions during the work on the Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux. Moreover, as the president of the commission in charge of the evaluation of Le Corbusier’s presentation on the theoretical aspects of housing and leisure at CIAM 5, Weissmann criticised and confronted the “cher maître” on behalf of his group.¹³³ He used

132 The exhibition was held from 12 February until 9 March, 1935.

133 Other members of the commission were:

this occasion to propose a new approach to the topic – a neighbourhood unit as the main urban element, with new housing typologies that facilitate participation and social interactions. This proposal anticipated some of the themes that later marked the discourse of Team 10.

And while Weissmann was summing up the stances of the young generation and distancing himself from CIAM by temporarily renouncing his active engagement, one of his closest associates, José Luis Sert moved from the camp of the rebellions to the “core” of the organisation during CIAM 5 (Fig. 3). The upcoming War and emigration of CIAM leadership to the USA opened the political arena within CIAM to the next generation of architects, including the future members of Team 10.¹³⁴

GRADUAL DYING AWAY

The second generation of rebels, born in the 1900s, suffered the greatest burden of the Second World War. Their personal participation in CIAM events dropped significantly after the War (Fig. 1). Within the network, rebels’ visibility is reduced, among other things also due to the mentioned reorganisation – foundation of Council and reduction of CIRPAC authority. Those who remained in CIAM joined the unaltered composition of leaders – Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius. José Luis Sert was an elected president, while Helena Syrkus became vice-president. The War marked a great cut, after which the work of the entire

Vladimir Antolić, Marcel Breuer, Eugen Kaufmann, Artur Korn, Lotte Stam-Besse, Mart Stam and Polyvios Michaelides.

134 Weissmann renewed his activities in the USA. He was in charge of the Yugoslav pavilion at the New York World Exhibition. Bjažić Klarin, Ernest Weissmann, 2015).

126 Weissmann, “We had another version of the charter”.

127 Radna grupa Zagreb, The first draft of the alternative version of the Athens Charter, August 10, 1933 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Hrvatski muzej arhitekture, Vladimir Antolić Personal Archive)

organisation had to begin from scratch (Fig. 1). The new beginning was not followed by enthusiasm and new themes and approaches. Instead of dealing with urgent social needs, such as post-war reconstruction and housing crisis, CIAM leadership continued to deal with the issues relevant to architectural profession, specifically, with the concept of synthesis in architecture. At that very moment, the huge post-war construction projects such as rebuilding Le Havre, Rotterdam and Warsaw had already started.

The new generation of left-wing architects born in the 1910s and 1920s took part in CIAM already in the 1940s. Jaap Bakema attended the first post-war congress in Bridgwater, CIAM 6 in 1947, and Georges Candilis the next one, CIAM 7 in Bergamo, in 1949.¹³⁵ Both of them took part in anti-fascist resistance during the War and openly sympathized with the communist ideas. Thanks to the post-war welfare state, unlike their predecessors, they had a unique opportunity to take part in the construction of welfare facilities and housing for large numbers. Jaap Bakema and Georges Candilis boasted their first large public projects, international recognition and credibility already in the early 1950s. They also partially owed it to their successful business partnerships – Bakema to Johannes van der Broek, an established architect of the older generation, and Candilis to Le Corbusier's ASCORAL and later ATBAT-Afrique, whose members were Shadrach Woods and Vladimir Bodiansky. Together with Weissmann, Bodiansky was one of the consultants on Le Corbusier's design of the United Nations headquarters in New York while Candilis was architect in charge of the construction of

the Unité d'habitation in Marseilles.¹³⁶ The similarities between pre-war and post-war left, rebels and reformers, are multiple. The left-wing movement once again gathered the Dutch, French and British architects joined by the members of the Italian resistance. In the new political circumstances of the Cold War, after CIAM 7, minor changes in the national composition were inevitable. As was the case with the entire movement of modern architecture during the Second World War, the Cold War caused another weakening of connections and discontinuity in their work. While in the early 1930's CIAM leadership tended to distance itself from Soviet architects and CIAM members active in the USSR, this time around it tended to bridge the Cold War division. Actually, CIAM leadership insisted on the participation of the architects from the Eastern Bloc. Helena Syrkus still held her position, although she only participated in CIAM 7. The same goes for Hungarian and Czechoslovakian members.¹³⁷ The reuniting with Eastern European architects was one of the major reasons for organising the last CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, the country “in-between” the two blocks.¹³⁸

136 <http://www.team10online.org/team10/candilis/index.html>

137 The council members were József Fischer and Josef Havlíček.

138 Antolić re-established his contact with CIAM in 1953. He assumed the role of Yugoslavia's delegate after Weissmann moved to Paris in 1935. In 1953, Antolić went to SI Asia as a UN's expert for urbanism. Drago Ibler joined CIAM in that same year. Tamara Bjažić Klarin, “CIAM networking – Međunarodni kongres moderne arhitekture i hrvatski arhitekti 1950-ih godina / CIAM Networking – International Congress of Modern Architecture and Croatian architects in the 1950s”, *Život umjetnosti* no. 99 (2016), 40–57.

Already during CIAM 7, the reformers started a discussion along the same lines of their predecessors.¹³⁹ They acknowledged the lack of free distribution of land as the major issue of urban planning. Candilis, who attended discussions at CIAM 4 on the social assignment and role of “urbanists”, proposed the setting up of a special commission that would study “various possibilities of land mobilisation”.¹⁴⁰ The request by Ernesto Nathan Rogers followed the same line of thought – he advocated the concept of humanist urbanism achieved by “*communisation du sol*” as the official CIAM's policy.¹⁴¹ Expectedly, Le Corbusier rejected all these proposals. He strongly believed that legislators, rather than architects, were obliged to provide conditions for the implementation of plans.¹⁴² In Bergamo, a discussion on the artistic aspect of architecture took place and Rogers reiterated the stances of the pre-war “left”. He argued that architecture must act economically, while the artistic expression should remain

139 Schmidt underscored the importance of current social and material circumstances in the opposition to the unification of life in favour of „free development of human needs/volition”. 7 CIAM Bergamo 1949. Document (Zürich: gta ETH, 42-JT-4-143).

140 At the time of CIAM 4, Candilis studied architecture at the Polytechnic in Athens. A special commission discussed the legislative aspects of land disposal at CIAM 9. Not coincidentally, Drago Ibler was appointed member of this commission. Les documents de Sigtuna 1952 (Zürich: gta ETH, 42-AR-X-4), 15; Rapports des commissions. Publication interdite, in: CIAM 9. Aix-en-Provence, 19–26 July, 1953 (Zürich: gta ETH), 27–28.

141 The term is “communisation”. *Compte-rendu de la séance plénière de la Ière commission*, in: 7 CIAM, 141.

142 7 CIAM, 142.

within the artistic field.¹⁴³ The same was perceived by Marcel Lods who considered any discussion on the architectural form academism, and thus a complete failure. Lods focused on the pressing issues such as distribution of land and prefabricated housing.¹⁴⁴ This discussion was probably one of the reasons for abandoning habitat as the theme of the next congress in Hoddesdon in 1951. At CIAM 8, the theme was “the heart of the city”.¹⁴⁵ The thematic change, however, did not stop polemical tones. The group of young architects argued for the necessity of reorganisation of CIAM and its leadership. After the three post-war congresses, it was obvious that CIAM lost its direction and the differences between the leadership, at that moment based in the United States, and the new generation in Europe were growing. The new generation was encouraged by the temporary appointment of Dane Vilhelm Lauritzen, Brit William Howell and Georges Candilis as Council members.¹⁴⁶ Unlike the

143 7 CIAM, 159.

144 Lods co-authored a housing estate *Cité de la Muette* in Drancy constructed by using prefabrication in early 1930's (7 CIAM, 161).

145 The planned issue was also changed after CIAM 4. Instead of regional planning and application of the Athens charter, it was changed to *Logis et loisirs*. HABITAT goes beyond the issue of housing as a physical shelter. It unified the “environnement urbanistique”, “logis”, “hommes” and “environnement immédiat” – that is, apartment or house and its surroundings taking in consideration the social and psychical needs of a man.

146 Lauritzen represented the Scandinavian countries while Howell and Candilis acted as the representatives of the “young architects”. Council Meeting, in: CIAM 8. 1951 Report of Hoddesdon Conference (Zürich: ETH gta, JT-6-23).

previous generation of rebels, positioned in the very centre of visualisation along with the core leadership, this threesome appears at its very rim. Along with Team 10 members, the threesome contributed to the formation of a dynamic clique that for the first time broke the perimeter of visualisation, implicating further turbulences and the final fall of CIAM (Fig. 3).

At the congress in Hoddesdon, Weissmann re-established contacts with CIAM. Immediately after his appointment to the position of director of the Housing and Town and Country Planning Section (Department of Social Affairs, The United Nations, New York), he offered to CIAM a cooperation on the issues of habitat and urban planning – through a newly established CIAM United Nations' group. Sert refused the proposal, claiming that this was contrary to the UN rules.¹⁴⁷ The collaboration was established through a working group appointed to develop a UN technical assistance programme. Gathering Jean Jacques Honegger, Vladimir Bodiansky, Georges Candilis, Michel Ecochard and Weissmann, the group established another direct linkage between the pre- and post-war leftist tendencies and once again, among its members were Le Corbusier's collaborators (Fig. 3). Before the Second World War, Weissmann collaborated with Charlotte Perriand, Pierre Jeanneret and Jean Bossu, and on this very occasion, he was after members of ATBAT-Afrique – Bodiansky and Candilis. They were chosen for their

147 As Weissmann was not able to attend the congress, the UN representative was Ann van der Goot, a Belgian employed at the United Nations Town and Country Planning Section. "Main points of speech of A. van der Goot. Representative of United States", in: CIAM 8, 101-102; Rosemary Wakeman, "Rethinking postwar planning history", *Planning Perspectives*, no. 2 (2014): 153-163).

experience in the underdeveloped countries.¹⁴⁸ The working group in charge of the technical assistance programme became active in November 1952 in-between two events decisive for CIAM – a CIAM council and delegates meeting in Sigtuna in June 1952 and a breakthrough CIAM 9 in Aix-en-Provence in July 1953. In Sigtuna, the reformers met for the first time without the presence of Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius and Jose Luis Sert, discussing "what was to become of CIAM",¹⁴⁹ while in Aix-en-Provence Team 10 gathered for the first time on the roof of the Unité.

Known as the congress of the youth, CIAM 9 marked the beginning of leadership "hand over".¹⁵⁰ Candilis emphasised the similarities between CIAM 4 and CIAM 9. Both congresses aimed to establish a charter (of functional city and habitat) and brought about the association of the leftists, who were critical of CIAM's undemocratic de-

148 ATBAT-Afrique was the African branch of ATBAT, Atelier des bâtisseurs, founded in 1947 by Le Corbusier, Vladimir Bodiansky, André Wogenscky and Marcel Py, with Jacques Lefèbvre as commercial manager. This so-called atelier was conceived as a research centre, where architects, engineers and technicians could work in an interdisciplinary fashion. Along with Candilis, Shadrach Woods was the second member of Team 10 active in Le Corbusier's atelier. (Projet d'assistance techniques des Nations Unies (Zürich: gta ETH, 42-JT-12-317/353; <http://www.team10online.org/team10/candilis/index.html>)

149 Smithson, Team 10, 18.

150 CIAM 9 gathered around 3000 participants, including students. Handover was agreed during the meeting between Le Corbusier and Giedion in July 1955 in Paris. (Aspects of Program for CIAM X at Dubrovnik to be given final form at Padova, Aug. 2/3. 1956. (Zurich: gta ETH, 42-AR-14-130/131).

cision-making and outdated approaches to the problems of the city. This time, the political issues were not in question. The young architects gathered around Team 10 were fed up with high modernism, architecture based on "five points" and the functional city. They were eager to start their own pursuit for new architectural and urban planning models that would correspond to the new urban programmes and new social needs.¹⁵¹ As Alison Smithson concluded, the interwar battle "for 'éspase, soleils, verdure'" was over and they were eager to create the architecture of "hope, freedom, identity, change" and "invent architectural language appropriate to the evolving present."¹⁵² Already in Aix-en-Provence, Jaap Bakema and André Wogenscky made their way into the CIAM Council and the organisation of CIAM 10, entitled *The Habitat: problem of inter-relationships. CIAM's first proposals, statements and resolutions*, was entrusted to Team 10 – Bakema, Georges Candilis, Peter Smithson and Rolf Gutmann. Although they were supervised by the leadership, their appointment gradually launched a "takeover" and reorganisation of CIAM. This was done with Le Corbusier's support as he excluded himself from the leadership and directly supported Team 10 in his public address to CIAM 10's participants. His letter was addressed to the pioneers of modern movement and to a new generation yet to come – the so-called "réalisateurs" – who would continue the mission of their predecessors and secure the future of CIAM.¹⁵³

151 In CIAM manner, Team 10 produced its first official document – the Doorn Manifest – in early 1954.

152 Smithson, Team 10, 9-10.

153 The generation born in the 1900s was not neglected; they were also included in the group of founders. Le Corbusier was willing to step down from his role after

Appointed in Dubrovnik and headed by Jaap Bakema, the commission for reorganisation of CIAM was dysfunctional. Peter Smithson, one of its prominent members, openly advocated for CIAM's dissolution. Negotiations between the commission on one side and Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius and Jose Luis Sert did not produce any results. After a three-year long search for a model of CIAM's reorganisation, the young abolished all national groups and in Otterlo in 1959 re-established a flexible network of free, equitable and accountable individuals committed to the ideas of new architecture in the making. The gathering in Otterlo marked the end of CIAM and, officially, the end of a significant part of the history of architecture of the 20th century.

CONCLUSION

Due to the circumstances of its establishment, specific model of organisation and its internal dynamics, CIAM represents a paradigmatic example of an international social network that defined a modernist canon in architecture and urbanism. Given the impact of the leading figures, Le Corbusier in particular, this network was highly centralised (egocentric), with a hierarchical model of decision-making. It was precisely this feature of the network that produced repeated episodes of resistance, based on generational and ideological confrontations. By analysing personal contacts and various types of links within the ideologically and generationally close group of architects, this paper aimed at following the trajectory of the left-oriented clique of CIAM and detecting the moments of discursive ruptures that called

the meeting with Team 10 in November 1954 (Message of Le Corbusier to the X Congress CIAM at Dubrovnik, in: CIAM 10 Dubrovnik 1956 (Zurich: gta ETH, 42-X-115A)

into question the views of the CIAM leadership. Since the left-oriented clique in general terms presents part of the official historiography of CIAM, the purpose of this research was to analyse this case in depth, deploying the new methodology that we deem a fundamental contribution of this paper. The paper aimed to open up a new analytical field by relying on the relational database and network visualisations. Within this field, the history of architecture can be observed in terms of social networks (centrality, relations, social cliques), while the evolution of discourse can be put in relation to the social constellations within particular spatio-temporal coordinates. As the case of CIAM's left suggests, this approach to data visualisation focuses on the detection of alternative or parallel historical trajectories, "small histories" and peripheral phenomena that destabilise and question the positions of power of central historical narratives and predominant, mostly male figures who defined them. Specifically, some of the visualised social relations open a question of potential links between architects that were not in the focus of research up until now. At the same time, the proposed methodology points to a further research of the spatio-temporal trajectories of individuals, dynamics of CIAM's national groups and the modality and medium of dissemination and transition of architectural and urban concepts in particular cultural settings and under specific historical circumstances.¹⁵⁴ With the need to streamline the entry of a greater amount and more detailed data from primary and secondary sources in the database, this phase of research is yet to be reached.

¹⁵⁴ The database developed within the ARTNET project allows for the entry of data on architectural projects, competitions, journals, publications, exhibitions and architectural and artistic groups.

INTRODUCTION

History of international art movement New Tendencies, attracted researchers attention just recently, following a (re)discovery of the series of discursive events (seminars, conferences, colloquia), and exhibitions (*Computers and Visual Arts, Tendencije 4, Art and Computers, Tendencije 5*), held in Zagreb, at the end of the 1960's, and at the beginning of 1970s. Shortly after they were “discovered” – between 2006, and 2010 – New Tendencies became the subject of several large international exhibitions,¹⁵⁵ presenting legacy of the movement in terms of an important and forgotten episode of new media art history. Art works and printed materials (exhibition catalogues, magazines, working papers), private and official correspondence among the artists, curators, and theorists engaged in discussions on the “computer supported visual research”, a central theme of New Tendencies between 1968 to 1973, were carefully collected, described, and interpreted in order to provide a discursive framework for the inclusion of that particular episode from the overall story of the movement

¹⁵⁵ Die Neuen Tendenzen Eine europäische Künstlerbewegung 1961-1973, Museum für konkrete Kunst Ingolstadt, Sept 29. 2006 – Jan 7., 2007; Leopold-Hoesch-Museum, Düren, 28 Jan-25 Mar 2007; bit international – [Nove] tendencije Computer und visuelle Forschung. Zagreb 1961-1973, Neue Galerie Graz am Landesmuseum Joanneum, 28.4-26.8.2007; bit international. [Nove] Tendencije - Computer und visuelle Forschung, Zagreb 1961-1973, ZKM, Karlsruhe, 2008/2009; New Tendencies and Architecture: Abstraction, Ambience, Algorithm, International Architecture Exhibition, Venice, Aug 2014. Nowa sztuka dla nowego społeczeństwa / New Art For New Society, Muzeum Współczesne Wrocław, 2015.

in the canon of new media art history.¹⁵⁶ In the course of that process – lasting from 2005 to, approximately, 2010 – archival documents on New Tendencies earlier history, on the events and exhibitions held between 1961 and 1965, were also carefully explored, and explained, but in a manner which downplayed, or outright neglected the ideological presumptions of the movement, and its direct engagement with the social, and political reality at the time. The strategy of curtailing and decreasing the importance of New Tendencies' social objectives,¹⁵⁷ and their relation to both Europe's new left, as well to the political, social and cultural practices of Yugoslav socialism, to make them fit to a predefined requirements of the new media art history canon, sparked the interest in the that period in the history of New Tendencies. The result was still another, recently published series of monographs and studies on cultural, social and political framework of the movement, which constructed their accounts of New Tendencies by closely following the traces they have left in visual arts and visual culture (graphic design, experimental film, TV), but also in a debates on cultural policies, and political issues at the time.¹⁵⁸ Along with the

¹⁵⁶ Tobias Hoffmann: Die neuen Tendenzen: Eine europäische Künstlerbewegung 1961-1973 (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 2006); Christoph Klütsch: Computergrafik: Ästhetische Experimente zwischen zwei Kulturen. Die Anfänge der Computerkunst in den 1960er Jahren (Vienna/New York: Springer, 2007); Margit Rosen, at al., eds: A Little-Known Story about a Movement, A Magazine, And the Computer's Arrival In Art: New Tendencies and Bit International, 1961-1973 (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Rosen, A Little Known.

¹⁵⁸ Jasna Jakšić, Ivana Kancir, eds.: Nowa sztuka dla nowego społeczeństwa / New Art For New Society (Wrocław:

descriptions of working procedures, communication practices, personal, and professional relationships among artists, art groups, and cultural professionals involved with the movement, they also provided a detailed, theoretically informed analysis of New Tendencies' ideological, and social aspirations, presented on the background of the global Cold War politics, and in relation to the transition from industrial to post-industrial, information society. Descriptions of New Tendencies as an attempt in formulating a socially progressive artistic practice engaged with science and technology, also assumed explanations of its inner conflicts, and contradictions grounded in a thorough examination of historical documentation (publications, private and official letters, manuscripts), public responses (exhibitions reviews in daily press and specialized mag-

:Muzeum Współczesne Wrocław, 2015); Armin Medsoch: New Tendencies. Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961 - 1978) (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2016); Ljiljana Kolečnik, "Zagreb as the Location of the New Tendencies International Art Movement (1961-73)", in Art beyond Borders: Artistic Exchange in Communist Europe (1945-1989), eds. Jérôme Bazin, Pascal Dubourg Glatigny, and Piotr Piotrowski (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 311-321; Ljiljana Kolečnik, Nikola Bojić, Artur Šilić, "Reconstruction of Almir Mavignier's Personal Network and its Relation to the First New Tendencies Exhibition. The example of the Application of Network Analysis and Network Visualisation in Art History", *Život umjetnosti* 99 (2016), 58-79; Jacopo Galimberti: Individuals against Individualism Art Collectives in Western Europe (1956-1969) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017); Armin Medsoch: "Cutting the Networks in Former Yugoslavia. From New Tendencies to the New Art Practice", *Third Text*, 32/4 (2018), 546-561, DOI: 10.1080/09528822.2018.1528716.

azines, critical studies, polemics), and comparison with similar artistic tendencies at other European locations.

As a consequence, some previous explanations of the important turning points and well-known events from the overall history of the movement were proven to be ideologically biased, and superficial. The same could be claimed for the contact points, divergences and borderlines among certain political and aesthetic choices constituent to its programmatic orientation, seeming to be quite different if approached from the perspective informed by the social and political history of the 1960s, and 1970s. In other words, those recent findings, and accounts made it clear that it is necessary to conduct a thorough reexamination of both poetic and political configuration of on New Tendencies.

The attempt in describing process of articulation, and dissemination of the discourse on art and technology created in the context of that art movement between 1961 and 1965, that is, the attempt in describing series of exhibitions, and discussions comprising for the chronology of the movement's transition from the framework of neo-avant-garde artistic subculture to the realm of institutional culture, grounded on the reconstruction and analysis of exhibition, which is in the focus of this study, represents a contribution to this effort in reexamination, and reinterpretation of New Tendencies.

Period between 1961 and 1966, that is, from the first to the third Zagreb exhibition,¹⁵⁹ critical for the articulation of New Tendencies' view on the art-science-technology relation, is distinguished from the next phase

159 Nove Tendencije 3.8-14.9.1961, Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb; Nove Tendencije 2, 1.8.-15.9.1963, Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb; Nova tendencija 3, 13.8-19.9.1965, Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb.

in their history (1968-1973), as a phenomenological, artistic, and – in terms of the engaged approach to the existential reality of modern, industrial society – cultural entity on its own right, which is, as such, also included in the historic narratives on kinetic and programmed art of the 1960s. Although inscribed in those narratives as an international art movement, the insistence on self-imposed theoretical, and formal rigor, and on the "ideological concentration and commonality of goals", typical for the organization model of art movement, was apparent only in period between 1963 and 1965. What New Tendencies were before that short-time interval, and after 1965, how they were organized and which was their *modus operandi* is another, serious question.

Some authors as, for example, Piotr Piotrowski, perceive New Tendencies as an ambitious, periodical exhibition of contemporary art,¹⁶⁰ which managed to transcend national and ideological borders established by the Cold War politics. Preferring the signifier "New Tendencies biennale", and basically referring to the rhythm of Zagreb exhibitions, such approach tends to overlook the overall meaning and effects of numerous discussions, working meetings, publications, international conferences, competitions, and other events configuring temporal landscape of New Tendencies. It is, of course, true that Zagreb exhibitions sustained their biannual rhythm – with the single exception of the interval between the third and fourth exhibition – throughout the entire period between 1961 and 1973, but at the moment when Zagreb City Council brought a decision to turn New Tendencies in the periodical presentation of contemporary art, at the beginning of 1962, the inten-

160 Piotr Piotrowski, "Why were there no great Pop art curatorial projects in Eastern Europe in the 1960s?" Baltic Worlds 3-4 (2015), 10-16.

sive discussions on its potential to outgrow such format, were already underway.¹⁶¹ In that respect, describing New Tendencies as just another, although important "biannual exhibition" of the Cold War era, might be unjustified, but it is – from my point of view – as inappropriate, as it is a widely accepted signifier "international art movement".

Gathering, over the period of twelve years a several hundred artists from three continents, and from both sides of the Iron curtain, New Tendencies were simply too big, and lasted too long, to maintain the level of formal coherence, poetic integrity, and theoretical rigor implied by the term "artistic movement". There were, however – as in the period between 1963 and 1965 – some serious attempts in defining a common program, shared goals and rules of conduct intended to provide New Tendencies with the prerogatives of an art movement. However, both the nature of these prerogatives, that have been too formal, and restrictive, and the oppressive manner of the attempts of their impositions were met with the resistance. The response to such an attempts in a wider cultural context sympathetic to the concept of "art as research", was a mixture approval and restrain, or as American artist and art critic Georg Rickey has put it, back then in 1964, "There is something necrological about isolating and labeling a movement, at any rate by an outsider. But if the participants become aware of what they have in common and begin to pool their thinking, an event of some importance in history takes place".¹⁶² It is quite possible that Rickey's opinion was

161 Among the meetings on that subject, the most important was the one held at the studio of group GRAV, in Paris, in November 1962.

162 George Rickey, "The New Tendency (Nouvellet Tendence -recherche continue)", Art Journal XIII (1964), 279.

modeled according to his involvement in the sphere of influence of group ZERO – a loose, and unrestrictive type of associations among artists, art groups and art collectives – which, regardless of poetic and theoretical similarities, did not make any attempt in “labeling and isolating” those similarities. Most probably because then, in mid-1960s, it was simply at odds with the period’s *Zeigeist*.

The opinion of Armin Medosch is a bit different, and he claims that the failure to carry on such transformation was one among the important reasons why New Tendencies found themselves at the brink of dissipation in mid-1960s.¹⁶³ If approached from the perspective of their social, and political aspirations, the attempt to counteracting the intensified commodification of art and devastating influence of art market, assumed – apart from disciplined, joint action guided by clearly defined objectives – the “historical (self)consciousness”, and “theoretical awareness”¹⁶⁴ that – in case of New Tendencies – was not achieved to the extent required for the transformation into an art movement. From the perspective of the events comprising for the story of New Tendencies in late 1960s, however, the very fact that such transformation did not happen, seems as a very important reason because of which they have managed to survive – not only the severe crisis in the aftermath of the 1965 exhibition, but also some tensions, and critical situations generated both inside, and outside of their

ecosystem. That what kept them going – in my opinion – was gradual and spontaneous development of New Tendencies as a social network running in the background of the pursuits for a more structured – formalized, restrictive and exclusive – model of organization. Grounded both in institutional and interpersonal ties, its core was established between 1961 and 1965, due to skillful exploitation of its communication potentials, from 1967 on developed into a versatile social structure, which had an important role in changing the course of New Tendencies. Enlarged and invigorated by the influx of new artists, art groups, and – in particular – art theorists, it has become a strong relying point of the activities conducted the last phase of New Tendencies, which also involved charting of the their new organizational structure¹⁶⁵ that was dynamic, flexible, open towards different, experimental art practices, much closer to the present-day concept of artistic platform, than to the notion of art movement.

¹⁶⁵ It is Darko Fritz’s thesis that it is justified to describe New Tendencies as a network, rather than as art movement, due to the methods and practices of communication – combination of meetings, travels, and correspondence – adopted and widely used in the course of movement’s history; see see Darko Fritz, “New Tendencies”, *Oris* 54 (2008): 176-191.; by the same author, “Histories of Networks and Live Meetings. Case Study: [new] Tendencies 1961-1973(1978)”, in *Re-live09*, Melbourne 2009. It was, however, the same communication model applied already in the late 1950s in the framework of neo-avant-garde subculture, but also in number of other social systems (economy, science, education), resulting from development of postal services, railroad and highway networks, and telecommunications, also stimulated by the changes in visa regimes in Europe after 1957.

However, since in the observed period between 1961 and 1965, New Tendencies were at least partially operating as art movement, I am going to use that signifier in this study, more as a matter of convenience, than as a reference to the model of organization to which they pertained.

METHODOLOGY

As it was already stated, the articulation and dissemination of New Tendencies’ discourse on art and science, and their transition from the social and artistic context of neo-avant-garde artistic subculture to mainstream institutional culture, will be described on the background of the exhibitions held between 1961 and 1965, interconnected by same participants (artist, art groups, curators, organizers), and presented through the series of network visualizations. Methodology applied is a combination of narrative interpretation of textual sources, network visualizations, and corresponding maps, that is, a combination of cultural and quantitative analysis, applied in a “soft mode” – that is, in a manner that gives the advantage to epistemic objectives of art history, over those of network analysis, relayed on customary concepts of centrality, detection of strong and weak ties, identification of structural holes, etc. It is focused on the structure of the whole network, and the relationship between network topography to the real-life situation of European avant-garde art scene in late 1950s and 1960s, captured and presented by the network visualizations.

The networks to which such analysis is applied is based on data about 213 single, collective, and thematic exhibitions, divided – in the interest of analysis – into four temporal groups: exhibitions held between 1958 and 1961, providing insight into the neo-avant-garde art scene at the time, that was also presented at the first New Ten-

dencies exhibition; exhibitions organized in 1962-1963 representative for the configuration of the movement’s artistic environment in the stage of their consolidation, and recognition in terms of an authentic response to mainstream artistic culture; the exhibitions staged in 1964-1965, indicative of the New Tendencies’ appropriation by the institutional culture, and global art market. Professional and social network of New Tendencies, which brought together artists, art groups, and art collectives who took part in all five Zagreb exhibitions, is also reconstructed, presented by network visualization, and explained in terms of ruptures and discontinuities in the overall history of the movement.

Analysis of exhibition networks, where the exhibitions are also understood as representative of particular artistic tendency, was expected to answer the following questions: How are the exhibitions in the network connected (through which artist, art groups, curators, art critics)? Which is the measure of their centrality? Which exhibitions / artists / art groups, are bridging the network or network’s structural holes? Do they play such role in just one time interval, or throughout the entire observed period? Data on the exhibitions, artists, art groups and exhibition spaces, which served as a foundation for network analysis and visualizations were collected from variety of digital and analogue sources,¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ The list of the used sources is far too long to be given in this study. References to the sources are entered in the ARTNET database, and accessible at <http://artnet.s2.novenaweb.info/web/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f-web%2fizlozba%2fPageIzlozbaList.aspx%3fpag%3d1%26query%3d%26periodfrom%3d%26periodto%3d%26tag%3d10%26sort%3dda-tum&page=1&query=&periodfrom=&periodto=&tag=10&sort=datum>

¹⁶³ Armin Medosch, *Automation, Cybation and the Art of New Tendencies (1961-1973)*, dissertation (London: Goldsmiths, University, 2012), 131.

¹⁶⁴ For the original use of both see in Renato Poggioli, “The concept of a movement”, in *The Theory of Avant-garde* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1968), 19.

stored, and processed with the application of network visualization, and spatial data presentation interfaces, a built-in digital tools of ARTNET database.

Narrative interpretation of textual and visual sources, network visualizations, maps and data obtained by quantitative analysis is structured according Dieter Pörschmann's model of periodization¹⁶⁷ applied in his recent study on the manifestations of artist-as-curator phenomena in the practice of group ZERO / ZERO movement/. It assumes a subdivision of a series of events comprising for the overall history of certain phenomena, into a short-time intervals provided with the inner ("micro-scale") periodization of their own. Such division allows for more precise identification of key events and breaking points within the observed period's general chronology, also enabling a more precise determination of their role and meaning in the overall story on particular phenomenon, or process subjected to such type of analysis. Pörschmann's appellation of the short-time intervals to which he subdivided account on the group ZERO, was also partially adopted and applied to periodization of the observed period in the New Tendencies early history, which therefore does not follow the usual chronology defined by the rhythm of exhibitions. In the interest of more precise description of New Tendencies' relationship with the artistic subculture of the neo-avant-garde, the period between 1958 and 1961 is also included, and approached as a "gestation

phase"¹⁶⁸ of the movement, which defined its initial poetic stratification.

"GESTATION" PHASE: 1958 – 1961

New Tendencies had its origins in the neo-avant-garde artistic subculture – a complex social structure, comprised of artist, art groups, art collectives, art critics, independent production, and dissemination spaces, and their public, sharing common psychological, physical, and emotional space, and loosely related by the common, critical view of the mainstream culture. From its nascent in mid-1950s, it was based on solidarity, mutual support, and, upon "the awareness that together you are strong, while alone you are lost in a world that does not understand and does not want to perceive what you are doing,"¹⁶⁹ shared among the representatives of different, not always clearly distinguishable artistic positions, brought together by the same sense of belonging to the new, technologically driven society, and by the shared fascination with its accelerated development that was radically transforming both human environment and sphere of social life. The generation which created social space of neo-avant-garde subculture, articulated its position not only in terms of the resistance to conservative cultural establishment, unresponsive to "visual requirements" of contemporary society, but also in opposition to postwar idea of social stability, reflected in the mainstream visual culture and its detachment from existential reality. Intense communication and exchange among the locations of most dynamic avant-garde ac-

tivities – Düsseldorf, Munich, Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam or Bern, but also among Padua, Udine, Ulm or Cholet – outlined in late 1950s, and at the beginning of 1960s outlined the (shifting) contours of a complex, rhizomatic social, artistic, and economic structure created of numerous interconnected, intersected or just loosely related personal, and collective networks that were unified – regardless of poetic differences among their actors – by the strong opposition to the excessive subjectivity and existential anxiety of Art Informel's "sloppy painting full of pep and wild gestures, filthy wrinkles and antique oxidations".¹⁷⁰ It's overwhelming, suffocating presence encouraged search for a different concept of art, assumed – in the mid-1950s – the feeling of loneliness, exclusion, and complete dependence on one's own devices. It will change towards the end of the decade into awareness that "other artists had the same feelings and were engaging in similar actions and approaches",¹⁷¹ and a desire for communication, which – according to Heinz Mack – in the case of group ZERO led to the formation of

what we call nowadays a network [and] ... since all these artists in different countries had been at one stage in connection to one another, this word 'network' goes along with the fact that a net can capture everything, and can hold things together that might be lost if they are alone.¹⁷²

While ZERO found its stronghold in the metaphorical potential of nature, in the play with light, and movement, using advanced technology, new materials, new working methods, and relying on the legacy of Bauhaus, other artist who joined group's network, or occasionally participated in ZERO's activities, developed their own views on the most proper method of expressing their opposition to mainstream art and visual culture. Most of these, different tendencies – some of them strongly politicized – will find their proper theoretical articulation towards the end of this time-interval in which the maturation of their ideas and principles assumed a zealous creative activity, intense networking – frequent travels, numerous meetings, discussions, and continuous, circular correspondence – and frequent cross-disciplinary collaborations. Out of few hundred exhibitions, staged at that period, which outline a poetic, and media diversity of neo-avant-garde artistic subculture, almost hundred individual, and collective exhibitions were related to artistic practices presented, or considered for presentation, at the first New Tendencies exhibition. Seventy nine exhibitions, selected from that overall number comprise for a separate layer within neo-avant-garde exhibition infrastructure, composed of independent exhibition spaces (Hessenhuis58, in Antwerp, Otto Piene Studio in Düsseldorf, Studio N, in Padua), artist-run galleries (Galleria Azimuth in Milan, Studio F in Ulm, Galerie Nota in Munich, Galerie Renate Boukes, Wiesbaden; Galerij A, Arnhem, New Vision Centre Gallery, London), and at the commercial galleries committed to the presentation of neo-avant-garde art (Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf; Galerie Dato, Frankfurt; Galerie Iris Clert, Paris; Galleria Pater, Galleria Danese, Galleria Apollinaire in Milan; Internationale galerij OREZ, The

167 Dirk Pörschmann, "'M.P.U.E.' Dynamo for ZERO: The artists-curators Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, and Güther Uecker", in *The Artist as Curator. Collaborative initiatives in the international ZERO movement 1957-1967*, eds. Tiziana Cainaello, Mattijs Visser (Gent: MER. Paper Kunsthalles, 2015), 17-58.

168 Term "gestation period" was first used by Armin Medosch in the similar context; see Medosch, *Automation*, 69.

169 Helga Meister, *Zero in der Düsseldorfer Szene: Piene, Uecker, Mack* (Düsseldorf: Jan van der Most, 2005) 65; cited according Pörschmann, „M.P.U.E“, 17.

170 Stephanie Bailey, "Heinz Mack in conversation", *Ocula*, 22 December 2014, <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June 23, 2018.

171 Ibidem., <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June 23, 2018.

172 Ibidem., <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June

● artist-run galleries and independent exhibition spaces ● private galleries ● museums

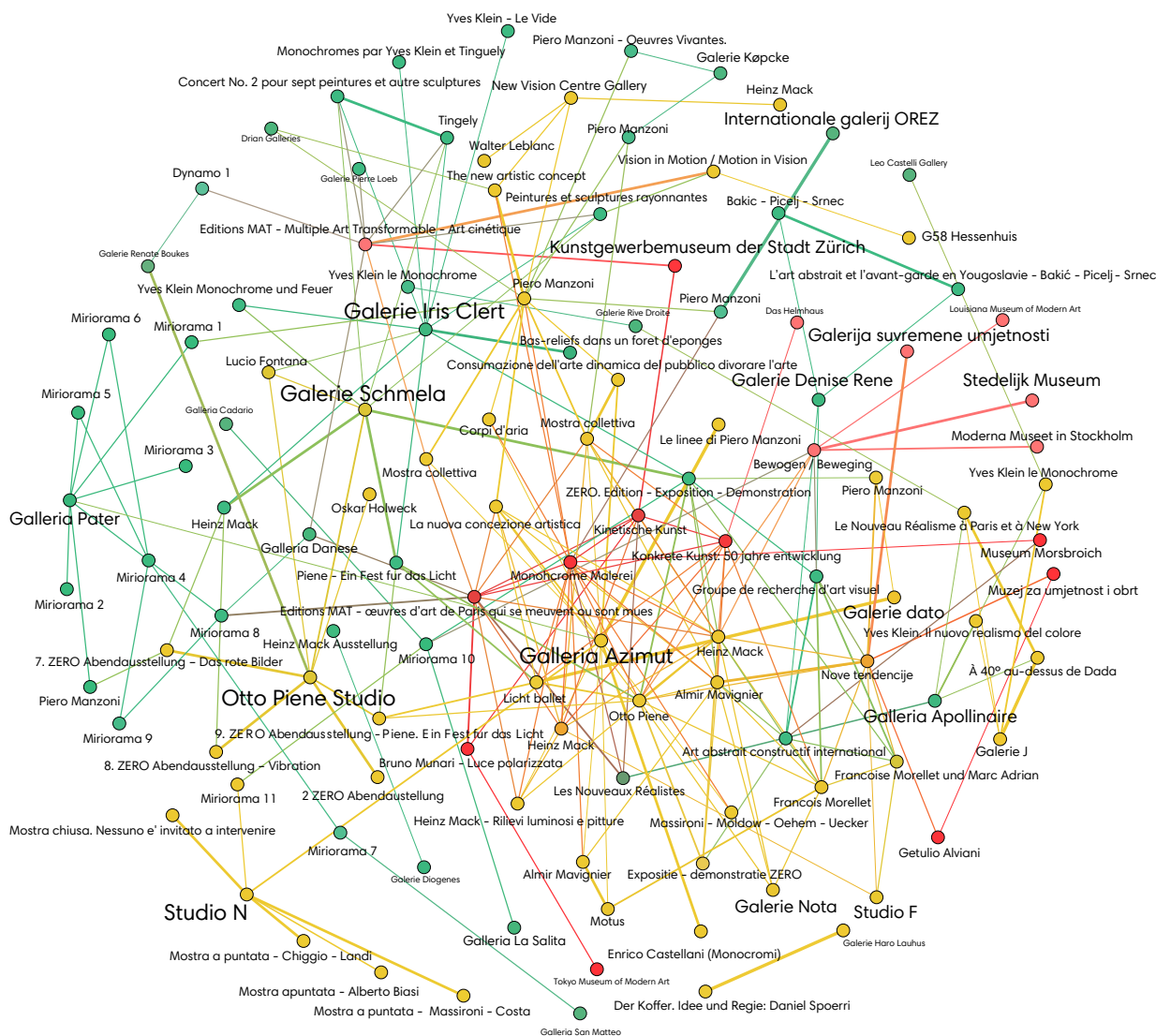


Fig. 1
Visualization of neo-avant-garde exhibitions' infrastructure network established between 1958 and 1961 that involves future members of the New Tendencies, and outlines the relations among independent art scene (artists-run galleries, independent exhibition spaces), art market (private galleries), and institutional mainstream culture (museums)

Hague; Galerie J, Paris; Galerie Schindler, Bern; Galerie Kasper, Lausanne; Galerie K pcke, Copenhagen), which formed their own network. In most cases, and pertaining to the "pronounced and undaunted do-it-yourself mentality"¹⁷³, curators, and organizers of those exhibitions were artist themselves, who took responsibility not only over the technical, financial, and communication matters, but also over the manner in which the artworks, their own or those of like-minded artists, will be displayed and represented to public.

The list of exhibitions curated, and organized between 1958 and 1961 by Otto Peine, Heinz Mack, Piero Manzoni, Enrico Castellani, Yves Klein, Jean Tinguely, Daniel Spoerri, Walter Leblanc, Gerhardt von Graevenitz, Hank Peeters, and number of other artists is quite long. Along with one-man shows, artist also curated a collective exhibitions, frequently displaying the works of particular art group, and artists from its inner circle. Even though the financial construction of such exhibitions was modest, they usually had catalogues, edited by artists themselves, and often printed at small local printing houses. In some situations function of the catalogue was performed by artist magazines, or vice versa – the magazine was standing for the exhibition, but in a printed form.¹⁷⁴

173 P rschmann, «'M.P.U.E'», 18.

174 Legendary, third issue of magazine ZERO, was composed out of artists printed works, texts and graphic interventions, by Fontana, Klein, Manzoni, Castellani, Dorazio, A. Pomodoro, Lo Savio, Peetres, Schoonhoven, Pol Bury, Van Hoyedonck, Mavignier, Soto, Spoerri, Arman, Roth, and quit a few German artists. It was publicly presented with great pomp, at ZERO Edition, Exposition, Demonstration (July, 1961), which resembled Fluxus festivals, and involved active participation of public. See in Meister, Zero, 78.

Position of particular gallery in the topography of neo-avant-garde exhibition infrastructure network related to New Tendencies (Fig. 1) denotes the intensity of that gallery's activities, but also the strength and number of its ties with other network actors. Based upon such criteria, central position in the network, and in category of artists-run galleries, is occupied by Gallery Azimut run by Piero Manzoni, and Enrico Castellani in Milan, from December 1959 to July 1960. Active only eight months, it has allowed Manzoni and Castellani to organize thirteen, mostly group exhibitions, to launch gallery's spin-off publication, magazine *Azimuth*, and to acquire the reputation – in particular within artistic circles – of the most dynamic, and engaged new exhibition space. Along with the surveys of Lombardian independent art scene, the most important exhibition supporting such perception was *La Nuova Concezione Artistica /New Artistic Concept/*, an early overview of European neo-avant-garde, which brought together artists from Germany (ZERO movement), France (Yves Klein, Tinguely), and Italy (members of Gruppo N and Gruppo T). Emphasis on international presentations, and inclusion of both European, and American artists (Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Ira Moldow), which turned Gallery Azimut into the most important hub in the neo-avant-garde infrastructural network at the time, motivated Almir Mavignier, an Matko Me trovi , curators of first *New Tendencies* to consult Manzoni regarding Italian selection at the exhibition. Although it is not explicitly stated, from the correspondence preceding the exhibition it is possible to conclude that it was Manzoni who made that selection.¹⁷⁵ Manzoni, Castellani, and Nanda Vigo first met with group ZERO, that is, with Otto Piene, and Heinz Mack, on the occasions of

175 Matko Me trovi , "Nepoznate potankosti - Iz sa uvane korespondencije s Pierom Manzoniem", *Fantom slobode* 3 (2010), 207-216.

the eight ZERO *Abendausstellung*, held in Otto Piene's Studio in 1958. Taking the most prominent position in the network topography in the category of independent exhibition spaces, and established two years before Gallery Azimut, it was exemplary of artists' self-organization in late 1950s, when, according to Heinz Mack, both his and Piene's studios, were acting as "workshops, platforms for discussions and were used occasionally as gallery spaces, opening for one-night events, or used as meeting points for a few artists and friends".¹⁷⁶ In the course of 1957 and 1958, Piene and Mack organized there eight group exhibitions (*Abendausstellungen* 1 - 8), and several happenings involving artists from Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, and France. Collaboration with Italian artist started, as it was already mentioned, in 1958, at the end of that cycle. From 1959 on, Otto Piene's Studio remained the stronghold of ZERO's communication and networking, but curatorial activities, almost exclusively related to presentation of the group / ZERO movement/ were performed at other exhibition venues, both independent and commercial. In the category of commercial galleries, the most prominent position in network topography is occupied by Galerie Schmela. Established in 1957 in Düsseldorf, it owes such prominent position, and much of its real-life fame, to early, and close co-operation with Mack and Piene.¹⁷⁷ Except

¹⁷⁶ Baily (2014), <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June 23, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Heinz Mack even claims that he and Günther Uecker were the persons whom Alfred Schmela asked for advice on how to open his private gallery, and what to exhibit there. Schmela opening exhibition, Klien's *Yves, Propositions monochromes* (1957) was organized, according to Mack, on the suggestion of artist Norbert Kricke; see in Bailey <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June 23, 2018.

for preparing their own exhibitions held in that gallery, Mack and Piene were also informally involved in organization of the exhibitions of their fellow artists (Yves Klein, Jean Tinguely, Lucio Fontana), and served as Alfred Schmela's liaison with a wider neo-avant-garde community. Through Ira Moldow, whom Mack first met in Milan, he established relations with American artists, and was first in Germany – a few years later – to show the works of Robert Motherwell, and Kenneth Noland.¹⁷⁸ Group ZERO also had contacts with Parisian Gallery Iris Clert, which staged Heinz Mack's solo exhibition in 1958. However, a highly visible position of that gallery in network topography, is primarily the result of its ties with other exhibition venues, established through Yves Klein, and his numerous exhibitions held at both artist-run, and commercial galleries, and within a wide geographic area from Milan, Düsseldorf, Antwerp, London, and Amsterdam to Paris. It is also important to notice, that both Iris Clert and Gallery Schmela were – at the time – important liaisons of the neo-avant-garde artists with art-market, and institutional culture. Gallery Denise Réne performed the same function for the members of group GRAV, and for few Croatian artists, representatives of neo-constructivism, who entered the international art scene in 1958-1959. Through both of these groups her gallery established ties with *New Tendencies*, reaffirmed with the exhibition *Art abstrait constructif international* (Paris, 1961; Leverkusen, 1962), held three months after the *New Tendencies*,

[com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/](https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/) Accessed June 23, 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Anette Kuhn, *Zero: eine Avantgarde der sechziger Jahre* (Frankfurt am Main & Berlin: Propyläen-Verl., 1991), 42; Dietmar Elger, Elizabeth M Solaro, *Gerhard Richter: A Life in Painting* (The University Of Chicago Press, 2010), 33-34.



Map 1.

Spatial distribution of the neo-avant-garde exhibitions between 1958 and 1961

condition to their inclusion in the economy of institutional culture was the establishment of a proper contestation framework, exhibitions *Kinetische Kunst*, organized at Stadts Kunstgewerbemuseum in Zürich (1960), *Konkrete Kunst: 50 Jahre Entwicklung*, organized by Helmhaus, also in Zürich (1960), and *Monochrome Malerie*, held at Museums für Gegenwartskunst Morsbroich (1960), were intended to provide them with the proper set of historical references. Therefore, in all three cases, contemporary art was presented as integral to continuity of ideas, and problems related to historical development of art phenomena from the focus of the exhibition. While the position of the museums in network topography reflects their real-life distance from the neo-avant-garde subculture, the central position of the exhibitions they have organized, and their multiple ties with other network actors, denote such strategy.

The relation between the institutional culture and neo-avant-garde subculture is presented with greater clarity by the visualization of same data used for the visualization of neo-avant-garde exhibition infrastructure, but approached through the perspective of bipartite exhibition – artist network (Fig. 2). At the level of its topography, the center of the network, crowded with number of tightly interconnected exhibitions, represents the real-life space of neo-avant-garde artistic subculture, while the exhibitions surrounding that space, with just few exceptions, outline a real-life realm of institutional mainstream. Strength of ties among network actors, denoted by the thickness of connecting lines depends – in case of exhibitions – upon number of common participants among two exhibitions, while in case of exhibition – person ties, thickness of the connecting line points to the role (organizer, catalogue editor, author of the text in the catalogue) particular person played in the exhibition. Therefore, a tick line connecting the exhi-

bition *Art abstrait constructif international*, (Paris, 1961), and exhibition *Groupe de recherche d'art visuel*, (Paris, 1961) points that they had a strong tie, since the entire group GRAV participated in both of them; the thick tie between Matko Meštrović and *New Tendencies*, points to his multiple roles in the exhibition (assistant curator, author of the text in the exhibition catalogue). Robert Rauschenberg, on the other hand, had only one role in the exhibitions *Bewogen/Beweging* and *Le Nouveau Réalisme à Paris et à New York*, that of participating artists, meaning that his connection to them was weak, and therefore presented by the thin lines. Rauschenberg's position in the topography of the network, much closer to the second of these two exhibitions, reflects his closer real-life relationships with *Le groupe des Nouveaux Réalistes*. Although each and every connection between two network actors could be described in these terms, from the perspective of *New Tendencies'* relation to neo-avant-garde artistic subculture, structure of the whole network is much more interesting and informative, since it also presents the relations among different artistic tendencies constitutive to its social space. Quite similar to the position of certain galleries, and exhibition spaces in the topography of infrastructural network, artistic tendencies articulated towards the end of the observed period, and presented in this network visualization with the series of exhibitions, are also positioned at the very edge of the area representing the real-life space of neo-avant-garde subculture. Therefore, the exhibitions related to the group of *Nouveaux Réalistes*, formed on Pierre Restany's initiative, and officially established in October of 1960, occupy the upper left corner of network visualization. It is true that some of group's members – Jean Tinguely, Yves Klein, and Daniel Spoerri – were strongly involved with the international neo-avant-garde much before the group

was formed, but since the rest of its members did not have previous artistic or social relations with other network actors, the position of the *Nouveaux Réalistes* in network topography is bit remote from its core. Gruppo N, and Gruppo T, represented by the exhibitions placed on the opposite side of the network, and also distanced from its central area, were established just a few months before *Nouveaux Réalistes*, but their position in the topography of the network – both in relation to French group, and towards each other – is a bit different. In contrast to the *Nouveaux Réalistes*, Gruppo T had a multiple strong ties with key personalities of Lombardian neo-avant-garde (Manzoni, Castellani, Fontana, Dorfles) established much before it was formed towards the end of 1959. Moreover, members of the group Davide Boriani, Giovanni Anecshi, Gianni Colombo, and Gabriele Devecchi, were directly involved in technical preparations for the opening of Gallery Azimut, and were also integral to the group of young artist who belonged, as well as Manzoni and Castellani, to Lucio Fontana's circle.¹⁷⁹ Reasons why Gruppo T was placed at the edge of the neo-avant-garde's social space, are the dates of their inaugural, programmatic exhibitions (*Mirrorama's* 1-11), held in 1960-1961, and the fact that except for the first one, which also included Manzoni, Fontana, Munari, Tinguely, and Enrico Baj, participants at all other exhibi-

179 See in MANZONI: *Azimut*, exhibition catalogue, Gagosian Gallery, 17.11.2011 – 6.1.2012 (London: Gagosian Gallery, 2011). A good impression on how young generation of artists perceived Lucio Fontana, gives Heinz Mack: "Fontana was a kind of colleague who supported and inspired us, giving us this affirmation and awareness that we were on the right path ... his work was so useful to us; so near to what we were doing.", in Baily <https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/heinz-mack/> Accessed June 23, 2018.

tions from that series were only group members. Gruppo N, on the other hand, was located in Padua, and except from initial connections with Milan avant-garde milieu, established through the participation of Manfredo Massironi and Eduardo Landi in the exhibitions organized at Gallery Azimut, it had just a few other connections with Milanese artistic. It was also formed towards the end of the observed period, and early exhibitions by which it is represented in the visualization, were held at group's atelier (Studio N), not yet integrated into the existing neo-avant-garde infrastructure.

In the center of the network there is Spoerri's *Editions MAT – Multiple d'Art Transformable*, exhibition displayed for the first time in Paris, in Galerie Loeb, at the end of 1959. Described as "an anthology of multiples in sculpture, with the theme of real or perceptual movement",¹⁸⁰ it was the collection of small-scale transformable kinetic objects, produced on affordable price in a series of one hundred items resulting from Spoerri's collaboration with artists of different generations – from Dieter Roth to Joseph Albers, and Marcel Duchamp.¹⁸¹ Organized and managed by Spoerri, and touring Europe throughout 1960 (Munich, Zurich, Krefeld), it was a very important reference for *New Tendencies*, both in regard to the for-

180 Lisa Cempellin, *The Ideas, Identity and Art of Daniel Spoerri. Contingencies and Encounters of an 'Artistic Animator'* (Wellington: Vernon Press, 2017), 1-3.

181 The initial Edition MAT included works by Yaacov Agam, Pol Bury, Enzo Mari, Bruno Munari, Man Ray, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely, and Victor Vasarely. On the occasion of its presentation in Zürich, collection was supplemented with works of Joseph Albers, Marcel Duchamp, Heinz Mack, and Frank Malina; More on MAT Editions; see in Katerina Vatsella, *Edition MAT: Daniel Spoerri, Karl Gerstner und das Multiple: die Entstehung einer Kunstform* (Bremen: Hauschild, 1998).

mat of multiple, and model of production. Other important exhibitions, according to calculations (Table 1- 3), which took into account the strength, and multiplicity of ties among network actors, belong to the production of group ZERO (Heinz Mack's solo exhibition held in Milan, in March 1960; *Expositie - demnstratie ZERO*, Arnhem, 1961; *ZERO Edition, Exposition, Demonstration*, Dusseldorf, 1961), whose activities dominate the central area of the network. It is not particularly surprising since, in 1961, ZERO was already, and spontaneously operating as an international movement, overarching almost the entire social space of neo-avant-garde artistic subculture.

Eigenvector centrality	
Heinz Mack	0.860773
ZERO. Edition - Exposition - Demonstration	0.846478
Editions MAT - Paris	0.777507
Nove tendencije	0.775177
Expositie - demnstratie ZERO	0.658741

T.1

Closeness centrality	
Expositie - demnstratie ZERO	0.45584
ZERO. Edition - Exposition - Demonstration	0.407643
Nove tendencije	0.391677
Heinz Mack	0.391198
Editions MAT - Paris	0.373832

T.2

Betweenness centrality	
Nove tendencije	11044.82245
Editions MAT - Paris	5515.746477
Heinz Mack	3720.42398
ZERO. Edition - Exposition - Demonstration	2636.716467
Expositie - demnstratie ZERO	2169.756536

T. 3

Table 1-3. Ranking of the exhibitions held between 1958 and 1961, and related to neo-avant-garde artistic subculture, according to T1) Eigen centrality, T2) Closeness centrality, T3) and Betweenness centrality measures

In comparison to the exhibitions situated within the central network area, tightly interconnected by common participants (curators, organizers, authors and editors of the catalogues), according to the calculations of centrality none of the large, professionally curated exhibitions – *Kinetische Kunst* (Zürich, 1960), *Monochrome Malerei* (Leverkusen, 1960), *Konkrete Kunst: 50 Jahre Entwicklung* (Zürich, 1960 *Art abstrait constructif international*, (Paris, 1961), except from the *Bewogen / Bewegung*, (Amsterdam, Stockholm, Copenhagen 1961-1962), managed to enter the group of five or even ten important exhibitions at the time.

The largest of these exhibitions, *Bewogen / Bewegung*, opened in March, 1961, first at Stedelijk in Amsterdam, was transferred and restaged a month later at Moderna Museet, in Stockholm under the title *Rörelse Konsten / Movement in Art*, and moved again, at the end of 1961 to Louisiana Museum, in Copenhagen. The objective of the exhibition, curated by Pontus Hultén, with the assistance of Daniel Spoerri, was to outline “the history of artists’ interest in movement, from Futurism to contemporary art”,¹⁸² and across the broadly understood field of visual arts, which included “kinetic art, performance, happenings and film, along with a host of ‘static’ artworks”.¹⁸³ A specific of the selection was an overstated number and position of Tinguely’s works in the exhibition display, and the inclusion of other representatives of Nouveaux Réalistes, Raymond Heins, and Niki de Saint Phale. Concerning a pronouncedly critical view of

182 According to the catalogue of the exhibition, there were 223 artworks displayed by 83 authors; more on the exhibition see in Anna Lundström, “Movement in Art. The layers of an exhibition”, in Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet the Formative Years, ed. Anna Tellgren (Stockholm, London: Moderna Museet & Koenig Books, 2017), 67-93.

183 Ibidem., 68-69.

their work, in particular in the milieu of the contemporary French art scene, stemming, amongst others, from Nouveaux Réalistes affirmative relation towards American pop-art, it was a rather brave curatorial decision.¹⁸⁴ The selection also included a group of artists – Heinz Mack, Julio Le Parc, Otto Piene, Dieter Roth, Paul Talman, Günther Uecker – who will, in just a few months, attend the first Nove Tendencije exhibition.

Although its venue belonged to the system of institutional culture, the exhibition *Nove Tendencije* (Zagreb, 1961) was firmly embedded in the neo-avant-garde subculture. It was conceived, and curated by Brazilian artist Almir Mavignier, and closely followed “do-it-yourself” principle typical for the practice of group ZERO, with whom Mavignier was associated from 1958, and therefore strongly relied on his wide personal network that included artists from both Europe, and Latin America¹⁸⁵. Mavigier’s assistant was young

184 Still another peculiarity of Hultén’s selection was also the inclusion of Robert Rauschenberg, who already had a firm, contacts with both Parisian and Lombardian neo-avant-garde. Few months after Bewogen / Bewegung he took part in Restany’s exhibition Le Nouveau Réalisme à Paris et à New York, with artworks recognized in the Parisian intellectual circles, in particular those close to Galerie Denise Réne, as an epitome of “Americanization”, a (political) strategy meant to undermining European postwar culture. Such perception strongly affected the position of Nouveau Réalisme at the Fench, and consequently European art scene at the time; see, for example, Catherine Dossin, “To Drip or to Pop? The European Triumph of American Art”, Artl@ Bulletin, Vol. 3, Issue 1 (Spring 2014), 79-103.

185 For the reconstruction, and visualization of Almir Mavignier’s personal network in 1960, see in Kolečnik, Bojić, Šilić, “Reconstruction”, 58-79. https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_99-2016_058-

Croatian art critic Matko Meštrović, a well-informed intellectual, also not the employee of the Gallery of Contemporary art,¹⁸⁶ who will play a very important role in the overall history of the movement. Claim that Nove tendencije – for the first time – brought together works of young European artists from diverse backgrounds, who for the most part never met, or seen of each other’s work, was only partially true. It was true for Croatian artists, who started to forge their way towards international art circles only at the end of the 1950’s, and probably for few other authors called after the initial participants list, based on Mavignier’s personal network has been exhausted. Guided by his understanding of shared artistic, aesthetic and social values, and by the similarities in technical aspects of art production, Mavignier put together a complex overview of diverse art practices opposing the excessive subjectivity, individualism, and idiosyncrasy of Art Informel. Bringing to the fore value system of the first postwar generation, its radical stance against hegemonic model of high modernist artistic culture, and concept of art “growing out of the diverse structures of modern life”,¹⁸⁷ *Nove Tendencije* achieved international success, although within still limited circles of neo-avant-garde artists, and among art critic sympathetic to their critical stance on the Informalist mainstream.

079_Kolesnik_Bojic_Silic.pdf

186 For a detailed story on organization of the first New Tendencies exhibition see Rosen, A Little Known; Rosen, Weibel bit international; Medosch, New Tendencies.

187 Manifesto, written and signed by Biasi, Mack, Manzoni, and Massironi in 1960 on the occasion of the exhibition *La Nuova Concezione Artistica*, quoted by Lucilla Meloni, ed. Gruppo N. Oltre la pittura, oltre la scultura: l’arte programmata. (Frankfurt am Main & Milano: Fondazione VAF & Silvana Editore, 2009), 45.

However, the position of that exhibition in the topography of exhibitions network (Fig. 2) does not have much to do with the real-life reception of the exhibition, but rather confirms that New Tendencies provided a comprehensive overview of neo-avant-garde tendencies with – broadly defined – neoconstructivist orientation.¹⁸⁸ Placement of *Nove Tendencije* along the upper right side of the network core, is determined by the number of Italian, and German, and artists from other locations of neo-avant-garde activities who took part in the exhibition, and also with the absence of Dutch authors, and *Nouveaux Réalistes*, positioned on the opposite side of the network. The connections of *Nove Tendencije* with other network actors are predominantly weak, but numerous and direct, which provide the exhibition – when translated into the measures of centrality (Tables 1–3) – with the third position within the group of five most important exhibitions held between 1958 and 1961. Other exhibitions organized by the museums and encompassed by this visualization, were excluded from the calculations since their relations to the neo-avant-garde subculture was mediated by the system of institutional culture. If they would have been taken into account, *Nove Tendencije* would take the position of the fifth most important exhibition in the observed period.

PHASE OF ESTABLISHMENT, AND CONSOLIDATION: 1962 – 1963

Except from his approach to organization, and curation of New Tendencies, the influence of Mavignier's affiliation with ZERO, was also manifested through his communication with Matko Meštrović, preceding the

¹⁸⁸ Term neoconstructivism is used as a signifier for art practices which put forward Futurism, Constructivism, Bauhaus, and De Stijl, as their historical references.

exhibition. Consistent with ZERO's expansion strategy, which assumed the support to persons, and locations responsive towards group's concept of art, in one of the letters they exchanged at the time, Mavignier outlined "the opportunity of young critics", like Meštrović, "to come to Germany, and have contacts with people, artist and ideas that might help give impulse to some new forces among you"¹⁸⁹ as perhaps the most important outcome of *Nove Tendencije* exhibition. Fulfilling the promise lurking behind the lines of that letter already at the beginning of 1961, Mavignier provided Meštrović with the opportunity to stage the exhibition of Yugoslav contemporary painting at Galerie F, in Ulm.¹⁹⁰ The exhibition was followed by Meštrović's visit to Düsseldorf, and Zürich, where he missed a desired meeting with Max Bill, establishing, instead, contact with Karl Gerstner. From Zurich, Meštrović went to Munich to meet with Gerhard von Graevenitz, whom he will get to know much better during his stay in Paris, at the beginning of 1962. For the young art critic, with few previous direct contacts with the foreign artists, it was crucially important encounter with the artistic, cultural, and social milieu to which he will be firmly tied throughout the 1960s, and equally important for the future of New Tendencies.

Artists who were later invited to recall their impressions of the first New Tendencies exhibition, often described that event in terms of 'epiphany' – a singular moment

¹⁸⁹ Medosch, *Automation*, 55.

¹⁹⁰ Meštrović's selection was an overview of Yugoslav art scene at the time, and encompassed a rather wide range of art practices – from geometric abstraction to naïve art. After Ulm, it was supposed to be restaged in Berlin, but it did not happen due to the political tension between Germany and Yugoslavia, issuing from Yugoslav recognition of DDR.

of a sudden, shared awareness that right there, behind those exhibited artworks, there was already the entire art movement, nameless and invisible to the general public, but ready to articulate its artistic, aesthetic and social objectives. Following that "instant recognition", discussions on the programmatic orientation of the movement started while the exhibition was still running, and continued throughout 1962, creating the core of New Tendencies' social and professional network. Communication model in the background of that process was common to neo-avant-garde of the late 1950s assuming working meetings, frequent travelling among groups of people and locations involved in the project, and a lot of circular correspondence. Almost immediately after the first Zagreb exhibition – in October 1961 – Meštrović received the grant for visiting Paris,¹⁹¹ and in the following months – until February 1962 – joined forces with group GRAV, Equipo 57, Gerhard von Graevenitz, and other like-minded artists on creating the programmatic outline of the new art movement. Meštrović's personal benefit gained from those meetings was, according to his own statement, "the encounter with the new ideas" and development of "vocabulary, relating to emerging new notions in art".¹⁹² If one compares his articles written before New Tendencies, with those from 1963 to 1965, the advancement in type, structure, and vocabulary of his critical, and theoretical discourse is simply – astonishing. It was even more important concerning the fundamental transformations happening in his immediate cultural environment. At the beginning of the 1960s, and corresponding to changes in Yugoslav internal and

¹⁹¹ Meštrović stayed in Paris from October 1961, to February 1962.

¹⁹² Matko Meštrović, 13.05.1965. Letter to Gerhard von Graevenitz. Archive: MSU Zagreb

foreign politics,¹⁹³ Zagreb, a local cultural center with lively, but conventional mainstream art, suddenly turned into a vibrant location of international experimental art, hosting New Tendencies, Music Biennale (MBZ), the international biannual survey of avant-garde, and experimental music, and festival of amateur experimental film (Genre Film Festival – GEFF),¹⁹⁴ which all required a proper critical response, impossible without acquisition of new epistemic, and discursive devices. In that respect, Meštrović was well ahead of its colleagues from Gallery of Contemporary Art, which appointed him the chief-curator of *Nove Tendencije 2*. Gallery also provided finances for his participation in the meetings, and discussions on the fundamentals principles and program objectives of international art movement New Tendencies, that was formed in 1962 and by the intense communication among Zagreb, Paris and Milan.¹⁹⁵ French *Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel* (GRAV), established in 1960, with the ambition "to fashion Marxist aesthetics compatible with works ascribable to the tradition of abstract art",¹⁹⁶ played a very important

¹⁹³ More on political situation in Yugoslavia, and on its relation with the Cold War cultural politics, see in Ljiljana Kolečnik, "A Decade of Freedom, Hope and Lost Illusions. Yugoslav Society in the 1960s as a Framework for New Tendencies", *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 34 (2010), 211–224.

¹⁹⁴ In 1961 Zagreb City Council accepted the proposition of avant-garde composer Milko Kelemen to establish Music Biennale of Zagreb (MBZ). It was also decided that MBZ and NT should run together every two years and that the first issue of the combined events should happen in spring 1963.

¹⁹⁵ More on that process see in Denegri, *Exat* 51, and Medosch, *Automation*.

¹⁹⁶ Jacopo Galimberti, "The Early Years of GRAV: Better Marx than Malraux",

role in that process, imposing itself as a leading force of the movement by the series of its programmatic texts, published in the immediate aftermath of *Nove Tendencije* – declaration *Assez de Mystifications / Stop with Mystification* issued in September 1961, along with GRAV's participation at the second *Bienal de Paris*, and the pamphlet *Transformer l'actuelle situation de l'art plastique*, issued in October 1961, explaining group's view on the relationship between art and society, on the traditional value of visual art, and on certain aspects of visual reception. They were followed by the group's statement *Nouvelle Tendance*, published along the exhibition *L'Instabilité* (Paris, March, 1962), as a summary of discussions led between Paris and Milan, emphasizing that the term employed in its title "was already used on the occasion of the *Nove Tendencije* exhibition in Zagreb in 1961", as a signifier of phenomena which "appeared simultaneously among young designers at different points in the world", and just "began to give a more homogeneous character".¹⁹⁷ That new phenomenon, described as "the evolution [which] can bring new ways of conceiving, appreciating and placing the work in society", was rising against "the sterile situation which now produces, day after day, thousands of works labelled lyrical abstraction, formless art, Tachism, etc., and also against the fruitless extension of a lagging mannerism based on the geometric forms . . . of Mondrian and,"¹⁹⁸ that is, against both Informalist mainstream, and geometric abstraction. New Tendencies – in

OwnReality (13), 2015, online, URL: <http://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/ownreality/13/galimberti-en>, 14; Accessed 23 April 2017.

197 GRAV, *Nouvelle Tendance*, 1962; <http://www.julioleparc.org/grav10.html> Accessed 12 march 2017.

198 Ibidem.

GRAV's interpretation – had quite similar, negative view of other neo-avant-garde currents. While praising neo-Dadaists and Nouveaux Realistes for their disrespect towards "traditional considerations of beauty", they also pointed out the "contradiction between their anti-art and effort to baptize the object anew", as essentially different from New Tendencies' "search for clarity" with no other objective than transformation of art ("plastic activity") into practice which "makes its primary elements evident" to human eye, as opposed to the "eye of the intellectual, the specialist, the aesthete, the sensitive".¹⁹⁹ The idea of "art as continuous (visual) research", introduced by that GRAV's statement, also highlighted the understanding of art – science relation, specific for New Tendencies as art movement, akin with the questions of its approach to the concept of authorship. Drawing on Umberto Eco's term "epistemological metaphor", Jacopo Galimberti, describes such understanding as quasi-scientific, and as an example of "appropriation of scientific values and practices", with the purpose to "evoke an approach to knowledge and society without actually trying to turn art into a science".²⁰⁰ According to Galimberti, the appropriation and mediation of scientific paradigm, also allowed GRAV (New Tendencies) to

... borrow the notion of authorship typical of the scientific community, in which discoveries and publications are generally accredited to a team. On the other hand, it engaged with abstract and process-based works devoid of individual signature supplemented by the descriptions of artistic engagement which resembles the process of scientific research.²⁰¹

199 Ibidem

200 Galimberti (2015), 7.

201 GRAV, *Tendances*, n.p.

The programmatic insistence on clarity, therefore, assumed the act of creation which is based on the same type of rational reasoning which is guiding scientific research, fully transparent, and devoid of any mystification. In comparison to other art groups, coming together at this period to define a common program of the movement, devoted to the social aspects of art production, and to the operation of art-market mechanisms, the position of GRAV was more pragmatic, and concerned with the means and devices that will allow for better understanding of visual perception, in order to apply that knowledge in creation of new art objects / spatial situations that will induce viewers' active response, and the awareness of their own perceptive, sensory capacities. In other words, and articulated in theoretical terms, the objectives of "art as research" was to "determine objective psycho-physical bases of the plastic phenomenon and visual perception", to change our "manner of perceiving visual phenomena ... [and] enhance our entire perception apparatus", in order to facilitate better understanding of the "phenomenology of the world and society".²⁰²

The important consequence of defining art as research, was the change in the status of artwork that members of New Tendencies understood rather as a report on particular stage of the research process, than as definite, completed visual statement, or – more precisely – as a "strictly visual situation" without any element outside its "homogenous" structure that does not allow any kind of interpretation beyond

202 Matko Meštrović, *Untitled (The Ideology of the New Tendencies)*, in *Nove tendencije 2*, exhibition catalogue, Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1.8.-15.9.1963. (Zagreb: Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, 1963). n. p.

its purely physical features.²⁰³ Similar to the scientific research, which approves repetition of experiments, and recreation of the results obtained by other scientist, the objective of New Tendencies was to create artworks that could be endlessly modified in the course of visual research, and endlessly reproduced by anyone willing to follow artist's instructions.²⁰⁴ At the beginning of the 1960s, forms of artistic behaviour which diminished importance of authorship, endorsed collective authorship (Gruppo N, Equipo 57) and production of anonymous, unsigned artworks (GRAV), undermining the fetishization of a unique, authorial personality, were not new. In case of New Tendencies they were also accompanied by the propositions on new forms of organization that would make it integral to the operative principles of the movement that were discussed but not fully implemented.²⁰⁵

Programmatic orientation of New Tendencies in regard to the institutional art mainstream gained a more comprehensive articulation in *Bulletin N° 1*, document published shortly after the exhibition *Nove Tendencije 2*, held in Zagreb, in August 1963,²⁰⁶ with the intention to summarize the actual situation of the movement, and to identify the risks coming from its social context. Along with the possibility that NT would be absorbed into the art scene, or turned into the new form of academism due to repetition of its

203 GRAV, *Tendence*, n.p.

204 Such understanding of New Tendencies' objectives was strongly advocated by Gruppo N; Meloni, Gruppo N, quoting and explaining the views of Manfredo Massironi, 361, 131.

205 Meloni, Gruppo N, 362.

206 *Bulletin N° 1*, August 1961, type-written document, Archive MSU, Zagreb; published in English translation in Rosen, *A Little Known*, 145-147.

results of the discussions led in the course of *Nove Tendencije 2*, but also the exclusive nature of the timeline of the exhibitions and events accounting for the pre-history of the movement,²⁰⁹ led to the first serious breach in the social dynamics of the movement, and at the moment when “NT was about to be absorbed by the art system”.²¹⁰ The beginning of New Tendencies’ transition to the institutional culture is at least partially related to the appearance of *arte programmata*, artistic tendency praising the algorithmic logic of contemporary experiments with concrete poetry, and expanded to the production of Gruppo N, and Gruppo T as the examples of the same, rational and “programmed” approach to the problems of visual arts. The exhibition *Arte programmata. Arte cinetica. Opere moltiplicate. Opera aperta* (Milano, 1962) intended to present that new art phenomena, first at the Italian, then international arts scene,²¹¹ accelerated a wider recognition of both New Tendencies, and other – broadly defined – neoconstructivist trends concurrent to gestural abstraction. Notion of *arte programmata* certainly contributed to the ongoing discussions on the state of contemporary art, at the time particularly intense at the Italian cultural scene, but also indicative – due to the role of Venice Biennale in the global Cold War cultural politics – of general atmosphere and di-

209 Nouvelle Tendence - recherche continue. Evolution de sa composition, typewritten, 1963, Archive of MSU, Zagreb.

210 Medosch, *Automation*, 130.

211 With the ample financial support by Olivetti, the exhibition was touring Europe, and from 1964 through the USA as well. After Milan, where it was first displayed, it was restaged in Venice (joined by GRAV), Düsseldorf, London, and at the twelve locations in USA, finishing its journey in MOMA, in 1966.

rections at the international art scene. They assumed an astringent criticism of individualism, and social disinterestedness of Informalist mainstream, and involved the most influential art critics at the time, as Giulio Carlo Argan, who were advocating closer relations between art and science, and collective work practices, as opposed to excessive subjectivity of gestural abstraction. Critical assessment of artistic mainstream, was backed up by the series of concomitant exhibitions – *Oltre la Pittura - Oltre la Scultura*, Milano and Torino, April - May 1963; the international *Biennale di San Marino - Oltre l'informale*, July 1963; *nuova tendenza 2*, Venice, December 1963 – pointing to art phenomena from the context of New Tendencies, as an important, and convincing response to Art Informel. Discussions on the state of contemporary art scene acquired international dimension due to the strategic, and simultaneous staging of *Biennale di San Marino* and Annual AICA Congress (*Convegno internazionale artisti critici e studiosi d'arte*) organized in Rimini, and attended by large Croatian delegation supportive to New Tendencies, by Latin American radical art critics, and moderated by both Argan, and Pierre Restany who, at the time, was the most important liaison between American Pop-art and European art scene. The contribution of art critics, and of the discussions led in Rimini to the wider recognition of New Tendencies cannot be overstated. They were reflected in Argan’s articles published in the most-read Italian daily newspapers, and art magazines shaping both public opinion, and interests of art-market.

While such critical interventions into the public sphere, and above-mentioned exhibitions provided discursive framework for the inclusion of New Tendencies, that is, inclusion of art practices pertaining to the concept of “art as (visual) research” into the system of institutional culture, other seg-

ment of the movement, closer to the views and practices of group ZERO continued with its geo-cultural expansion. Differences between those two parallel flows within New Tendencies, demonstrated in *Bulletin N° 1*, were clearly articulated, by Jean-Pierre Yvaral, at the end of 1963.

Zero and NUL whose spirit is a little touched with Neo-Dada, are slightly earlier movements than NTrc [Nouvelle Tendence - recherche continue]. Several of their members joined NT at the start, but strayed later, their positions being too far from the general spirit of NTrc and one can say that there is no affinity with the exhibitions called Zero and NUL.²¹²

Division lines between those two groups, that were together structuring the poetic field of New Tendencies, were obvious already at the first Zagreb exhibitions. *Nove Tendencije 2*, made them even clearer, justifying Jack Burnham’s proposed differentiation of the movement on the proponents of “experimental objectivity, anonymity, perceptual psychology, and socialism” and those who were advocating “individual research, recognition, poetry, idealism, immateriality, luminosity, and nature”.²¹³ According to Burnham, the representatives of the “idealistic” group affiliated with group ZERO in Düsseldorf, were Dutch group Nul, part of the Munich group, Piero Manzoni, and artists from Lucio Fontana, and Yves Klein’s circles. “Frankfurt Grupe”,

212 Jean-Pierre Yvaral, December 1963, Letter to Georg Rickey; see Rickey (1964), 276.

213 Jack Burnham, Beyond Modern Sculpture: The Effects of Science and Technology on the Sculpture of This Century. (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 247; cited according Medosch, *Automation*, 71-72.

which pertained to the same “idealistic” wing of NT, Burnham either consciously omitted, or simply did not recognize as separate entity. On the other side of that great divide, there was French group GRAV, Italian Gruppo N, and Gruppo T, part of the Munich group affiliated with Gallery Nota and Gehrard von Graevenitz, Yugoslav (Croatian) artists, and artists from other socialist countries.

Although it is almost impossible to miss the echoes of ideological bias implied with such division,²¹⁴ and a rather simplified application of certain categories essential for understanding the overall story of New Tendencies, visualization of exhibition network related to New Tendencies in 1962-1963 (Fig. 3), confirms Burnham’s division on two groups, differentiated by both the understanding of art – science relation, the objectives of that relationship, but also by their relation to the mainstream culture. The gap caused by these differences, which could be explained in the terms of structural hole would be also clearly visible in the network topography, if it was not bridged by the intervention of art critics, that is, by the international *Biennale di San Marino*, which brought them together outside and beyond the framework of New Tendencies, and give the equal attention to both “neo-Dadaists”, and “rational-

214 The artists from the Eastern bloc (art group Dviženije USSR; Edward Krasinski, Sándor Szandaï, Hungary; Zdeněk Sýkora, Czechoslovakia), took part only in NT’s third exhibition – *Nova tendencija 3*, held in 1965. Considering that next, fourth NT exhibition was held in 1969, a year after Burnham published his book, a decision to include them in the group of “rationalists/socialists”, is arbitrary, ideologically biased, and cannot be confirmed either by the chronology of the movement, characteristics of their artworks, or personal political choices.



Map 2.
Spatial distribution of exhibitions related to New Tendencies in 1962-1963

ist” layer of the movement. Result of such strategy was a rather interesting, and quite important proposition of the new poetic configuration of the European art scene that doubtlessly influenced the next, XXXII Venice Biennale. The importance of the 1963 international *Biennale di San Marino* is also confirmed by the calculations of centrality measures, according to which it was most important of twenty-seven exhibitions related to New Tendencies, and encompassed by this visualisation (Table 4-6).

Betweenness centrality	
Biennale di San Marino - Oltre informale	10284.05118
Nove tendencije 2	6942.808422
Europäische Avantgarde	6017.023097
ZERO - Der neue idealismus	3553.341686
Oltre la pittura oltre la scultura	2868.075843
Bewegte Bereiche der Kunst	1988.979946

T. 4

Eigencentrality	
Nove tendencije 2	0.810169
Biennale di San Marino - Oltre informale	0.769657
Oltre la pittura oltre la scultura	0.694803
nuova tendenza 2	0.648735
Europäische Avantgarde	0.550563

T. 5

Closeness centrality	
Biennale di San Marino - Oltre informale	0.507968
Nove tendencije 2	0.50495
Europäische Avantgarde	0.479323
Arte programmata	0.463636
Bewegte Bereiche der Kunst	0.458633

T. 6

Table 4-6 Ranking of the New Tendencies-related exhibitions held in 1962-1963, according to T4) EigenCentrality, T5) Closeness centrality, T6) and Betweenness centrality measures

Still another reason for high ranking of *Biennale di San Marino* was the inclusiveness of its selection encompassing both gestural and geometric abstraction, figurative painting, and almost all art groups involved with New Tendencies. According to the same calculations, *Nove Tendencije 2* is ranked as second most important among exhibitions held in 1962-1963, followed by other exhibitions both those close to the concept of “art as research”, and to the poetics of group ZERO. A dense layer of ties among the exhibitions positioned on the right side of the network visualization, where the exhibition *Nove Tendencije 2* is also placed, points to the process of movement’s consolidation, but also to the establishment of its relationship with the institutional culture. In comparison, the exhibitions related to group ZERO, including the most important one *ZERO – Der Neue Idealismus*, were still firmly embedded in the exhibition infrastructure of neo-avant-garde subculture. Even the exhibition *Nul [62]*, important and early survey of art production emerging form ZERO’s sphere of influence, held in Amsterdam in Stedelijk Museum, was organized, prepared, designed and financed by group Nul, while the museum provided only its technical support.²¹⁵ While both Zagreb exhibitions were collectively curated by artists, all other exhibitions related to the

215 According to the interview with Hank Peeters: “Nul62 only happened because of an unexpected gap in the museum’s schedule, an intensive lobbying effort and the artists agreeing to shoulder the costs themselves – including transport, set-up, insurance and even posters and catalogues. Willem Sandberg’s contribution was limited to making the exhibition space available”, see in *nul = 0. The Dutch Nul Group in an International Context*, exhibition catalogue, eds. Colin Huizing, Tijs Visser (Schiedam, Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum & NAI Publisher, 2011), 18.

concept of art as research, except of *nuova tendenza 2*,²¹⁶ had professional curators, or art critics in the role of curators.

Spatial distribution of the exhibitions held in 1962–1963 (Map 2) points out Netherlands, as the location of most intense activities, which has a lot to do with the energy group Nul invested in numerous exhibitions, and events (“demonstrations” according to ZERO terminology), organized at the time. New locations at this map, if we compare it with the time interval between 1958 and 1961, are Rome, Torino, and Genoa, on the south, and Edinburgh further north. However, majority of exhibitions were still staged in the geographic area outlined by Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. Some of them already crossed the Atlantic, reaching USA and Latin America, which appears on the map due to the GRAV’s travelling exhibition *L’instabilité*, organized by Galerie Denise Réne, and staged in 1962–1963 in New York, and Sao Paolo.

THE PHASE OF INTEGRATION INTO THE INSTITUTIONAL MAINSTREAM: 1964 – 1965

The attempt in consolidation, or more precise – formalization, and regulation of New Tendencies, in 1963, had a far-reaching negative effect, evolving through 1964 and culminating with the exhibition *Nova tendencija 3*, held in Zagreb, in August – September 1965. The exhibition and its side events were the last attempt in New Tendencies transformation, and reintegration

216 Antje von Graevenitz, “Gerhard von Graevenitz as Curator, Gallerist, Editor, and Lecture Organizer”, in *The Artist as Curator. Collaborative initiatives in the international ZERO movemnet1957-1967*, eds. Tiziana Cainaello, Mattijs Visser (Gent: MER. Paper Kunsthalle, 2015), 290–91.

of its efforts informed by the concept of art as continuous research. However, the right moment for achieving the inner cohesion of New Tendencies has passed, and all the risks coming from the social environment, already identified in 1963, were growing with each new exhibition.

From the point of view of its public perception, 1964 was the year of movement’s unquestionable success at the international art scene. In March 1964 the restaged version of *Nove Tendencije 2*, was transferred from Venice to Museum Morsbroich in Leverkusen, displayed under the title *Neue Tendenzen*. The curator was Udo Kulterman, art critic and then director of the Museum, well-known to Meštrović, and Lombardian avant-garde with whom he had close contacts from the end on the 1950s. Opened with the lectures by Umbro Apollonio, the most vocal advocate of New Tendencies in Italy, and Matko Meštrović, the exhibition was quite successful.

Exactly a month before the Leverkusen exhibition was closed, New Tendencies had their debut in Paris. The title of the exhibition was *Propositions visuelles du mouvement international Nouvelle Tendance*, it was organized by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, staged in Louvre, at the Pavillon de Marsanof, and opened in late April of 1964. Intended as solo exhibition of group GRAV, it was turned into the presentation of New Tendencies, since the group extend that invitation to all movement members. The selection of artworks was made by ballots, the exhibition design and presentation were impeccable, and – as Matko Meštrović said, recalling the event – it was a large and “beautiful exhibition”. However, the reactions of the public were not at all enthusiastic, and from the perspective of the exhibiting artists – it was a big disappointment.

Paris exhibition was closed just nine days before the opening of the XXXII Venice Biennale, and at about two weeks before the

opening of *Documenta III* in Kassel. New Tendencies were presented at Biennale in the central, Italian pavilion with artworks and environments of Gruppo N, Gruppo T, Erico Castellani and Enzo Mari. The response was better than in Paris, but still quite disappointing, since in the focus of both art critics, and public were American Pop-Art, and minimalism. However, the success or disappointment with the presentation in Venice, was far less important regarding the future of New Tendencies, than astonishing fact that the very idea of taking part in the exhibition that was setting the trends, and strongly affecting international art market, pointed out – just a few months before – as a most serious threat to New Tendencies, has not been put in question. Perhaps the artists exhibiting at the Italian pavilion were convinced that it is possible for the movement to retain its artistic and ideological integrity, while displaying the results of visual research shoulder to shoulder with the “fetishized commodities” of institutional visual culture, but it also might be that majority of movement’s members were not interested any more in checking the results of such appraisal.

Instead, and parallel to Biennale, GRAV and Zero also took part in a special exhibition *Light and Movement* organized within the framework of *Documenta III* in Kassel. However, and opposite to both Parisian debut and Venice Biennale, the *Light and Movement* exhibition or – more precisely – the selection of works by Mack, Piene, Uecker and group GRAV put together in a haste just before *Documenta* opening, and displayed in one, single room were met with critical appraisal as the example of genuinely innovative art.²¹⁷

The year 1964 came to an end with the establishment of *Nove tendencije 3* Organi-

217 Frank Popper, *Die kinetische Kunst: Licht und Bewegung, Umweltkunst und Aktion* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1975), 181.

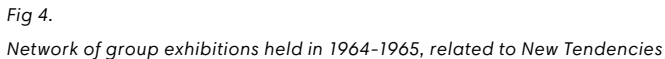
zation Committee intended to assess the situation, and propose possible solutions and lines of action, that could counteract the damaging influence of art market and almost completed inclusion on New Tendencies in the mainstream culture. The latter became a matter of urgency, after William Seitz’s exhibition *The Responsive Eye* opened in MOMA, in February 1965.²¹⁸ Seitz included in his selection number of artworks produced in the framework of New Tendencies,²¹⁹ framed by the explanatory discourse which has stripped them off their ideological, and socially engaged pretext, and described as

... art without relationships— more accurately, an art with a different order of relationships. The asymmetrical dialogues between large and small, above and below, empty and full, or bright and dull that took place across picture surfaces have been ended either by central placement or uniformity. Too much diversity of form impedes perceptual effect. Certain of these works therefore have a stronger family resemblance to mechanical patterns, scientific diagrams, and even to screens and textured surfaces than to relational abstract art.”²²⁰

218 The exhibition *The Responsive Eye*. was held at MOMA, New York, February 23–April 25, 1965; restaged at City Art Museum of St. Louis, May 20–June 20, 1965; Seattle Art Museum: July 15–August 23, 1965; The Pasadena Art Museum: September 25–November 7, 1965; The Baltimore Museum of Art: December 14, 1965–January 23, 1966.

219 Out of 97 participating artist and art groups, 40 were members of New Tendencies.

220 Seitz, William. “Introduction”, exhibition catalogue, *Responsive Eye*. MOMA, New York, February 23–April 25, 1965 (New York: MOMA, 1965), 8.



The exhibition *Responsive Eye*, according to Pamela Lee, soon became the most popular exhibition in MOMA's history²²¹ attended by more than 180.000 visitors.²²² Contrary to the general approval by the New York art audience, it was severely and unanimously attacked by art critics, as trivial and shallow.²²³ Mass-media visibility of artists experimenting with physical properties of color, and movement, propelled by this exhibition and framed by the proliferation of terms Kinetic, and Op-Art applied to both the production of New Tendencies, and a growing number of artworks that successfully emulated some of movement's formal solutions, while striving for the superficial, and playful optical effects, quickly endorsed and appropriated by the fashion industry, popular culture, and art market, undermining and degraded New Tendencies' grounding aesthetic principles, and its confidence in the socially transformative potential of art – science relation.

Already in the course of 1964, but in particular after MOMA exhibition, it has become clear that initial, shared commitment to resist the inclusion in the economy of institutional culture, was forgotten somewhere along the way towards the individual, or group affirmation. New Tendencies

became vulnerable to commodification and trivialization of its results, and divisive regarding their consequences. The topic of *Nova tendencija 3* – “ideological concentration and commonality of goals”, reflected the awareness of the situation, prompting exhibition's Organization Committee to instigate a serious (political) discussion on the objectives of the movement, and its obvious crisis. Integral to that decision was the competition for the “Dissemination of examples of [visual] research” conceived as application of the results of the visual research, emphasizing the possibility of New Tendencies stronger contribution to “visual requirements” of industrial society. Design will become the subject of New Tendencies' theoretical considerations only much later, in 1968, and its appearance at the horizon of the movement at the time, could be related to the conviction that more pragmatic orientation might prevent its pending dissipation. It also might be the reason why – for the first time – the organizers of the exhibition were art historians, art critics and theorists, instead of artists themselves. However, compared with other sections of the exhibition, overview of projects concerning the problem of disseminating research examples,²²⁴ was disappointing, regardless of unexpectedly enthusiastic artists' response to the competition, and intensified the feeling that New Tendencies have come to a dead end. It was a bit paradoxical, since *Nova tendencija 3* was still another large, and “beautiful exhibition” with 114 participants, presenting at two locations 137 examples of bold experiments with light, movement, and space; the objects with intriguing optical effects whose smooth, slick surfaces

introducing new type of “industrial” aesthetics, and first interactive environments, and playful, ludic, engaging ambiances, but also quite a few artworks that were repetitive, superficial, and – redundant. It is not to say that rigor, rationality and quasi-scientific discipline of earlier artworks was completely gone in favor of a more frivolous and eye-pleasing results, but it was quite obvious that the movement, as it presented itself at this exhibition, was incongruent with the radicalism of its theoretical discourse. Perhaps the best account of the exhibition, and of the reasons causing the crisis of New Tendencies at the time, was given by Manfredo Massironi, who concluded, with resignation that

... when one is looking around he sees that ... mediocrity is spreading and decay threatening, and that these are dangers characteristic of all kinds of intellectual work taking place within a capitalistic society.²²⁵

One-day discussion with artist, art critics, and art theorists involved in the inception and promotion of the movement, but also those for whom it was the first, direct encounter with the New Tendencies, organized in the course of the exhibition, confirmed Massironi's assessment, brought to the surface all problems, and controversies of the movement, and made it clear that the concept of visual research was exhausted, and that the damage done by the inclusion of New Tendencies in the economy of mainstream culture was beyond repair.

In 1975, from the ten-year distance of *Nove tendencije 3*, and two years after the story of New Tendencies was definitely over, in his talk at the MIT conference *Arttransition*, Matko Meštrović gave an early and rather objective assessment of movement's achievements. In a lengthy article based on the transcript of that talk, reflecting on the relations between art, and science, Meštrović put forward his honest opinion on the reason of the movement's failure, “In the field of art and science we can follow only phenomenological changes. Essential changes can occur and must be expected only in the understanding and evaluation of human work”.²²⁶

The network visualization of exhibitions held in 1964-1965 (Fig. 4) is encompassing 43 group exhibitions held mainly in the museums and influential, commercial galleries, which played a crucial role in the final transition of New Tendencies formal solutions to artistic mainstream. In the same period there was at least twice as many solo-exhibitions of artists involved with movement, organized by the private galleries, because – up to 1964 and in 1965 – majority of independent spaces, and artist-run galleries comprising for the neo-avant-garde infrastructure already ceased to exist. The sheer number of these exhibitions that would be concentrated in the central area of the network, would make it illegible, and since the concentration of collective exhibitions on the same position in network topography convincingly denotes dynamics of New Tendencies assimilation in the institutional mainstream

221 The opening of the exhibition was recorded in the 26' documentary *The Responsive Eye*, filmed by Brian de Palma. <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1965/the-responsive-eye/>

222 Pamela M. Lee, *Chronophpbia: On Time in the Art of the 1960s* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2004), 160.

223 Dylan Kerr, “MOMA: The Groovy Years: 7 Transformative Exhibitions from the Swinging Sixties”, *Artspace*, 16 October, 2016. https://www.artspace.com/magazine/art_101/lists/moma-archives-1960s-54286 Accessed 17 June 2018.

224 *Nova tendencija 3*, exhibition catalogue, Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, 13.8.-3.10.1965 (Zagreb: Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, 1965)

225 Manfredo Massironi, “Kritičke primjedbe na teoretske priloge unutar Novih Tendencija od 1959 do 1964 godine”, exhibition catalogue, *Nova tendencija 3* (Zagreb: Galerija suvremene umjetnosti, 1965): 23-33.

226 Matko Meštrović, “Art Transition versus World Transition – Some Reflections on the phenomenological and essential changes”, in *Art in Transition*, (October 15-19, 1975), 42-45, Cambridge Mass.: Centre for Advanced Visual Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1975.



Map 3.

Spatial distribution of the exhibitions held in 1964-1965, related to New Tendencies

culture, solo-exhibitions were excluded from the visualization. Network structure is composed out of two main, clearly distinguished and almost equally large segments – one, occupying the right and upper part of network graph is related to art practices integral to New Tendencies, and includes exhibition *The Responsive Eye*, *Nova tendencija 3*, and number of other art shows mainly presenting kinetic, and optic art; the other segment, positioned on the left lower side of network visualization is occupied by *Documenta III* that with its 353 participants, including the representatives New Tendencies, was the largest exhibition held in 1964-65.

Area in the center of the network (marked with a light read ellipsoid), integral to the sphere of kinetic, and optical art related to New Tendencies, covered by a dense layer of multiple ties among number of smaller exhibitions, is concentrator of network activities, also bridging the gap between exhibitions related to New Tendencies, and *Documenta III*. Those exhibitions constituent to that area were either disseminating results of the research on visual perception according to the grounding principles of New Tendencies, or providing the overview of art practices integral to the movement, and those developing at its “edges”, presented as a new mainstream paradigm. *Nova tendencija 3*, ranked as the second most important exhibition in the observed time interval according to calculations of centrality measures (Table 7-9) is positioned at the edge of the “concentration” zone, in whose center there is the exhibition *Licht und Bewegung – Kinetische Kunst – Lumière et Mouvement* – the most important collective exhibition held in 1964-1965, due to its poetic configuration, tied to almost each, and every exhibition in the central network zone. Curated by Harald Szeeman, and first displayed at

Bern Kunsthalle, it was a comprehensive overview of art practices dealing with the subjects of light, and movement and operating at the borderline of art and technology. Other exhibitions constitutional to the “concentration zone” with almost similar objectives were *Kinetic and Optic Art Today* (Albert Knox Gallery, Buffalo, 1965), *Art and Movement* (Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, 1965; curated by Frank Popper, and Guy Brett) *Art et Mouvement: Optique et Cinétique / Omanut utenu'a: 'omanut optit veqintit / (Galerie Denise Réne, Museum of Modern Art in Tel Aviv, 1965; collaboration Jaen Cassou, Frank Popper), end number of other, more or less ambitious shows pertaining to certain aspect of kinetic or optic art. Perhaps the earliest among them was the exhibitions *Le Mouvement 2*, opened at the end of 1964, at Galerie Denise Réne, echoing *Le Mouvement 1*, the first, legendary presentation of kinetic art after WWII, curated by Pontus Hulten and staged at the same gallery in 1955. The authors of explanatory texts in the catalogue of *Le Mouvement 2* were Frank Popper, art critic of younger generation, and future theorist of new media art, and Jean Cassou, then director of the National Museum of Modern Art. The selection of exhibited art works was both the statement on pending, and insuppressible penetration of American pop-art into European cultural space, and attempt in reconfiguration of New Tendencies (extended to Latin America) in terms pertaining to the Denise Réne's profile at the international art market, symbolically closing the story on New Tendencies, which happened between the two exhibitions, even before it was officially over.*

Closeness centrality		
Licht und Bewegung – Kinetische Kunst – Lumière et Mouvement	0.431579	Bern, Brussels
Group ZERO	0.421811	London
Group ZERO – Mack, Piene, Uecker	0.421811	New York
Nova tendencija 3	0.406209	Zagreb
The Responsive Eye	0.386549	New York

T7

Betweenness centrality		
Nova tendencija 3	51965.9717	Zagreb
Licht und Bewegung – Kinetische Kunst – Lumière et Mouvement	12445.7925	Bern, Brussels
Le Mouvement 2	8506.61686	Paris
Mikro nul zero exhibition	6808.60313	Rotterdam
Art and Movement	5913.44175	Edinburgh

T8

Eigenvector centrality		
Nova tendencija 3	0.350339	Zagreb
Licht und Bewegung – Kinetische Kunst – Lumière et Mouvement	0.336103	Bern, Brussels
The Responsive Eye	0.332433	New York
Propositions visuelles – Nouvelle Tendance	0.324862	Paris
Le Mouvement 2	0.306951	Paris

T9

Table 7-9 Ranking of the New Tendencies-related exhibitions held in 1964-1965, according to T7) EigenCentrality, T8) Closeness centrality, T9) and Betweenness centrality measures

The number of collective exhibitions related to New Tendencies in this period contributed to overall growth of exhibition activities in 1964-1965, they will soon become typical for years when two large art exhibitions – Venice Biennale and Documenta

– “met”. Some of those exhibitions either crossed the Atlantic (Map 3), or were organized in USA, as the first presentation of particular individual oeuvre, or production of particular art group. The exhibition Arte programmata, arte cinetica, opere moltiplicate, opera aperta, started its tour through American museums in 1964, and was displayed, with the support of Smithsonian Museum at twelve different locations, commencing its journey at MOMA in 1966. After the successful presentation in New York, the exhibition Responsive Eye, which included a number of European artists, was also displayed at several other locations in USA (Seattle, St. Louis, Pasadena, and Baltimore). In 1964 Howard Wise Gallery in New York organized the first exhibition of group ZERO (*Group ZERO – Mack, Piene, Uecker*), and in 1965 the exhibition of both ZERO group, and artists from the sphere of its influence. Also in 1964, in the same gallery, Georg Rickey curated the exhibition *On the Move: Kinetic Sculpture*, which brought together European and American artists and served as the announcement of ZERO’s exhibition. In 1964, GRAV’s exhibition *L’instabilite* was still touring Latin America, reaching few locations in Brazil, and Buenos Aires, and by the solo-exhibition of Bruno Munari at Isetan stores in Tokyo, in 1965, the aesthetics, and view on art, close to the optics of New Tendencies, extended also to Asia, as final touch on the image of that art movement as an art phenomenon with the global outstretch.

Exhibition *The Responsive Eye* was just one albeit the most important event in the series of events comprising for the operation of the institutional culture performed upon New Tendencies aiming at the inclusion, and assimilation of that new art phenomena in the institutional system of arts. MOMA exhibition contributed to that process by glancing over the ideological, and social objectives of New Tendencies, and pro-

viding the grounds for the “invention” of appropriate signifiers which de-contextualized, and singled out art practices integral to that movement in terms of their obvious marketability. The assimilation and dispersion of its formal solutions into the mainstream art and visual culture, went parallel to the process of disintegration of New Tendencies social tissue. Art groups (Nul, Gruppo N) were dissolved, number of artists involved in the movement – as, for example, central figure of Dutch group Nul, Hank Peetres – decided, at about 1965, to give up on art and change their profession, while others left Europe for USA – some for good, some just temporally – trying to build their careers in New York, and after 1964, the unquestionable metropolis of modern art. Others continued with their work in framework of international art mainstream, developing their personal discourse on art in different directions. In the light of such developments the organization of next, the fourth New Tendencies exhibition under the aegis of continuity with the period between 1961 and 1965, was not only pointless, but simply – impossible.

CONCLUSION

A frequent objection to digital art history is the claim that the results obtained by the application of empirical methods, that is, of quantitative analysis, developed in response to the requirements of social sciences, cannot give any fundamentally important contribution to the epistemological objectives of discipline. Network analysis is often in the focus of such critical observations, taken as an example of dry, and more or less pointless calculations of number of ties between people or objects, by which digital art history intends to replace “carefully reasoned historical narrative”. Superficial, and uniformed such a view disregards the simple fact that network

analysis could be conducted in different manners, on both big, and small datasets, and depending on how it was used could answer both simple and rather complex research questions. In this study it is applied – as it was already stated – in a ‘soft’ manner, resting upon a substantial body of operative knowledge on thus approached art historical phenomenon, so that readers can comprehend the level of its artistic, social, and political complexity. Unless such type of analysis is preceded by research findings that bring essentially important, new information, the basic precondition for its application is a clear idea on how already available data should be reused in order to reveal the information that are already there but have been concealed, or overlooked due to the generally accepted narrative on the art phenomena in question. In the case of New Tendencies it assumes the concentration on micro-situations, that is on the short time periods in-between the first and third Zagreb exhibition, and on the ‘gestation’ period preceding the very appearance of that art phenomena. It is already framed by “carefully reasoned historical narrative”, or – more precisely – several historical narratives differentiated by the perspective from which they approach the New Tendencies. The knowledge provided by those narratives, and data on which they are based, informed the choice of the angle, and analytic approach exercised in this study. It is focused on New Tendencies’s transition from independent, to institutional culture, observed in relation to the parallel process of movement’s poetical articulation, and attempts at establishing its activities and model of the organization according to the principles of an art movement. Since the existing studies on the history of New Tendencies, which encompass the period between 1961 and 1965 are focused either on the relationship of the movement to its social and political context, or on its

programmatic principles – the manner in which they were conceptualized, theoretically funded and applied – the relation of New Tendencies to the mainstream culture is explained in somewhat general terms. It is pointing to the deterioration of those programmatic principles under the influence art-market / market logic of capitalism, as the main reasons for both the unsuccessful transformation of New Tendencies into a “proper” art movement and its inability to resist the absorption into mainstream culture.

The intention of this study was not to question such explanations, but rather to give a closer look to the process of programmatic articulation, and self-representation of the movement, including the identification of key moments, and decisions that have, or have not been made, and whose consequences strongly affected New Tendencies’s early history.

The most important insight provided by such an approach, and by the application of network analysis is a role of art critics in the process of New Tendencies’s transition to institutional culture, which is either systematically overlooked or described in a manner which is encompassing both artists, and art critics with the same ideological, and political objectives. It is not a persuasive argument since it disregards the inner dynamics of the movement before, and after its inclusion in the economy of institutional culture. According to William Altshule it is a transition “From ground-breaking shows assembled by artists themselves, to those conceived by art-dealers, art critics, gallerists, and impresarios”, resulting with “artist becoming increasingly less able to control the circumstances under which their work came before public”, and leaving them “disempowered just as their commercial and social prospects were improving”. In that respect, and according to network

visualization it was possible to indicate the *Biennale di San Marino*, as the critical moment when that process of disempowerment has begun. It did not assume the change in the intensity of art production, at least not in the immediate aftermath of that exhibition, but rather the regard of New Tendencies from retrospective, historical perspective both by artists themselves (*XXXII Venice Biennale*, New Tendencies Paris exhibition), and by art historians, and art critics as well (*The Responsive Eye*, *Licht und Bewegung – Kinetische Kunst – Lumière et Mouvement*).

In the next stage of the research, based on such conclusion, the exhibition networks generated and analyzed for the purposes of this study could be extended to include art critics involved in New Tendencies, and to provide a bit different angle from which the relation between art production, writing on art and interests of art-market in the 1960s could be approached and examined.

INTRODUCTION

Public competitions for monuments and memorials have always attracted the attention of historians of art and architecture; whether due to the formal innovations and/or visionary concept they tend to generate, or their role in establishing new standards and procedures for the evaluation and selection of public art and architecture. Needless to say, some of the major international public competitions and their winning projects, such as that for the *Unknown Political Prisoner* in Berlin (1953), or the competitions for monuments commemorating victims of the Holocaust in the former Nazi concentration camps in Germany and Poland,²²⁷ have become indispensable references in the history of the post-war modernism, and important case studies for studying underlying mechanisms of Cold War cultural politics.²²⁸ More recently, public

227 See, for example, literature on the Monument to the Victims of Fascism in Auschwitz: Katarzyna Murwaska-Muthesius, "Oskar Hansen and the Auschwitz Countermemorial, 1958–1959," in Figuration/Abstraction: Strategies for Public Sculpture in Europe, 1945–1968, ed. Charlotte Benton (London: Ashgate Publishing Limited; Henry Moore Institute, 2004), 193–211. For competitions for the international memorial in Dachau, see: Andrea Ridle, and Lukas Schretter, eds., Das internationale Mahnmahl von Nandor Glid. Idee, Wettbewerbe, Realisierung (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2015).

228 See, for example: Joan Marter, "The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art: The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition," Art Journal. Sculpture in Postwar Europe and America 1945–1959, vol. 53, no. 4 (1994): 28–36; Robert Burstow, "Western European Modernism in the Service of American Cold-War Liberalism." In Art and Ideology:

competitions for war memorials, such as the *Vietnam War Memorial* in the United States, and the growing number of memorials to Holocaust victims and victims of "totalitarianism" in Europe and North America, have played a significant role in tackling contemporary relationships between aesthetic and political concerns.²²⁹ If research on 20th-century architectural competitions – itself a relatively young field of academic enquiry²³⁰ – is still predominantly focused on the big centres in

The Nineteen-Fifties in a Divided Europe, ed. Ljiljana Kolečnik (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2004), 37–56.

229 See, for examples: Peter Carrier, "Memorial fixation. The Monument for the murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin," *Život umjetnosti*, no. 64 (2001): 118–131; Peter Carrier, "Anti-Totalitarian Rhetoric in Contemporary German Politics (Its Ambivalent Objects and Consistent Metaphors)," *Human Affairs*, no. 21 (2011): 27–34. DOI: 10.2478/s13374-011-0004-x.

230 The academic interest for an analytic approach to this topic appeared in the late 1980s to early 1990s. See, for example: Helene Lipstadt: *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture* (Princeton Architectural Pr, 1989). One of the reasons for such interest in that particular time period "may be found in the deregulation and market orientation of the building constructions sector during the 1980s and the reregulation in the 1990s through the European Parliament and Council directive". Jonas E. Andersson, Gerd Bloxham Zettersten, and Magnus Rönn, "Editors' Comments," in Architectural Competitions – Histories and Practice, ed. Jonas E. Andersson, Gerd Bloxham Zettersten, and Magnus Rönn (The Royal Institute of Technology and Rio Kulturkooperativ, 2013), 7–8.

the West,²³¹ the scope of knowledge on the specific niche of war memorial competitions is even more limited, or more tightly embedded into *grand-narrative* schemes. The history of the commissioning and production of post-WWII monuments and memorials, especially those related to wartime events that are tasked with embodying and transferring traumatic experience and social memory, serve as imprints of cultural, political and social issues of the Cold War era. In this regard, a comprehensive survey of international competitions for monuments, and their role in cultural and political exchange and networking, could be especially useful.

However, in South-Eastern Europe, the potential for architectural competitions to become the subject of academic research has only recently been recognized. In former Yugoslavia, competitions for monuments were mostly dealt with through individual case studies.²³² More systematic and problem-oriented approaches have been pioneered only recently.²³³ Not only

do such surveys reveal forgotten artistic and architectural projects, but they broaden our knowledge on the “history of ideas”, and open up new perspectives on the cultural and political circumstances that conditioned the acceptance or refusal of innovative concepts. Such research is, however, encumbered by various practical obstacles. The models and drawings for competition entries have not always been preserved, mainly because their authors (especially visual artists), immersed in the spirit of the forward-looking progress of modernism, were at the time often unaware of their importance, or simply uninterested in the process of self-archiving. Another important obstacle is the lack of institutional upkeep of the documentation for competitions. This issue is especially pertinent in the local context, which – largely due to political reasons – has undergone drastic infrastructural changes since the 1990s, being exposed to the negative social attitudes to the legacy of post-war modernism, especially its more ideologically overt segments, such as monuments and memorials from the socialist era.

The present study, however, takes a different path in an effort to approach this complex, yet crucial, segment of the modernist production of the second half of the 20th century. Instead of analysing individual competition proposals, the aim is to approach the phenomenon of federal public competitions for monuments as platforms for social networking and exchange, and as a source of valuable statistical data that can outline the overall configuration of high-level memorial production in Yugoslavia. In other words, the aim of this paper is not to discuss the artistic and architectural achievements of awarded competition entries, but to outline and discuss the structural parameters of the very system that conditioned the production of memorials in the given context. The basic tenets of the present approach

rely on the idea that the production of monuments in the period of Socialism in former Yugoslavia was a dynamic process, defined by different practices present in various levels of production, involving diverse social agents with distinctive roles and dynamic interrelations.²³⁴ These processes were directed and managed by various federal, republic or local organizations, or individual stakeholders, whose actions and decisions on collective commemorative activities, including the construction of monuments, were conditioned by available material resources and guided by legal regulations. Different models and levels of production constantly coexisted and merged throughout the socialist period, resulting in various scales, types and degrees of formal and/or morphological innovation. In order to understand the overall system of production and its artistic and architectural achievements, historians should – as fully and as comprehensively as possible – take into account and understand the interactions and relations between various and numerous actors participating in these processes. Due to the obvious limitations regarding reconstruction of an all-encompassing social network of these processes, this analysis is focused on examining a clearly detectable and fixed segment of the said production, defined by the same legal framework, and a limited number of involved actors – namely, the federal public competitions, and the networks of its jury members and awarded participants.

The methodology applied in this case study challenges the predominant approach to authorship in the field of production of

post-war monuments in Yugoslavia. Instead of focusing on the formal aspects of particular realized projects, the combination of historiographical research and the results of quantitative and network analysis aims to analyse what was happening ‘behind the scenes’: What were the mechanisms and who were the actors that enabled the production of the phenomenon referred to as ‘Yugoslav monuments’? Apart from their common historical and ideological references, what else contributed to the notion of *shared heritage* associated with these objects today?²³⁵ What were the main features of awarded participants and jury members in terms of their gender, profession, place of origin, and what can this data tell us about the function of federal competitions for monuments in Socialist Yugoslavia? One particularly important aspect of this analysis is the equal treatment of jury members, that is, acknowledging their active role in the field of memorial production, and their introduction to the (hi)story of monument-making. This very notion opens up new perspectives on several important issues regarding the physiognomy of the whole field and the structural roles of certain central figures within the system: How were the roles of the two different types of involved actors – those of the competitor and the evaluator – distributed, and what can we learn from their conflicting positions within the system? What are the implications of the fact that one of the most prominent and important authors of monuments in Socialist Yugoslavia appears as the central figure in jury member networks? What

231 See, for example, the index and the timeline of the 202 cited competitions in the publication: Chupin, Jean-Pierre, Carmela Cucuzzella and Bechara Helal (eds). *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge: An International Inquiry*. Potential Architecture Books Inc., 2015, 133–141.

232 See the texts published in the thematic volume *Anali Galerije Antuna Augustinčića*, no. 32–33; 34–35 (2015).

233 See: Grozdana Šišović: *Architectural Competition Practice and the Issue of Autonomy of Architecture*, PhD Thesis (Belgrade: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, 2016); Tamara Bjažić Klarin: *Arhitektonski i urbanistički natječaji između dva svjetska rata (1918.–1941.) – slučaj Zagreb* (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2018).

234 See Chapter 2 of the doctoral dissertation on memorial production in Croatia. Sanja Horvatinčić, “Spomenici iz razdoblja socijalizma u Hrvatskoj – prijedlog tipologije” (Zadar: University of Zadar, 2017), 47–152.

235 See the analysis on the notion of shared heritage in contemporary heritage management practices in former Yugoslavia: Marija Jauković, “To Share or to Keep: The Afterlife of Yugoslavia’s Heritage and the Contemporary Heritage Management Practices,” *Politička misao: časopis za politologiju*, Vol. 51 No. 5 (2014): 80–104.

does the fact that the proportion of women among the awarded projects' teams is higher than the average seen in the field of memorial production mean?

However, while trying to answer the above questions, the primary aim of this case study is not to provide definitive conclusions, but to test the possibilities, and indicate the *pros* and *cons* of quantitative and network analysis when it comes to relatively small datasets on temporally and spatially limited historical phenomena.

TOWARD A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: A BRIEF HISTORY OF FEDERAL COMPETITIONS FOR MONUMENTS IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

An anonymous public competition is a democratic procedure through which communities aim to secure the most aesthetically and functionally adequate solutions for objects of common or public interest. Apart from the rebuilding of the war-devastated country, one such interest in post-war Yugoslavia was the construction of memorials and monuments that paid homage to the huge human losses, honoured the heroes and hundreds of thousands of antifascists that fought in the war, commonly referred to as the Yugoslav Peoples' Liberation Struggle.²³⁶ The collective effort to commemorate the dead and celebrate the achieved freedom and progress based on proclaimed social and ethnic equality was aligned with the dominant political interests of the ruling Communist

236 During the four years of war in the Balkans, some 800,000 Yugoslavs joined the Peoples' Liberation Struggle; one of the highest proportions of participation in armed anti-fascist resistance in Europe. It ended with some of highest numbers of casualties, both military and civilian. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005), 18.

Party. The temporal and thematic scope of commemorated events often transcended the period of the Second World War, incorporating historical episodes that had previously remained uncommemorated, such as workers' struggles and peasant uprisings. The cult and memory of contemporary politicians, intellectuals and political movements, such as the geo-political position of Non-Alignment, was also mediated in public space through monuments and memorial parks. Artists and architects were heavily involved in the task of monument building, while their personal poetics, expressed through contemporary artistic means, became more and more encouraged, resulting in distinctive individual embodiments of collective traumas based on innovative and collaborative practices that aimed to surpass traditional disciplinary boundaries. These solutions were no longer simply expected to narrate the past events, but also to emphasize their progressive character through the use of contemporary artistic and architectural means.

The organization of public competitions for monuments began immediately after the war had ended, based in part on the standards and practices inherited from the interwar period. Some fundamental competition regulations had been established as the result of professional architects' associations' continuous strive for more open and democratic procedures.²³⁷ Despite the different ideological framework, architectural competitions had already played an important role in the cultural exchange of knowledge and ideas on national level during the monarchic period. Although some projects were submitted by the architects who had gained experience and knowledge by living abroad, competitions primarily functioned as the connecting tissue of the

237 Bjažić Klarin, *Arhitektonski i urbanistički natječaji*.

Yugoslav cultural space, and as an important platform for experiment and innovation. Already at that time, as Grozdana Šišković claims, competitions had the potential to spread new ideas and concepts within the public cultural sphere. In this way, architectural projects not only influenced the trends within a single architectural scene, but their mediative role often proved to be the central facet of architectural competitions.²³⁸

In the first post-war decade, federal Yugoslav competitions for monuments rarely gave rise to satisfactory results. Conventional typologies and relatively conservative formal solutions prevailed until the early-to-mid-1950s. But perhaps more importantly, the engagement of a wider public in critical discussions on this topic had not yet been achieved or even welcomed. The aim seems not to have been to foment experimentation and innovation, but to achieve the greatest possible efficiency and quality of production. For that reason, projects were often directly commissioned from highly skilled and experienced authors who had established themselves during the interwar period. They were now promoted to the position of masters who supervised and controlled production through a system of State Masters' Workshops (*Državne majstorske radionice*) for sculpture, painting and architecture, established in the immediate wake of the war in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Even when federal competitions were organized, the ambitious proposals for monuments were often rejected or the decisions for casting or installing them would be postponed, as if juries were anticipating a different course of development of memorial production in the following decade.²³⁹

238 Šišković, *Architectural Competition Practice*, 184.

239 The competition documentation and information on federal competitions from the

Typified production was not only based on ideological concerns. The social request for memorials exponentially grew in the early 1950s, putting pressure on sculptors and architects to achieve a rapid and efficient production rhythm, which was manifested in standard typologies and repetitive motives, at times even recycled from the interwar period. With recognizable imprints of big architectural names, such as Jože Plečnik in Ljubljana, distinctive architectural schools were formed. However, due to the disciplinary division in workshops, architects' involvement in monument-making was primarily manifested through collaborative assistance. The focus upon the formal qualities of central sculptural elements meant that projects would usually be credited to sculptors alone. For a change to occur, it was not only necessary to modernize the formal treatment of individual segments, but to come up with new collaborative methods that would enable a more comprehensive approach to the given task and the achievement of the so-much appraised modernist notion of the *synthesis of all arts*. In the wake of the political turmoil of 1948, a more liberal understanding of cultural production in Yugoslavia diversified the field, encouraging a new generation of visual artists and architects – well trained in the aforementioned workshops – to experiment with new formal solutions, looking for inspiration during state-sponsored scholarships in the Western European centres and in imported modern art and architecture exhibitions and magazines. Many sculptors and architects began to forge successful

early post-war period is rather scarce. Early Yugoslav competitions for monuments included: Monument to Marko Orešković in Korenica, Croatia (1946), Monument to the Liberators of Skopje, Macedonia (1946). Jajinci Memorial Park, near Belgrade (1947–1948), Memorial Ossuary of the Fallen Partisans of Dalmatia (1948).

tectural and landscape/horticultural elements, while paying special attention to the preservation of the authenticity of the former mass execution site.²⁴³ The competition attracted a total number of 34 competition entries, submitted by individuals and teams from various fields of practice. The projects rewarded by the jury, which was composed of 18 highly ranked politicians, intellectuals, and cultural workers from different parts of Yugoslavia, were innovative or even experimental solutions authored by dominantly younger generation of architects, urban planners and sculptors. The success and importance of this competition, both in terms of the quality of works submitted and in terms of the public and professional interest it provoked, becomes even more evident if we place it in the context of other competitions held in those years. The federal competition for the Monument to the Partisan-Fighter, held in 1956, which was also supposed to be built in Belgrade, did not bring any awarded projects, and, as Heike Karge concludes, its failure was the result of several factors, including the pretentiousness of the “old masters” who refrained from entering competitions.²⁴⁴ However, a more important reason was the newly established confidence of professionals who dared to oppose the incoherent propositions and the non-transparency of the organizing

243 Oto Bihalji-Merin, ed. *Jajinci : povodom konkursa za idejni projekt spomenika žrtvama fašizma, Jajinci – Jugoslavija* (Belgrade: Publicističko-izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, 1958.), 85–86. For more about the competition and the history of the memorial site, see: Sanja Horvatinčić, “Povijest nemogućeg spomenika: izgradnja spomenika žrtvama fašizma u Jajincima,” *Anali Galerije Antuna Augustinčića*, no. 32–33, 34–35 (2015): 261–282.

244 Heike Karge: *Sećanje u kamenu – okamenjeno sećanje* (Belgrade: XX Vek, 2014): 107–115.

body, namely, the special Committee for the Marking and Arrangement of Historical Sites of the People’s Liberation Revolution. It was in fact the first case of active opposition from a professional organization – the Union of Architects of Serbia – which argued for the necessary cooperation between professionals and politicians on such organizational tasks. Indeed, most of the plans that this specially formed, highly-ranked political Committee had for Yugoslav monuments failed, mainly due to their political exclusivity and unwillingness to keep up with expected democratic and open principles of public competitions.²⁴⁵ It confirms the thesis that monument-making in Yugoslavia, even when it came to tasks of utmost political importance, involved complex and dynamic processes based on negotiations and even open conflicts with the political establishment that, during the 1950s, still assumed it was able to fully control such practices.

However, many successful competitions for monuments, such as the one for Jajinci Memorial Park, did not result in the creation of monuments. The decisions would be postponed for different reasons, which are often today incredibly difficult to decipher. Another federal competition for the same memorial site was organized in 1980, with a record number of jury members (35), attracting yet another generation of competing teams of artists and architects. Ferent discussions among some of the most renowned art critics, artists and architects, again filled up newspaper pages, with commentaries spanning from appraisal to harsh criticism, including complaints coming from the former camp inmates’ organization.²⁴⁶

245 Ibid: 117–118.

246 “Da mrtav junak živima kazuje,” *Politika Ekspres*, 1 February 1981, 6.; Bora Pavlović, “Još jednom oko rešenja spomen-parka u Jajincima,” *Borba*, 26 February 1981.

The final outcome was, however, the same: the winning project was set aside, and the monument, designed as the result of a direct commission from Serbian sculptor Vojin Stojić, was finally unveiled in 1988. After three unsuccessful attempts, the 1980 competition for Jajinci Memorial Park was perceived as one of the symptoms of the “crisis of memorial production”.²⁴⁷ This ‘crisis’ determined the fate of many ambitious memorial projects completed in the early 1980s, such as the *Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija* at Petrova Gora, or the nearby “Brotherhood and Unity” memorial complex on Šamarica, both in Croatia. After being selected in a federal competition and constructed in the early 1980s, the latter soon faced the economic reality and the effects of the gradual collapse of the self-managed socialist system. This was manifested in the inability to maintain such memorial complexes, composed of monuments, hotels, museums, and other programs that needed constant management and continuous financial support. After the memorial house at Šamarica changed between several patrons, continually produced debt, and was unsuccessfully offered to all major hotel companies in Croatia, an offer by a private investor was accepted in 1988.²⁴⁸ This investor decided to take a risk and embark on a family ‘memorial business’; an ambitious plan that was soon interrupted by the war and the collapse of the whole system, including the degradation of the symbolic references and ideological values these monuments and memorial sites

247 Mirjana Živković, “Javna rasprava o konkursu za Jajince. Privid protivljenja.” *Politika*, 17 December 1980.

248 The owner was Milorad Popović, from the nearby town of Bosanski Novi in Bosnia & Herzegovina. Josip Frković, “Memorijalac spašava privatnik,” *Večernji list*, September 30, 1989., n.n.

embodied. Symptomatically, the ‘memorial crisis’ that arose in the wake of growing economic and political problems in Yugoslavia, seems to have been compensated by presentation of those same monuments at major global art exhibitions, such as the Venice Biennale, where Yugoslavia was represented by major memorial projects from the 1960s and 1970s.

BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND POWER POSITIONS

To an architect, a competition is not always about winning, but rather about the opportunity to engage in a high-profile discourse with other members of the design community. The open public competition is also an opportunity for young architects to make a name for themselves, to gain the recognition that is so essential to building a practice. (...) A competition can also be a vital step in garnering stakeholder and public support for a project that may still be in need of funding and approvals in order to be realized. The competition, with its strong overtones of democratic process and meritocracy, carries widespread appeal from a civic point of view, and also gives public officials many different creative solutions to the proposed design problem for very little upfront cost.²⁴⁹

Although all of the above could have applied to the prevailing attitude in the period and context investigated in this analysis, the views and attitudes on open competitions were far from in unison. The *pro* and *contra*

249 Catherine Malmberg, ed, *The Politics of Design: Competitions for Public Projects* (Princeton, NJ: Policy Research Institute for the Region, 2006), 3–4.

arguments also depended on the structural positions from which those personally involved in the process spoke, as well as on their own material and professional interests. What is more, they depended on the positions of power within the field of artistic and architectural production. Some of the most renowned names of Yugoslav memorial production – each in their own generation – were keen to ignore or undermine the importance of democratic principles of competition and selection. Such attitudes often came from those among them – as the quantitative analysis will clearly show – whose structural position allowed them to skip tiresome and time-consuming competition procedures, and enjoy the privilege of direct commissions for monuments. This kind of structural imbalance produced undemocratic tendencies, cultural elitism, and the promotion of the idea of the “artistic genius”. Paradigmatic examples of such attitudes were Antun Augustinčić and Bogdan Bogdanović. Although they belonged to different generations and fields of practice, their structural positions were in many ways comparable, which seems to have been reflected in their shared negative attitude towards open public competitions.

On several occasions, Bogdanović expressed his scepticism regarding the functionality of public competitions, claiming they were good only for beginners and newcomers: “I think that competitions don’t always give good results since usually, or even regularly, the mediocre projects win.”²⁵⁰ He confirmed that most of his memorial projects were commissioned directly, and expressed his belief that such tasks should be given to affirmed authors, because “when someone is given the trust and the credit, than it becomes not only an honour, but a

250 Vasa Kazimirović, “Bogdan Bogdanović: Umijesto strave opredijelo sam se za život,” *Vjesnik*, 3 July 1966.

responsibility that must be justified”. Journalists’ questions regarding the rumours about the author being “backed by someone” were based on a controversy provoked by the lack of a regular competition procedure for the monument in Jasenovac. An open competition for this monument was never held, although several authors were invited to submit their proposals.²⁵¹ As Bogdanović himself claimed, only two projects entered the second round: his and the collaborative project by Zdenko Kolacio and Kosta Angeli Radovani.²⁵² Such an unregulated and obscured procedure provoked many negative reactions from individuals and professional associations. After his first project for Jasenovac Memorial Area was publicly presented in Zagreb in 1963 (III. 2), the Croatian Architects’ Association sent a letter of protest to the headquarters of the Federal Union of Veterans of the Peoples’ Liberation War of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.²⁵³ By listing positive examples – public federal competitions for monuments in Jajinci near Belgrade and Kamenska in Croatia – they advocated for adherence to more democratic procedures when it came to the selection of the best projects for such important memorial sites. It was yet again proven that non-transparent commissioning procedures could not pass by without public reaction and complaint. In this case, however, the quality of Bogdanović’s project and his professional *renomé* – despite criticism

251 See the chapter “Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac” [Jasenovac Concentration Camp] in: Heike Karge: *Sećanje u kamenu – okamenjeno sećanje* (Belgrade: XX Vek, 2014): 193–244.

252 Vasa Kazimirović, “Bogdan Bogdanović...”.

253 Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. Reg.: SUBNOR (297). File: 24 (Republički odbor SUBNOR Hrvatska 1949.–1971.): „Dopis Saveza arhitekata Hrvatske SUBNOR-u Jugoslavije“, March 19, 1964.



III. 2

Bogdan Bogdanović's project for Jasenovac memorial complex, presented on 19 March 1963 in *Četvrti jul*, the weekly magazine published by the Federal Union of Veterans of the Peoples' Liberation War of Yugoslavia.

coming from some art historians and architects²⁵⁴ – seems to have established enough authority for the realization of the project. It is possible, however, that this affair expedited the process of the passing of the special legal regulation of monument building in Croatia in 1968, a law by which competitions for significant memorial events and people became obligatory, and by which juries were made to include professionals from the fields of art and architecture.²⁵⁵ The laws regulating this particular matter differed from republic to republic, which produced different standards and practices across Yugoslavia's various constituent republics. The same year, the Regulation on Competitions in the Field of Architecture and Urban Planning was also adopted.²⁵⁶ Although it was widely applied and called upon in the event of irregularities, the breaching of those rules had no legal consequences. This was likewise the case with the legal instruments that were aimed at protecting authorship. Affairs regarding Dušan Džamonja's winning project for the Sremski Front monument and Igor Toš's battle with the Committee for the construction of the monument at Petrova Gora – that will be discussed later in further detail – were perhaps the most notorious among these. Interestingly, Croatian sculptor Antun Au-

254 See, for example: Matko Meštrović, "Bogdanovićeve projekt za spomenik u Jasenovcu (1963)." In *Matko Meštrović. Od pojedinačnog općem* (Zagreb: DAF, 2005), 127–128.

255 Zakon o podizanju spomenika historijskim događajima i ličnostima [Law on the Building of Monuments to Historical Events and People] *Narodne novine. Službeni list Socijalističke republike Hrvatske*, no. 1 (1968).

256 Pravilnik o konkursima iz oblasti arhitekture i urbanizma [Regulations on the Competitions in the Fields of Architecture and Urban Planning] (Belgrade: Savez arhitekata Jugosalvije, December 20, 1968).

gustinčić – 22 years Bogdanović's senior – had a response strikingly similar to his when asked to comment on the affair surrounding the irregularities in the competition procedure for the Monument to the Peasant Uprising of 1573 in Slovenia and Croatia, in Donja Stubica, Croatia. In this case, the process was reversed: as soon as the results of this highly competitive federal competition – in which authors of younger generation triumphed – were announced, the recommendations of the jury were ignored, and Augustinčić's work was directly commissioned. The sculptor, who had long enjoyed an almost mythical status (in both pre- and post-war Yugoslavia) and who was strongly backed by the highest political circles, had never had any intention of running for the competition. Due to his previous personal relationships with the commissioners, he was unpleasantly surprised – and even personally offended – when the public competition had to be announced, due to the aforementioned new law on building monuments. The fact that the monument was being built in his native region almost certainly contributed to his personal motivation to undertake this project. On the other hand, he must have been aware that the status his monuments once had had become seriously threatened by new trends in monumental sculpture which almost completely discarded figuration and narration, relying instead upon hybrid amalgamations of architecture and sculpture. When asked about the reasons for his failure to submit a work to the open call, he replied:

It is not true that one really needs to run for competitions. There are different kinds of competitions... C'mon, tell Krleža, for example, to submit a novel for a competition. You wouldn't ask that of him. Instead, if you're interested, you'd commission a novel directly from him. Why? Be-

cause it is well known what Krleža can do, and how he writes, so if you commission something from him, you are expecting to get something in his style. (...) Finally, I know very well what competitions are. At best, they are an opportunity for the young and unknown authors; first and foremost, even if I did compete, everyone would recognize me. What's the point of anonymity then? All sculptors with a certain physiognomy can be recognized.²⁵⁷

Both Augustinčić and Bogdanović criticized competitions from their respective, comfortable positions in the system, secured by their long-term involvement in the social network of competition procedures, either as competitors themselves – which for Augustinčić was already the case in the interwar period – or as prominent members of competition juries – as was the case with Bogdanović. The following analysis will, however, reveal some important differences in their structural positions which indicate to various strategies of attaining positions of power.

But after all, the regularity of a competition's procedure primarily depended on the commissioners and investors, whose decision it was as to whether a federal or lower level of competition should be organized and carried out according to the prescribed regulations. Despite the assumption that on the local levels, where competitions were not obligatory, direct commissions were more common, some examples show that it was not exclusively the professional and political circles that guaranteed democratic procedures and highest aesthetic standards. On the contrary: since the decision-makers themselves were not particularly eager to adhere to or support such procedures,

257 Josip Škunca, "Antun Augustinčić: Jedanput natječaj, drugi put ne", *Vjesnik*, 31 December 1970.

no wonder the competitions often failed or were perceived as corrupted. It was the direct stakeholders – local and political communities, veterans, former inmates, and countless individuals who participated in the financing – who were mostly engaged and interested in the process of selection, but were rarely given the chance to participate in the decision-making processes. Some early examples – such as the Monument to the Husino Miner in Tuzla – show how citizens and workers were organized to discuss and collectively decide on the conceptual and formal aspects of monuments.²⁵⁸ Decades later, an article about the competition for the Monument to the Liberators of Majdanpek in Serbia begins with the following statement: "Proof that a competition for a monument can be carried out on the most democratic basis is shown by the citizens of Majdanpek and Donji Milanovac, who themselves voted for the proposals for monuments to revolution in those two towns."²⁵⁹ The idea was to give everyone who donated money for the monument's construction the right to vote for a project based on their own preferences. A competition was carried out in collaboration with the Applied Artists and Designers Association of Serbia (ULUPUDS). In late 1979, an exhibition of project proposals was organized, based on which the citizens of Majdanpek could select their favourites. The competition was not anonymous; all authors were present at the exhibition, and available to elaborate their ideas to the interested visitors. Slobodan Jovanović, a machine technician employed at the surface

258 Sanja Horvatinčić, "Monuments Dedicated to Labor and the Labor Movement in Socialist Yugoslavia", *Etnološka tribina : godišnjak Hrvatskog etnološkog društva*, vol. 44, no. 37 (2014), 176–177.

259 S. Jelić, "Radnički dinar za spomenike", *Borba*, 4th January 1980, 8.

mine at Majdanpek Minery stated that, “for the first time, as a citizen directly interested in a monument, I was put in the situation to vote for it. Since I am giving my own money, I don’t feel indifferent as to what kind of monument is being built. I believe that every monument should be built in this way”.²⁶⁰ The responsibility for the Yugoslav “memorial landscape” as we know it today, was, in fact, very much in hands of jury members and other decision-makers whose importance has not been adequately addressed so far. This may not be accidental: regulations, propositions, and political decisions are not exactly compatible with the modernist notion of autonomous, inspired artistic work, which is nowadays still associated with the prevailing notion of an “artistic genius”. Much the same as the very notion of a monument – “burdened” with its necessary political function – competitions were a kind of *blind spot* of the high-modernist ideology.

EXCEPTIONS, IRREGULARITIES, CORRUPTION

To encourage, to spark, to fire up the creative potential of an architect, and to select the best among the best, this is the point of an architectural competition. The competition is the engine and the prioritizing mechanism that progresses the production of space. A tribune from which new thoughts are heard, a platform with a view into the future, a courtroom in which decisions are made according to, and despite, the laws, judged at the same time both objectively and subjectively.²⁶¹

As with every other competitive system, Yugoslav federal competitions for monuments were based on arbitrary decisions at the hands of jury members. Examples of direct-democratic decision making, as with the Majdanpek project, were but rare exceptions. Although a strong consensus prevailed that aesthetic decisions should be in the hands of professionals and experts, one of the persistent problems regarding the decision making was what Milorad Macura described as “evaluating new ideas by old criteria. Then conventional work gains over the progressive. And this obstructs the rhythm and degrades the level in the development of architecture and urbanism.”²⁶² The decision-makers were not, however, only professionals – juries were composed of diverse social actors, from highly ranked and local politicians, through representatives of war veterans, to public intellectuals and ordinary, low-skilled workers. It was the inner dynamics that decided on who would have the most influence in the final decision, and the “establishing of value criteria according to which juries selected and recommended architectural concepts was a complex field of dialogue between suggested architectural ‘constructed realities’, and the representative professional judgments”.²⁶³ The power relationships were indeed often beneficial for professionals, since the majority of jury members belonged to that group, and cultural workers and intellectuals in general enjoyed a relatively high level of authority and prestige within society. However, in contrast to certain other forms of cultural production in socialism, where decision-making processes were more covert, it is almost impossible to claim that memorial production as such had any kind of autonomy.

Another issue was that of the different types of social relationships that existed among and between actors participating in the process, which necessarily function as obstacles to what would ideally be considered an objective evaluation. This was even openly confirmed by some prominent members of juries, such as university professor and art critic Grgo Gamulin who, in his polemic with Igor Toš over the competition for the monument at Petrova Gora in 1971, wrote:

The fact that all experts are ‘blocked by their positions and acquaintances’ is a well-known and completely natural thing, and has as little as possible to do with you, whose works have not been known. (...) Do you really think I can’t recognize competition entries by Bakić, Džamonja, Luketić? However, it is the matter of the highest possible objectivity, of the wider pool of affinities and knowledge, and this is why the jury membership is crucial, and it has proven to be so in this case also.²⁶⁴

Although the full reconstruction of ‘behind the scenes’ scenarios is a demanding and largely unattainable task for historians, quantitative analyses can contribute at least vague outlines of the general physiognomy of the field. Federal competitions largely contributed to the professionalization of the field of memorial production, which led to its gradual saturation. Perhaps most vivid critical view of the problem of specialization in the field of memorial production was given by Croatian sculptor Kosta Angeli Radovani:

I have always expressed my suspicion and lack of confidence towards the ‘specialists’. One does not make a monument as they would make a shoe or a pot. Each time, sculptural work brings different solutions, expressing different ideas. But those who work in ‘series’ never make mistakes nor do they encounter difficulties like other sculptors do. Their works are always fully completed as installed with the greatest pleasure. This is what enables the use of templates for repeating the same tested solution, and, as the author moves in the magic circle of the same idea and expression, his collaborators become all those who want to get an instant monument based on the same, certified sculptural expression.²⁶⁵

Anonymity was often difficult to achieve if we take into account the growing number of specialized authors who regularly submitted their proposals for monuments. Still, the system of coded entries encouraged participants to experiment more freely, or even enabled newcomers or ‘underdogs’ to overshadow the ‘masters of the monuments’.

Competitions were usually organized through one stage. The second stage procedure would be introduced *ad hoc*, in case none of the awarded projects sufficed the requirements, a practice that does not comply with the generally accepted and prescribed professional rules for architectural competitions.²⁶⁶ The practice of

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Milorad Macura, “Zapisi na marginama pravilnika o konkursima”, *Arhitektura – Urbanizam*, no. 16 (1962): 51.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Šišković, *Architectural Competition Practice*, 184.

²⁶⁴ Gamulin, Grgo. “Nesporazum o spomeniku. U povodu odgovora arh. Igora Toša.” *Hrvatsko Sveučilište*, 13 October 1971.

²⁶⁵ Radmila Radojmović, “Kosta Angeli Radovani: Izgubjeno poverenje u konkurse?” *Četvrti Jul*, 22 January 1980, 12.

²⁶⁶ In the regulated two-stage competition procedure, the first stage is meant for soliciting the ideas and the competitors

organizing limited competitions by invitation was practiced throughout the observed period. One notable example is the closed competition for the monument celebrating the Battle of Sutjeska: the project by Miodrag Živković was selected by the jury as the best among the four competitors: himself, Stanko Mandić, Jovan Kratochvil and Boris Kobe.²⁶⁷ Since different models of competitions were never coordinated and regulated on the federal level, it gave way to manipulation of the procedure. Perhaps the most controversial case was the competition for the aforementioned monument at Petrova Gora, Croatia. The competition was announced in 1970 as a standard single-stage, open, anonymous, federal competition. The names of the awarded projects – including the winning project by a young architect, Igor Toš, and collaborators – were publicly announced in press, and presented at an exhibition held in the Museum of the Revolution of the People of Croatia in Zagreb in July 1971. (Ill. 3) The jury gave their recommendation for the winning project to be realized. The idea of a second stage was introduced only a few years later, after the author of the winning project had already further developed and adjusted the project according to the re-

would remain anonymous, while the second would require more detailed plans for the final selection. Compare, for example, the regulation set by the International Union of Architects. Guidelines UIA. Competition Guide for Design Competitions in Architecture and Related Fields. Accessed January 3rd 2019. <https://www.uia-architectes.org/webApi/uploads/ressourcefile/32/uiacompetitionguide.pdf>

267 The jury consisted of the following members: Vlado Mađarić, Uroš Martinović, Bogdan Bogdanović, Branko Bon, Živa Đorđević, Milorad Panić Surep and Dragi Milenković. "Ocena konkursnih radova", Miodrag Živković Archives, Belgrade, 1964.

quirements of the investor. His solution had by then already been publicly announced; the project in the making was even supplemented by a visual identity based on Toš's design, reproduced in the papers and official communication channels of the committee board.²⁶⁸ The construction of the monument according to Igor Toš's project and the physical plan by Ante Marinović-Uzelac, was supposed to begin in 1975, and be finished by July 1976, on the 35th anniversary of the uprising of the people of Croatia.²⁶⁹ The decision to carry out the second stage of the competition, which came about after a new Committee for the Building of the Monument was constituted in 1973,²⁷⁰ provoked an open letter from the author, who decided to speak out regarding irregularities in the procedure and copyright infringement issues.²⁷¹ This sparked an official reply from the Committee,²⁷² after

268 A similar example of "branding" memorial projects before the construction even started can be found for the monument at the Sarmian Front near Šid. An icon of Džamonja's winning project at the competition was even drawn on a map of monuments published along with the a guide to Yugoslav monuments in Osijek in 1975. See: Milenko Patković, and Dušan Plečaš (eds.), Spomen-obilježja narodnooslobodilačkog rata Jugoslavije. Vodič uz kartu. Izbor spomen-obilježja narodnooslobodilačkog rata Jugoslavije (Osijek: Glas Slavonije, 1975).

269 M.B., "Spomenik na Petrovoj gori 1976.", Vjesnik, 23 November 1973.

270 "Konstituiran odbor za gradnju spomenika na Petrovoj gori", Vjesnik, 18 March 1973. As the president of the Executive committee was appointed Rade Bulat, and as the secretary Mile Đakić.

271 Igor Toš, "Natječaj – samovolja ili društveni dogovor?", Vjesnik, 16 March 1975.

272 Sekretarijat Izvršnog odbora – Odbora za izgradnju spomenika na Petrovoj gori,

which the author protested once again.²⁷³ The controversy over this case has never been fully resolved, and the role of Igor Toš soon went into oblivion. The project itself, however, did not – Toš's project seems to have served as an inspiration for Bakić's second proposal. The similarity is especially noticeable if Bakić's second project is observed in opposition to his first idea for the monument (Ill. 3). Besides the copyright issue, the second stage of this competition seems to have been problematic in some other aspects as well. Stevan Luketić – who was invited to participate in the second stage of the competition – wrote a letter of protest in which he refused the decision of the jury because, among other things, "it did not evaluate all three projects equally", and allowed some participants to correct, change or supplement their projects according to jury members' suggestions and objection after the deadline.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, although it was an uncommon practice, the jury decided to postpone of the deadline on the request of Vojin Bakić due to the health problem of his son and collaborator at the project.²⁷⁵ The final de-

"Tko gura privatni interes", Vjesnik, 23 March 1975.

273 Igor Toš, "Pokušaj prebacivanja odgovorinosti", Vjesnik, 3 April 1975.

274 The undated, hand-written draft of the letter is kept in Stevan Luketić's personal archives. It is not clear whether the letter was ever sent and delivered to the Committee for the Building of the Monument to which it was addressed.

275 The document, dated 24 January 1975, by the Committee for the Building of the Memorial-Object at Petrova Gora, signed by Rade Bulat, the director of the Executive Board, and delivered to: Vojin Bakić, Stevo Luketić, Ivo Vitić, 16 members of the jury, and to the Headquarters of the Memorial Park Petrova Gora in Vojnić. Stevan Luketić Archives, Zagreb.

cision was made only in 1977 – this time not by the expert jury, but directly by the Committee for the Building of the Monument.²⁷⁶ As Gamulin claimed, the "signature" of established authorities in the field of memorial production did not only become easily recognizable, but their initial inspiration and their experimental approach in time often resulted with the same sort of repetitive solutions, so strongly criticized regarding Socialist Realist monuments in the early 1950s by the very same authors. In some cases, the same project would be successfully submitted to several competition calls.²⁷⁷

The professionalization of the field and the crisis of the institution of open anonymous competition became most evident in the 1980s, when the practice of limited competitions (or competitions by invitation) became more common. It seems to have better suited both the investor, who avoided complex procedures and put less money at risk, and the invited authors, who were financially compensated regardless of the competition outcome. After the republic competition for Dotršćina, organized in 1977,²⁷⁸ did not bring about a satisfy-

276 "Rad V. Bakića najprihvatljiviji", Vjesnik, 29 June 1977.

277 The winning project for the monument in Čačak was later rejected due to the fact that the authors applied the same proposal to several competitions: Nikola J. Baković, "Konačan odabir idejnog rešenja za projekat Spomen-parka u Čačku," Izbornik. Grada međupštinskog istorijskog arhiva Čačak, no. 33 (2017): 316. Some of Džamonja's entries – for example, his his winning project for the Sarmian front and the project proposal for Donja Gradina – were only slightly adapted to new task.

278 After a group of authors (Vojin Bakić, Josip Seissel, Silvana Seissel, Angela Rokvić) were given a direct commission in the late 1950s for the first phase of the

I NAGRADA

AUTOR:

IGOR TOŠ, dipl. inž. arh.

SURADNIK:

TUMUR CEVEGDJAV, stud. arh.

MAKETA:

IVICA SUSOVIĆ, stud. stroj.

FOTOGRAFIJA:

PETAR KELEMINČIĆ

RASVJETA:

ZORAN SONC, dipl. inž. el.

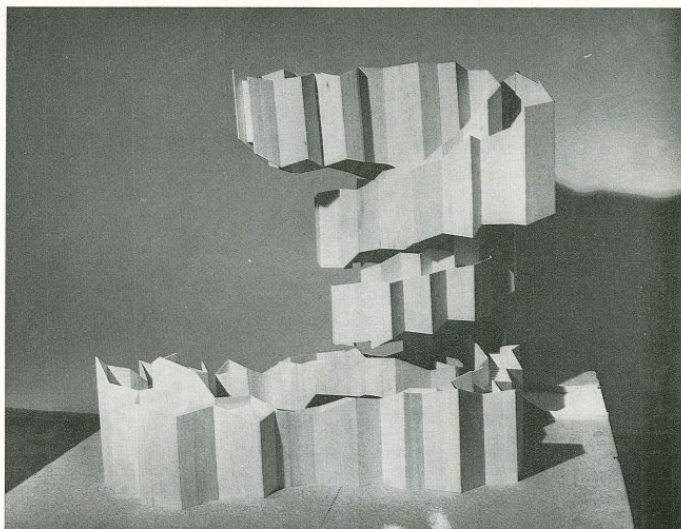
TROSKOVNIK:

MARKO KUCINAC, grad. teh.

TEHNICKA SURADNJA:

BORISLAV DOKLESTIĆ, dipl. inž. arh.

svi iz Zagreba



RAD POD RADNOM SIFROM »13«

Kao rješenje spomenika-vidikovca u Petrovcu autor projekta predlaže skulpturalni spomenik, koji uključuje arhitekturni prostor.

Spomenik je zamišljen kao dvodijelna plastika: unutar šestodijelnoga vanjskog plašta u betonu nalazi se metalna kugla, jedan sferni i dva polusferna prostora. U unutrašnjosti kugle predviđa se dvoetažni prostor, jedan za muzej a drugi za vidikovac. Vanjski plašt kugle trebalo bi da bude izveden u nerđajućem čeliku, a u zoni vidikovca iznutra bi bio ostakljen providnim staklom koje je izvana ogledalno, kako bi se sačuvala jedinstvenost tekture kugle i njezin cjelovit svjetlosni učinak. Također se predlaže i takva postava rasvjetnih tijela koja bi noću omogućila da se potpuno iskoristi svjetlosna izražajnost i same kugle i sfernog prostora ispod kugle i polusfernih prostora u prizemlju i na vrhu.

Pristup prostoru kugle riješen je dizalom i stepeništem koji se nalaze u betonskim nosačima. Pri uređenju okoliša predviđaju se intervencije u skladu s dimenzijom spomenika, a raspored pristupnih i obilaznih putova vodi računa o različitim vizurama spomenika. Takva zamisao spomenika-vidikovca ispunjava nekoliko bitnih uvjeta koje zahtijeva rješenje toga složenog zadatka.

Ta jednostavna geometrijska konstrukcija nosilac je odgovarajućega idejnog sadržaja: kugla kao pradávn, dobro poznati i stereotipni simbol univerzuma optičko je središte plastičkoga skeleta, koji sadrži konkretne simboličke indikacije: šest betonskih lamela kao i šest istaknutih ukrštenih i otvorenih lu-

II NAGRADA

AUTOR:

VOJIN BAKIĆ

HORTIKULTURA:

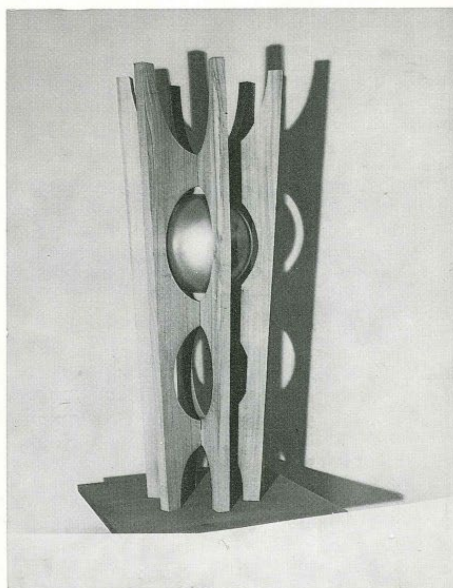
DRAGUTIN KIŠ, dipl. inž.

ARHITEKTURA:

ZORAN BAKIĆ
JADRANKA JUGO

FOTOGRAFIJA:

ALEKSANDAR KAROLY



kova na samom vrhu označavaju nedjeljivo jedinstvo šest republika. Na taj je način postignuta jednostavna, lako shvatljiva i zapamtljiva simbolička slika, bliska kolektivnoj svijesti.

Istodobno ta jednostavna plastička struktura, baš zbog svoje jednostavnosti i naglašene okomite usmjerenosti, posjeduje svojstva spomenika, koji bi mogao postati vizuelni epicentar u prostanstvu

okolnog pejzaža. On se u tom prostanstvu ne bi samo jasno isticao, nego bi u njemu i dominirao.

Nastavak na 18. strani

III. 3

The report on the winning projects for the Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija at Petrova Gora. Čovjek i prostor, no. 222 (1971).

ing result, the jury suggested organizing another, limited, competition with invited authors, "who have so far achieved most significant results in the design of memorial parks/areas."²⁷⁹ The authors selected for the next closed competition, a federal one for the *Monument to Tito and Zadar's Fight for Freedom* in Zadar (1983), were almost identical.²⁸⁰ The results were unsatisfying as the authors' ideas were, contrary to the intention of the invited competition, already exhausted.²⁸¹ They offered predictable, standard solutions, while the younger generation of artists – who were critical or cynical of what they perceived as a privi-

279 The following nine authors were invited:

Kosta Angeli Radovani, Vojin Bakić, Zlatko Čular, Dušan Džamonja, Mladen Galić, Ljerka Šibenik, Zdenko Kolacio, Stevan Luketić and Branko Ružić. Each of them was required to submit one design for the central monu-

ment, one by their choice, and one alternative solution for another monument (the planned monuments had to cover nine thematic subjects). For the design of the entrance square and the memorial museum, the following architects were invited: Mirko Bičanić, Nevenka Postružnik, Boris Krstulović, Neven Šegvić and Ante Vulin. Ibid.

280 The following authors were invited: Kosta Angeli Radovani, Vojin Bakić, Dušan Džamonja, Zdenko Kolacio, Branko Ružić and Šime Vulas from Croatia, and Miodrag Živković and Bogdan Bogdanović from Serbia. Antonija Mlikota, "Natječaj za spomenik drugu Titu i vjekovnoj borbi Zadra za slobodu iz 1982. godine," *Anali Galerije Antuna Augustinčića*, no. 32-33; 34-35, 2015., 302.

281 I.O., "Pomanjkanje etičkog i profesionalnog odnosa", *Vjesnik*, 8 Janaury, 1983; Vjekoslav Pavlaković, "Slojevit a nedefiniran proctor", *Vjesnik*, 8 January 1983; S. Ab., "Natječaj za spomenik Titu i revoluciji. Sedam neuspjelih radova", *Vjesnik*, 12 December 1982.

leged field of propaganda art practice – was professionally discouraged, and even personally unmotivated to participate in such projects. This also came about as one of the symptoms of memory politics crisis that resulted from the political crisis in the country during the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s. The economic situation (inflation, economic 'stabilization' campaigns, cuts in public financing, etc.), meant less money for costly and often unsuccessful competition procedures, including awards and jury honorariums. All illusions and ideals seem to have vanished, and pragmatism took over: the insistence on the principles of democracy of selection with open, anonymous, federal competitions again – as in the early post-war period – became secondary to the preferred efficiency of the procedure and the quality of the results. The golden age of experimentation was over.

QUANTITATIVE AND NETWORK ANALYSIS

After defining the general framework, offering a glimpse into the practical aspects and issues of competition procedures, with an emphasis on various issues associated with practical implementation of such democratic selection procedures, the second part of the text will focus on the figures derived from a quantitate analysis of all case studies included in the study. Although still a relatively new and epistemologically amorphous field, Digital Humanities provides researchers with new tools, and encourages the extension of analytical scope to the macro-level, thus broadening our perspective beyond an isolated set of historical episodes. The advancement in digital technology make such endeavours more realizable, offering ever-more complex algorithms for describing and visualizing historical phenomena, and also facilitated the recreation of dynamic interrelations among people, objects and

events.²⁸² This does not imply confinement or reduction to a positivist approach; on the contrary, digital tools enable research in the humanities to complement, supplement, amplify or correct the results of standard historiographical methods. Although simple data analyses have always been employed as technical tools for practically-oriented niches of art history, the recent development of computational technology has enabled the processing of bigger datasets, integrated into complex relational information systems. Network analysis has navigated the discipline toward social processes and their effects, thus imposing the necessity of inter- and trans-disciplinarity. As most theoreticians and practitioners argue, these new analytical techniques can affect the evolution and fundamental approaches of art history, or even radically transform its epistemological, theoretical, and interpretive scope.²⁸³ The degree of 'radicalism', however, depends on the wider cultural and epistemological context in which digital tools are to 'meet' traditional approaches. The most important value of quantitative analysis employed in the current study is, as Benjamin Zweig claims,

[...] that they can problematize the weighty claims put forth by scholars based upon very small data sets. By displacing the centrality of exceptional works of art or individual biographies into larger networks, this approach can function as a research

282 Among the growing number of titles on the topic, see, for example: Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, *A New Companion to Digital Humanities* (John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

283 Nuria Rodríguez Ortega, "Digital Art History: An Examination of Conscience," *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, vol. 29, no. 1-2 (2013), 131.

method that raises new questions about historical events and as a potential mode of historiographic critique. As the foundation for methods such as topic modelling and data mining, the quantitative analysis of art historical data can be both a challenge and a complement to the case-study model of practice.²⁸⁴

Yugoslav federal competitions, functioning as important intersections of various social actors and creative hubs from which new experimental approaches to the memorial genre emerged, do not only offer an insightful methodological angle for the critical historical analysis of memorial production, but can also critically inform art-historical periodization. As such, competitions present a suitable case study for the analysis of a specific, task-oriented, multi-professional social network, based on the idea that the two main entities in the system – competitions as networking events and people with different roles (participant or jury member) – can be (inter)connected in various ways.

METHODOLOGICAL PARAMETERS AND LIMITATIONS

The timeframe of this case study (1955–1980) has been elaborated in the previous section: In the mid-1950s, federal competitions for monuments began functioning as platforms for experimentation of a younger generation of artists and architects, and competitions' outcomes started to induce fervent critical discussions in the media. The beginning of the 1980s, on the other hand, marked the gradual decline of memorial production,

284 See: Benjamin Zweig, "Forgotten Genealogies: Brief Reflections on the History of Digital Art History," *Digital Art History Journal*, no. 1 (2015): 45–46.

with this 'crisis' reaching its peak in the second half of the last Yugoslav decade. As, under current circumstances, it would have been highly demanding, if not impossible, to collect data for all federal competitions held in the defined period, a representative sample consisting of 24 case studies has been formed. Three of these competitions lack full documentation regarding participants.²⁸⁵ However, the decision to include them in the representative sample is intentional and methodologically motivated, as it demonstrates the extent to which a shortage of information – as a common and unavoidable issue for most social and humanist researchers – can affect the overall datascape and visualization of networks. Although this dataset can be expanded through further research, our estimate is that the given sample suffices for the outlining of some general features, and indicates certain conclusions about the social structure and networking models generated by the federal Yugoslav competitions for monuments during the 25-year period studied.

In order to analyse this specific, task-oriented, multi-professional social network, we will look at quantitative data and interrelations between two types of network entities: events (competitions) and people (awarded competitors and members of juries). The data processing and analysis was done with the use of the CAN_IS database developed through the ARTNET project,²⁸⁶ while some

285 There is no information on the jury members for the Memorial Park "Brotherhood and Unity" at Šamarica. The Memorial Park of the Women's Movement in Skopje and Memorial at Korčanica in Bosnia & Herzegovina, on the other hand, lack information about awarded projects.

286 The results of the project are published in this volume, while the framework, methodology, and some preliminary results have already been presented in: *Život umjetnosti* (thematic issue: Digital

data visualizations were complemented with other open source programs (*Tableau* and *Gephi*). After all available data was collected from a combination of published and archival sources, it was inserted in the predefined categories, quantified, and/or visualized as networks though specially developed algorithms in which the position, size and colour of nodes and edges reflect a particular relational, categorical or quantitative attribute. My initial hypothesis was that the results could offer some new insights into the phenomenon or that some of its hidden aspects would be highlighted, and that such results would open up new research questions.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS #1: COMPETITIONS

All competitions taken into consideration in this analysis were open, anonymous and conducted at the federal level, meaning that they were open to all citizens of Yugoslavia, while the entries were coded and evaluated by specially appointed panels of judges. The names of jury members had to be made public, as well as the authors and team members of awarded and purchased works were in most cases publicly announced. For most competitions, it was also possible to reconstruct the total number of submitted proposals by using primary sources in the archives, or newspaper reports and interviews with jury members. The diagram in Fig. 1 is organized as a timeline featuring competitions organized in the period between 1955 and 1980. The size of squares translates as the number of submitted entries. The highest density of competitions is evident in the period 1965–1971 (marked with a yellow square), when a total number of ten competitions were launched

Art History, Ljiljana Kolešnik ed.), no. 96 (2016).

in six years. In just two years (1969–1970), six competitions were held, with a total number of 232 projects for monuments competing (denoted by an orange square). It should be noted that these figures are far from complete, which offers us a sense of proportion in terms of numbers of actors engaged in the production of monuments and memorial complexes in socialist Yugoslavia. They are equally telling regarding the effects of the aforementioned process of professionalization and saturation of memorial production. In is interesting to note that some competitions were even held simultaneously: those for the Monument to the Peasants' Uprising in Donja Stubica and for the Monument to the Victims of Fascism in Podhum (both held in 1969–1970 in Croatia), or the competitions for the Monument at Mt Kozara, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that in Kraljevo, Serbia (both held in 1970). Two side effects of such overlapping can be detected: On the one hand, the lower number and lesser quality of submitted works produced dissatisfaction from organizers and jury members, and competitions often failed or were postponed. On the other, however, it dissolved the concentration of 'big names', giving more space to the 'outsiders'. In the previously discussed competition for the Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija, both of these side effects were manifested: due to the high popularity and historical significance of the events that took place at Petrova Gora, the total number of 17 entries was considered to be relatively low, while the triumph of the 27-year old architect Igor Toš's innovative solution definitely came as a big surprise. The outcome of the competition for the monument in Donja Stubica was similar: a number of sculptors belonging to the middle generation won high prizes, among them one female sculptor (Marija Ujević-Galetović). Due to the complex circumstances previously discussed, in both

cases, the awards did not guarantee the realization of winning projects. Although, due to the incomplete list of competitions included in the analysis, their spatial distribution (Map 1) cannot bring any definite conclusions in terms of the geo-spatial policy of monument making in Yugoslavia, it is noticeable that a considerable number of competitions were organized for monuments in urban centres, which were mostly dedicated to individuals or meant to represent abstract ideas (Edvard Kardelj and Revolution in Ljubljana, Vladimir Nazor in Zagreb, Marx & Engels, Moša Pijade and the Park of Friendship in Belgrade, etc.). On the other hand, the competitions for the most important war memorial sites – located in uninhabited rural areas where historical events took place – attracted more interest and creative energy from the artists and architects, as is visible from the numbers of submitted proposals.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS #II:
AWARDED PARTICIPANTS

The geo-spatial distribution of the cities and towns from which awarded competitors submitted their proposals, their number indicated by the size of the circles, shows that the production was concentrated in the three big cultural centres of Yugoslavia: Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana (Map 2). The disproportion between the number of projects submitted from the capitals of Slovenia and Bosnia & Herzegovina, for example, confirms the importance of strong architectural and sculptural traditions associated with established art and architectural schools. This further indicates the difference in general artistic and architectural production standards, but it may also suggest the significance of the ability to establish professional and personal connections with decision makers which was more

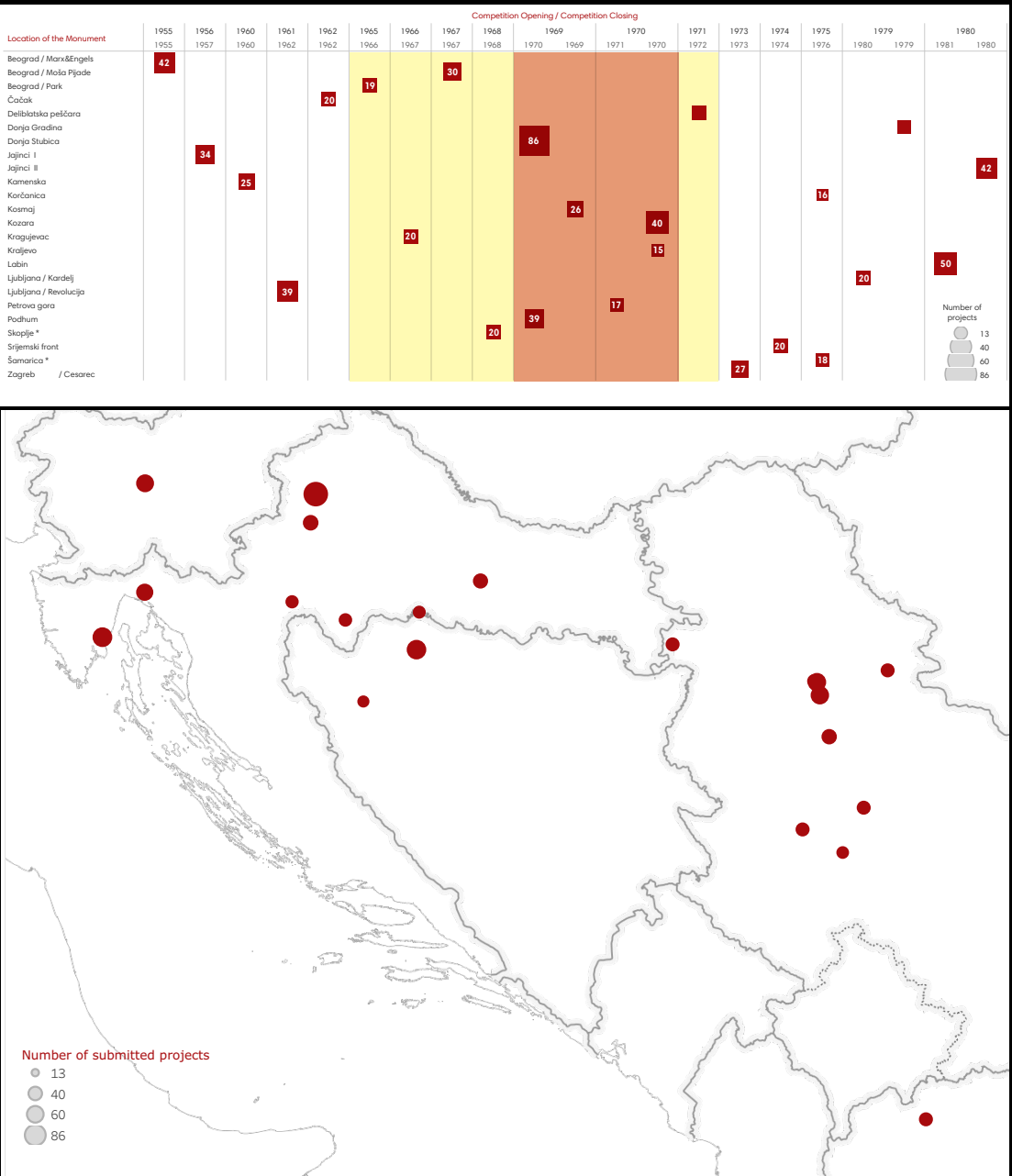


Fig. 1
A timeline of all competitions organized in the period between 1955 and 1980

Map 1
A map showing the distribution of planned or realized monuments for which competitions were organized. The size of the circle represents the total number of competition entries

likely in bigger political and cultural centres. On the other hand, the number of authors from other republics' or provinces' capitals (Skopje, Novi Sad, Priština), or towns such as Maribor, Subotica, Čačak or Rovinj, proves that the efforts of cultural decentralization since the mid-1950 did have a certain degree of impact on the quality of production in the peripheral contexts. Although it was difficult to visualize the inter-republic flow of works, the data presented confirms that federal competition continually played an important role in bringing projects from different parts of Yugoslavia to one table, thus contributing to the trans-republic (today international) exchange of ideas. It should be noted, however, that teams mainly consisted of practitioners from the same city/town, although there are several cases of networking among team members from different republics.

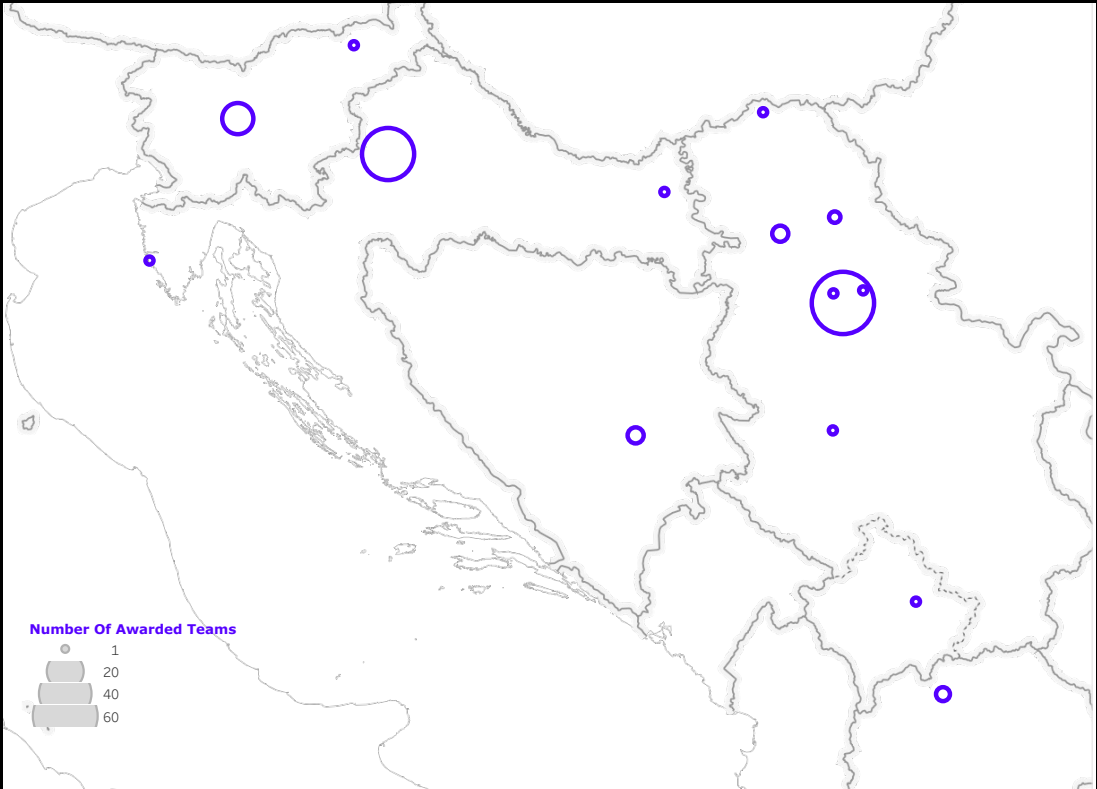
Another interesting result of the quantitative analysis is related to the gender of awarded participants. Since this study is primarily concerned with social networks of all participants, and not with their individual roles in project designs, calculations were performed for all contributors in competing teams.²⁸⁷ Out of a total of 397 names featured in the publicly announced awards and purchases, 322 were male and 75 female. This means that about 19% of awarded contributors at federal competitions were women, mostly architects. This is somewhat surprising if we take into account the overall low percentage of women credited as authors of this type of memorials. As the analysis for monuments in Croatia has shown, only about 3% of sculptors and 10% of ar-

287 The distinction between authors and collaborators on a particular project was not made for the purpose of this analysis, although it is indicated in the database itself.

chitects were women.²⁸⁸ This brings us to the conclusion that public competitions, which usually required bigger teams and often involved collaborative practice, allowed more women to enter the field. However, while this reveals that female contribution was greater than expected, their contribution – i.e. female artistic/architectural labour – often remained invisible, as they would mostly participate in bigger project teams, with projects usually credited to men. Since most of the awarded competitors were architects by profession, the fact that women in Yugoslavia were often specialized in landscape architecture – a profession that itself was undervalued – also contributed to their higher percentage in this field of production. While this may lead us to the conclusion that public anonymous competitions were beneficial for female authors, in reality their contribution usually remained unrecorded or ignored. These figures do not only confirm the general notion of the gender bias in the fields of fine arts and architecture, but help us to attribute their causes to the structural limitations of the whole system.

Besides offering a general view on the types of professionals engaged in high-level memorial production in Yugoslavia, the quantitative analysis of the professional orientation of awarded participants gives rise to several other important conclusions (Fig. 2). Of the total number of 378 participants whose profession could be identified, 77% were related to architecture, spatial planning and engineering (architects, urban planners, landscape architects, engineers, architectural technicians or students of architecture). Surprisingly, only around 12% were sculptors, or around 18% were from all fine art professions, including professions such as painters and graphic designers.

288 Horvatinčić, "Spomenici iz razdoblja socijalizma u Hrvatskoj," 118–119.



Map 2
A map showing the locations and numbers of awarded participants at federal competitions for monuments in Yugoslavia.

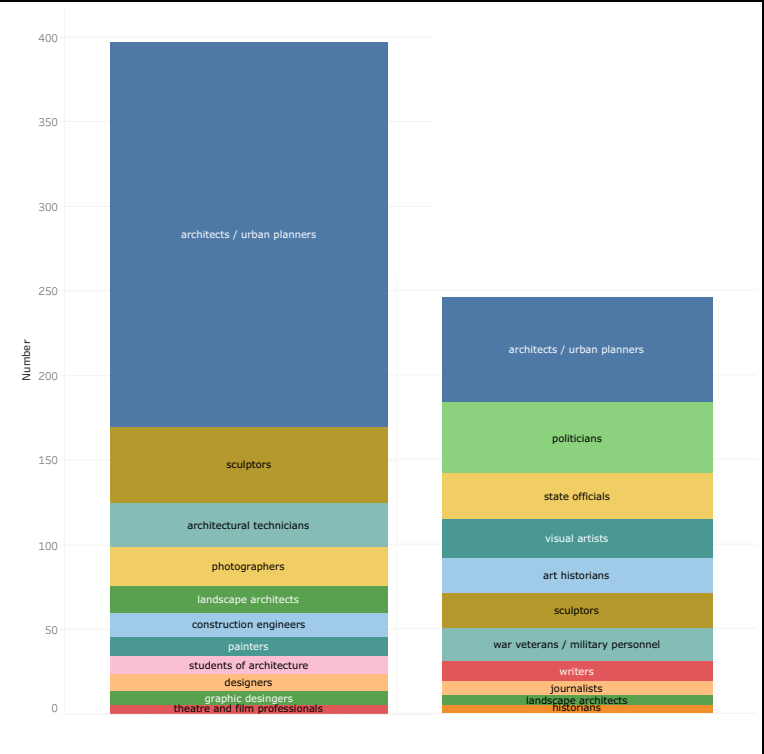


Fig. 2
The total number and ratio of different professions of awarded participants and jury members in federal competitions for monuments.

These figures would be somewhat different were we to look only at the signed authors of projects. Project documentation for more complex competition tasks, i.e. those that included urban planning, architectural drawings, and various presentational materials (photographs, models), demanded bigger and more heterogeneous working groups, often including architectural studio employees or trainees. This analysis shows that the highest level of memorial production in Yugoslavia was dominated by architects, whose pronounced interest in spatial relations and social functionality contributed to the typological innovations. This was already observed by art historian Matko Meštrović who, in 1961, after seeing the exhibition of the winning projects for the *Monument to the Victory of the Peoples' Revolution* in Kamenska, Croatia, wrote:

A very important positive fact is that architects are more frequently answering to the task of designing and constructing monuments. This derives from a more open, far-sighted, free and daring approach to monuments; from the will to widen its radius, and the inner dimension of its temporal-spatial existence, being and radiance; from the ever more realistic anticipation of its concrete sense and lasting purpose. A monument is no more a head, a gesture, a figure; more and more often, a monument becomes a designed space which penetrates life in a more realistic way. This last competition can show us how far we have gone on that path. If we are not satisfied with its results, we can be satisfied with this.²⁸⁹

289 Matko Meštrović, "Idejni projekti za spomenik u Kamenskom (1961)". In Matko Meštrović. Od pojedinačnog opće (Zagreb:

After discussing Branko Ružić's and Vladimir Ivanović's innovative project for a monument-school, he finished his inspired, optimistic report with the hopeful projection: "Indeed, soon we may be building schools at the place of future monuments."²⁹⁰ While Meštrović's prophecy did indeed come true, and functional monuments became more frequent in the following decades – be it as educational centres or touristic facilities – it was not merely because the architects answered the calls in greater numbers, but because the competition propositions required technical and urban planning skills. At the same time, they encouraged more integrative approaches that required experimentation, cross-disciplinary collaboration and innovation.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS #III: JURY MEMBERSHIP

Seen from this perspective, the statistical analysis of the jury members' professional occupations appears even more important (Fig. 2). About 60% of the total of 239 jury members were architecture (25%) or fine arts (18%) professionals, art historians, theoreticians and conservators (8%), or writers, journalists and other public intellectuals (8%). The politics-related jury members comprised approximately 37% in total: 17% were active political figures, while the remainder were war veterans and state officials (ambassadors, military personnel, etc.). Some jury members had multiple professional prerogatives, being – like Koča Popović, who presided the jury for the first competition for Jajinci – at the same time politicians, war veterans, poets, ambassadors and public intellectuals. The statistics show that the majority of decision making in the field of memorial production was

DAF, 2005), 124.

290 Ibid, 125.

controlled by cultural workers, predominantly by professionals active in the spheres of architecture, urban planning, fine arts, higher education and theory. The disparity between architects and artists is somewhat surprising, if not counter-intuitive: there are about three times fewer sculptors in juries than architects and urban planners. Landscape architects were relatively well represented, given their marginal role in the interwar period. After the competition for the memorial park in Sarajevo was announced in 1966, landscape architect Smiljan Klaić from Zagreb wrote a protest note in the prestigious Zagreb-based architectural journal *Čovjek i prostor*, provoked by the fact that none of the 13 members of the jury were landscape architects or sculptors:

The results of the competitions have so far shown that those solutions in which a harmonious composition of the park with buildings and sculptures were the most successful. (...) We are deeply surprised by the fact that the "city of parks" announces a competition for a memorial park that will not be evaluated by any of our landscape specialists because none are sitting upon the jury. (...) We think that the problem of sculpture and its placement in the greenery is another specific issue, for the evaluation of which the selection of a sculptor as one of the jury members would be more appropriate than a painter. To conclude, it would be in the best interest of the quality and correct assessment of the competition entries, for which the city of Sarajevo will give 5 million dinars, to extend the existing jury to include the aforementioned specialist for landscape architecture and sculpture.²⁹¹

291 Smiljan Klaić, "Natječaj za arhitekton-

Although Klaić's complaint was not taken into account, the competition turned out to be unsuccessful, as none of the projects were awarded the first prize.²⁹²

The overall predominance of the more technical, pragmatic and problem-solving disciplines, such as those of architects and urban planners, is a logical yet rarely affirmed and analysed notion in the existing literature on monuments. This has, on the one hand, produced interdisciplinary collaboration, but it also explains the tensions that were present between architects and sculptors, who felt threatened by architecturally pragmatic approaches and often more effective results. While some sculptors continued the old model of using architects as technical support, keeping a clear distance between the respective contributions of both authors, others – usually the younger, post-war generation – successfully advanced their own practice through fruitful collaboration with architects, urban planners and landscape architects, adopting the gained experience and knowledge, and using it to their own advantage – opening the ways towards new concepts and typologies. A third group, however, developed an antagonism towards architects, claiming that

many such architects allow themselves to go on adventures more than to something we could call successful explorations (...) trying to get beyond their bureaucratic, cliché manners, through which they paraphrase and repeat some solutions that had originated in other

sko-pjezažno-skulpturalno rješenje spomen-park u Sarajevu," *Čovjek i prostor*, no. 148 (July 1958): 5.

292 N.n., "Rezultati konkursa za spomen park na Vracima", *ARH: Časopis društva arhitekata Sarajevo*, no. 9, vol. 3 (1966): 5–32.

social, ideological, and even financial-economic possibilities and relations.²⁹³

TOWARDS A NETWORK ANALYSIS

The lists of the twenty most awarded and most connected authors, and most frequent and most connected jury members (Fig. 3) gives an adequate transition to the network analysis. Its main purpose is not only to show the interconnections within the network, thus revealing the structural positions of individual actors, but also to indicate their various and multiple roles in relation to competitions, enabling us to visualize the complexity of this type of task-oriented, multi-professional social network.

From the gender perspective, it is interesting to notice that among twenty most awarded authors there were four women, while no women were equally highly ranked within juries. On the other hand, the structural position of the Serbian female sculptor Olga Jevrić is mainly determined by a relatively high degree of centrality. Some of the most famous authors of monuments were not eager to run for competitions, but their degree of centrality is nevertheless high due to their common participation in the decision-making processes, which not only confirmed their high social status in Yugoslav society, but secured them constant and diverse contacts with various social agents, from politicians to important professionals attending jury meetings from all over Yugoslavia. The most striking example is Bogdan Bogdanović, whose frequent role in juries secured him the highest degree of centrality in the jury network. Similar can be said of Edvard Ravnikar, Ivan Sabolić, Josip Seissel, Zdenko Kolacio, and even financial-economic possibilities and relations.²⁹³

Stevan Stanić, "Posle konkursa: Bez priča i potpričica," *Nin*, January 25, 1981: 68.

Drago Tršar and Vojin Bakić, all of whom appear more frequently as jury members than as competitors. Some experienced architects and urban planners, for instance Fedor Wenzler, successfully balanced the two roles and 'sat on two chairs'.

Bogdanović's presence in decision-making processes becomes even more apparent if connectedness with other jury members is observed (Fig. 4), or when his connections are highlighted within the whole network visualization (Fig. 5; coloured purple). When compared to the connections established by other actors with the highest number of awards or purchased works (Dušan Džamonja; coloured blue), and those of the person with the highest number of connections with other awarded participants (Aleksandar Krstić; coloured green), the extent to which Bogdanović was structurally embedded within the network is striking.

Before the further discussion, which, based on these results, will focus on the analysis of the structural positions of two statistically dominant and (art) historically important figures – Dušan Džamonja and Bogdan Bogdanović – we shall give a brief synopsis of the general features of the network.

GENERAL FEATURES OF FEDERAL COMPETITIONS' NETWORKS

In this analysis, we looked at two types of actors: awarded participants and the members of the panel of judges. In both cases, we are dealing with a limited number of people that form bipartite networks; either through participation in the same group of architects/artists whose project was awarded at the competition, or through sharing membership of the same panel of judges. The visualizations were generated from the predefined datasets inserted into the relational database. Depending on the parameters used and algorithms employed,



Fig. 3 Ranking lists of the twenty most-awarded and most-connected competitors and jury members.

Fig. 4 Diagram showing the numbers and ratios of the most-awarded and most-connected authors and jury members.

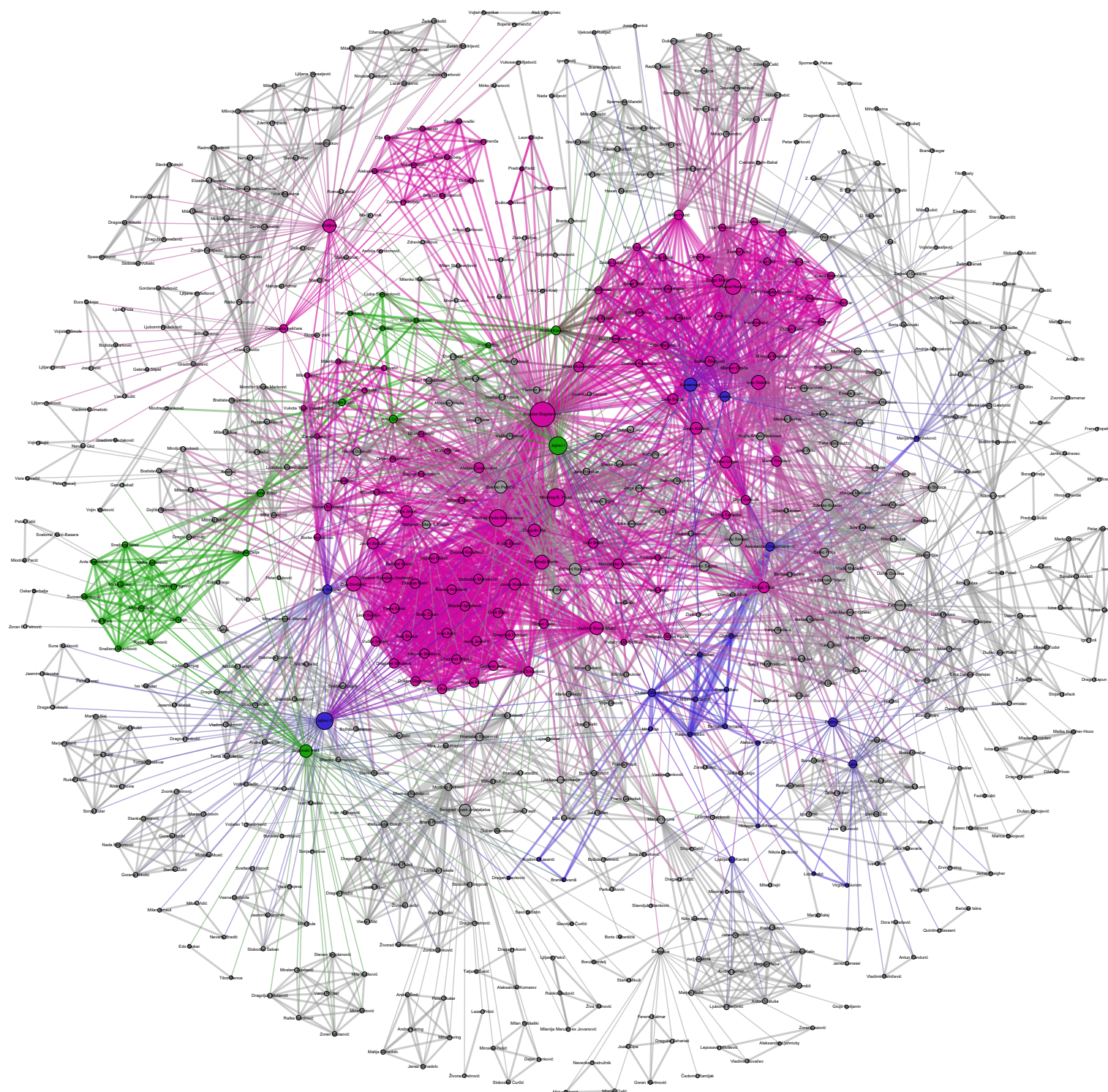


Fig. 5
The complete network with highlighted connections of Bogdan Bogdanović (purple), Dušan Džamonja (blue) and Aleksandar Krstić (green); Generated with Gephi

we are able to generate different visualizations. Networks can significantly differ as a result of whether we decide to limit the data to awarded participants, their mutual relationships and their relationships with competitions (Fig. 6a), or if only jury members, their mutual connections and their connections with competitions are shown (Fig. 6b). From these visualizations it is clear that in both scenarios all competitions are well connected, most of them having multiple relations with other competitions, both through joint jury memberships and through the fact that the same authors were awarded. The network of participants, shown in Fig. 6a, has a wider diameter and is less dense, which indicates less cohesiveness among network members. The participants' network, due to the nurturing of collaborative and team work, is at the same time characterized by a larger number of smaller, isolated groups of project teams. On the other hand, the network of jury members is denser, yet it features two groups which are conspicuously isolated. Those groups of jury members are linked to the competitions for monuments to Edvard Kardelj (Ljubljana, Slovenia), and to the Victims of Podhum (Croatia). The reason for this may be that the organizers chose more local actors, possibly also with the intention of attracting more local contributors. It is interesting that the 'gatekeeper' for the Kardelj monument was Slovenian architect Marjan Tepina, who was also a jury member for the monument to the Revolution in Ljubljana, while the gatekeeper for the Podhum competition was Grgo Gamulin, who, around the same time, also evaluated the works in the competition for the Kozara monument, and who wrote extensively and self-reflectively on both of these decision-making experiences. However, for the purpose of generating the whole complex network featuring both datasets, a different software (Gephi) was used, because it offers more sophisticated

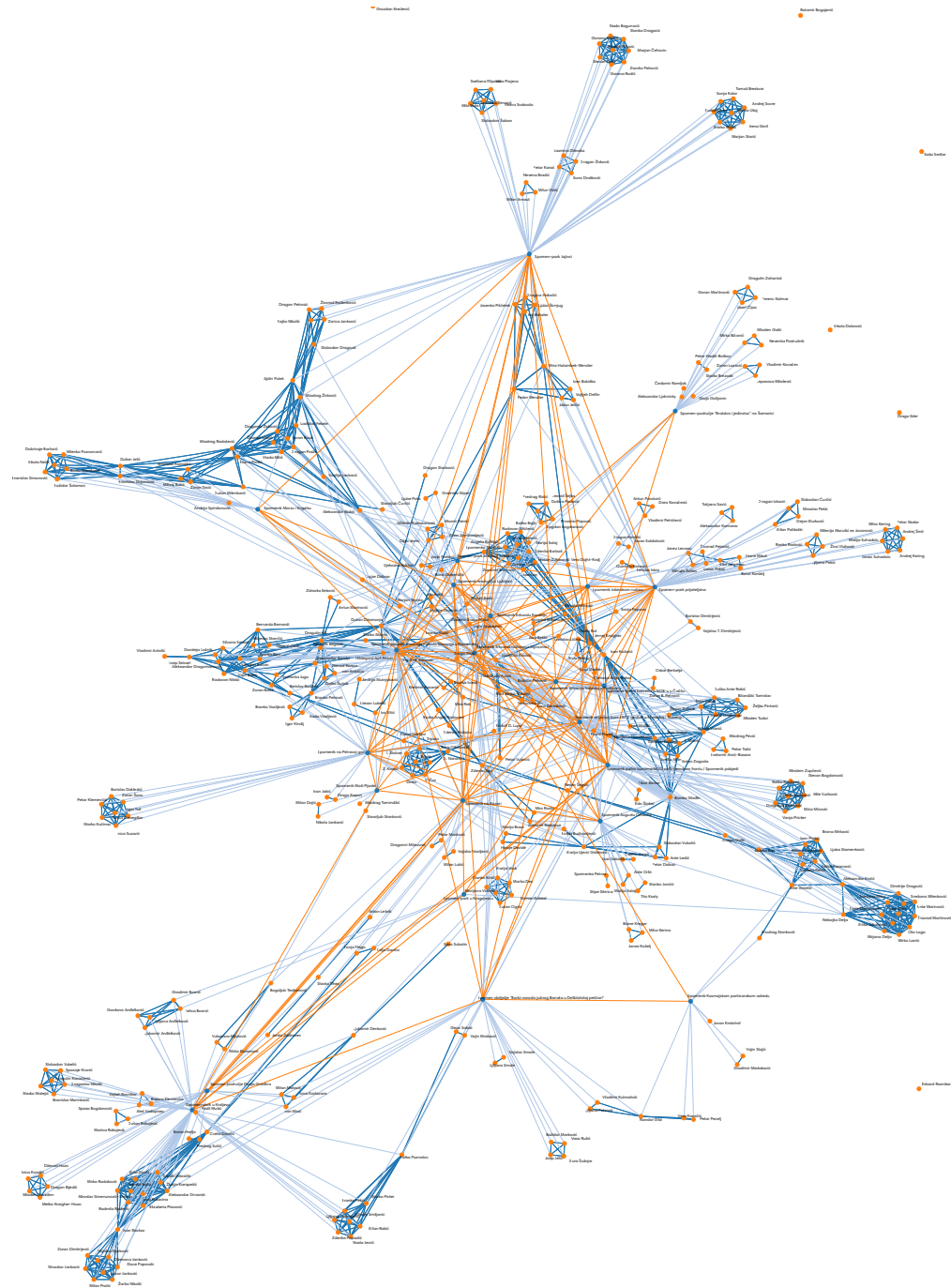


Fig. 6a

The network of all awarded participants, mutually linked based on artistic or technical collaboration on project proposals, and individually linked with the competitions at which they participated/ Generated with CAN_IS

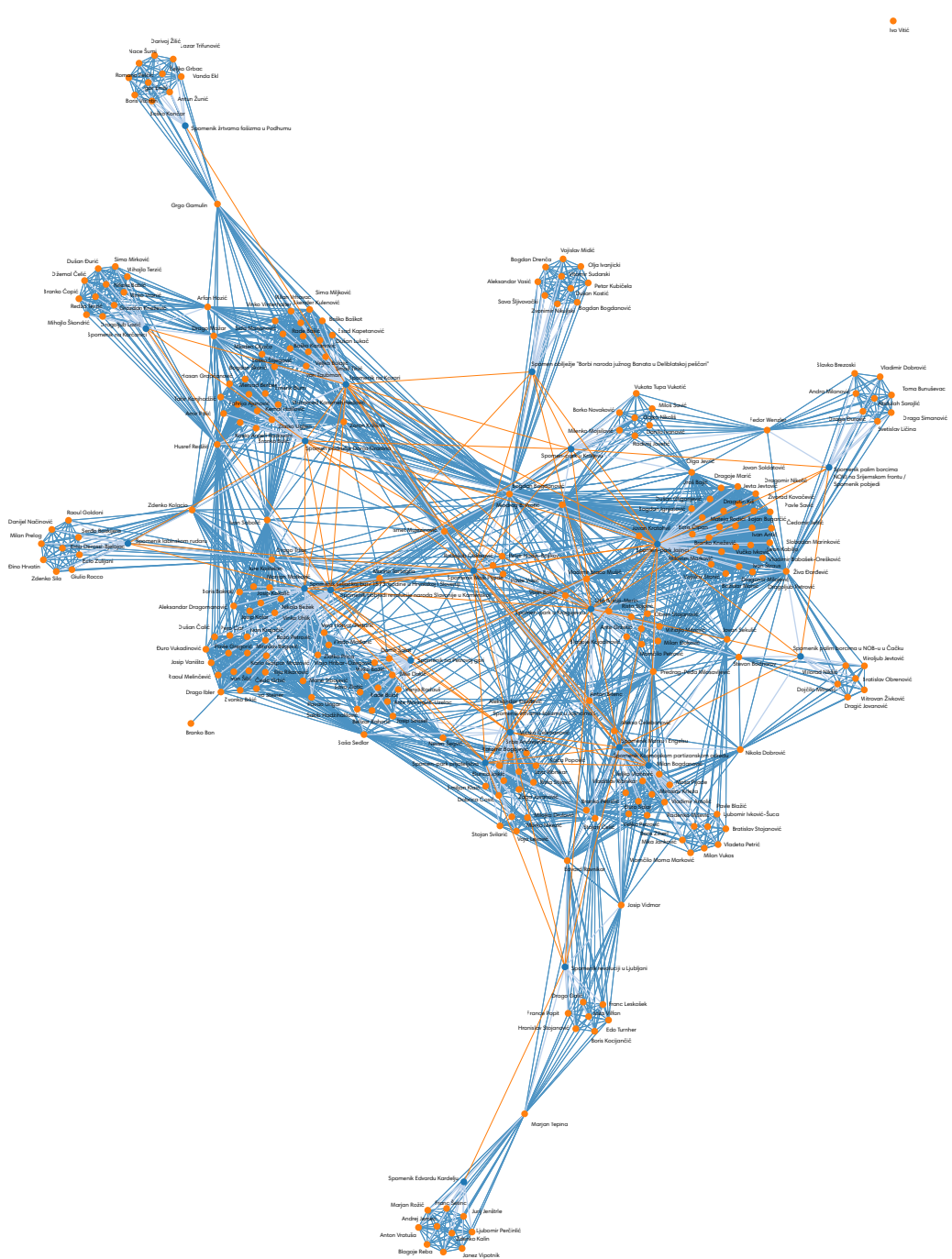


Fig. 6b

The network of all jury members, mutually linked based on common jury membership, and individually linked with the competitions in which they participated as jury members.Generated with CAN_IS

visualization tools that makes the general reading of the network easier, while certain (set of) elements can be visually empathized and thus become more easily detectable (Fig. 7). In this network, both groups of entities (competitors and jury members) are brought together. Different types of edges are distinguished by different coloured lines (pink – joint work on a competition entry; green – joint jury membership; light blue – participation in a competition as a jury member; yellow – participation in a competition as a participant), while the size of the two types of nodes (architectural competitions and people) are ranked in size based on the degree of centrality. The nodes could not be differentiated by colour because many actors, as we have already shown, played dual roles throughout the period. A comprehensive reading of this visualization therefore requires decent knowledge of the profiles of the most prominent actors.

The network itself is characterized by a high density in the central part, where the green type of edges – joint jury membership – is dominant. A series of smaller groups of teams working on joint competition entries are located along the network periphery, indicating a low degree of centrality of those actors.

The degree of centrality of blue nodes signifying competitions is especially interesting. As expected, the first competition for the Jajinci memorial is located at the very centre of the visualization, thus statistically confirming the emphasized importance of this event in terms of establishing standards and anticipating the future trends in federal competitions. The centrality of the node indicates that the very same authors – for many of whom this competition was the first chance to become noticed and be rewarded for their innovative approaches – continued to be active within the field of memorial production in the following decades, either as competitors or jury members. Similar can be said of other larger

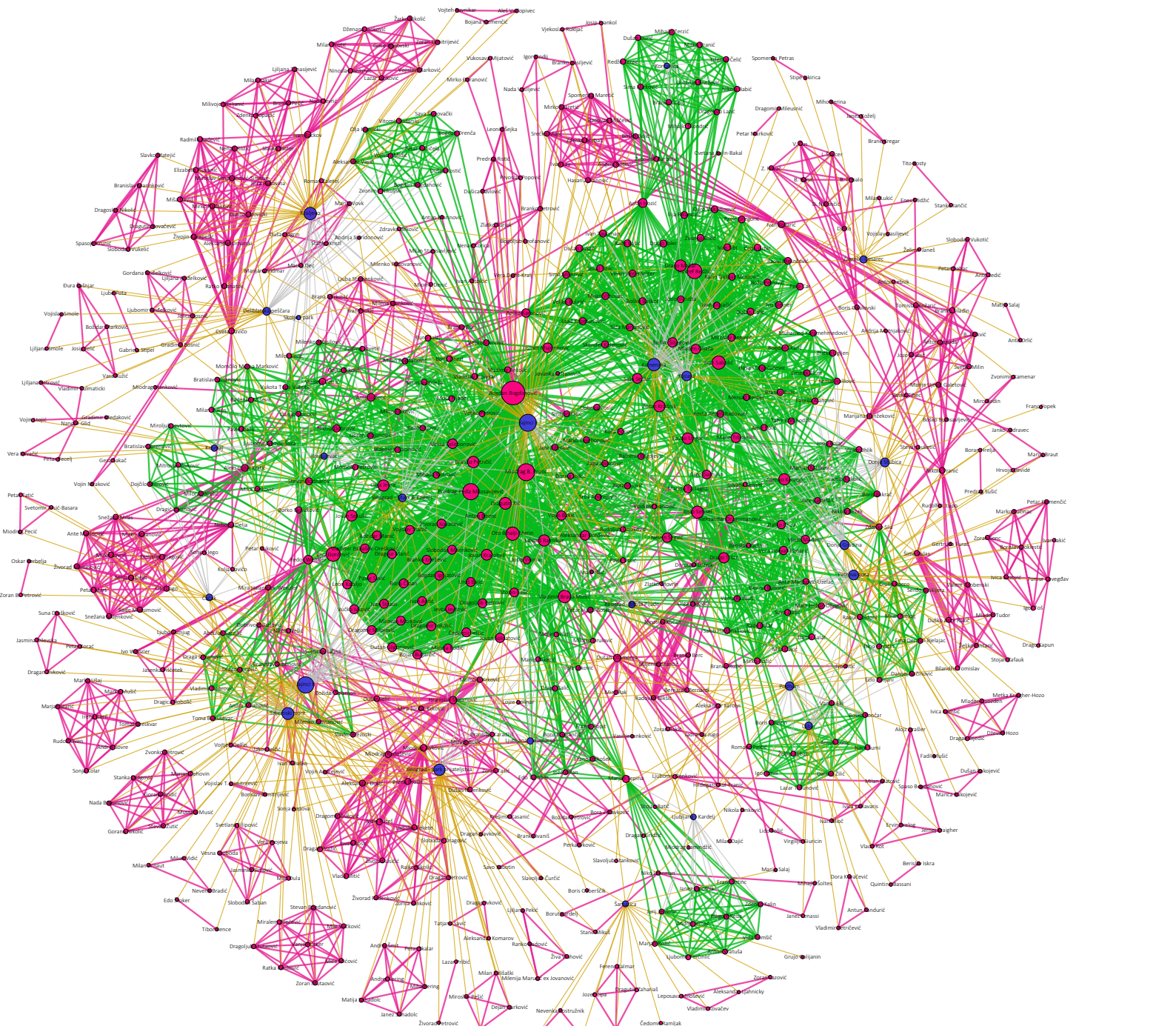


Fig. 7
The network showing all entities included in the relational database of 24 federal competitions for monuments (1955–1980). Generated with Gephi.

blue nodes in the network, signifying the second competition for Jajinci, competitions for monuments in Kamenska, Sremski Front, Petrova Gora and Kozara.

CENTRAL FIGURES IN THE NETWORK – THE CASE OF BOGDANOVIĆ AND DŽAMONJA

The second most central or dominant node in the visualization shown in Fig. 7 is Bogdan Bogdanović. Although Dušan Džamonja, due to the small number of collaborations and lack of jury participations, is characterized by a relatively low degree of betweenness centrality, he was the most prominent participant, taking part in the largest number of competitions. We compared the backgrounds and structural power positions of these two statistically prominent actors. It is, however, well known that both were highly prolific authors in the field of memorial sculpture and architecture, retaining leading positions within the system throughout the period studied. How was it then possible that their structural positions in the network visualization were not more balanced? The answer lies in the fact that they employed different strategies for establishing and maintaining their power positions. Dušan Džamonja (1928–2009) and Bogdan Bogdanović (1922–2010) belonged to the same generation. They both experienced the Second World War: the young Bogdanović participated in it actively on the Partisan side, while Džamonja was a highly receptive witness to the horrors that surrounded him as a child. The creative work of both artists was deeply affected – or even determined – by their wartime experiences. Despite the fact they had different backgrounds – one trained as an architect and the other as a sculptor – both manifested a strong desire to cross the boundaries of their medium. This not only resulted in major differences in their poetic language, but early on brought

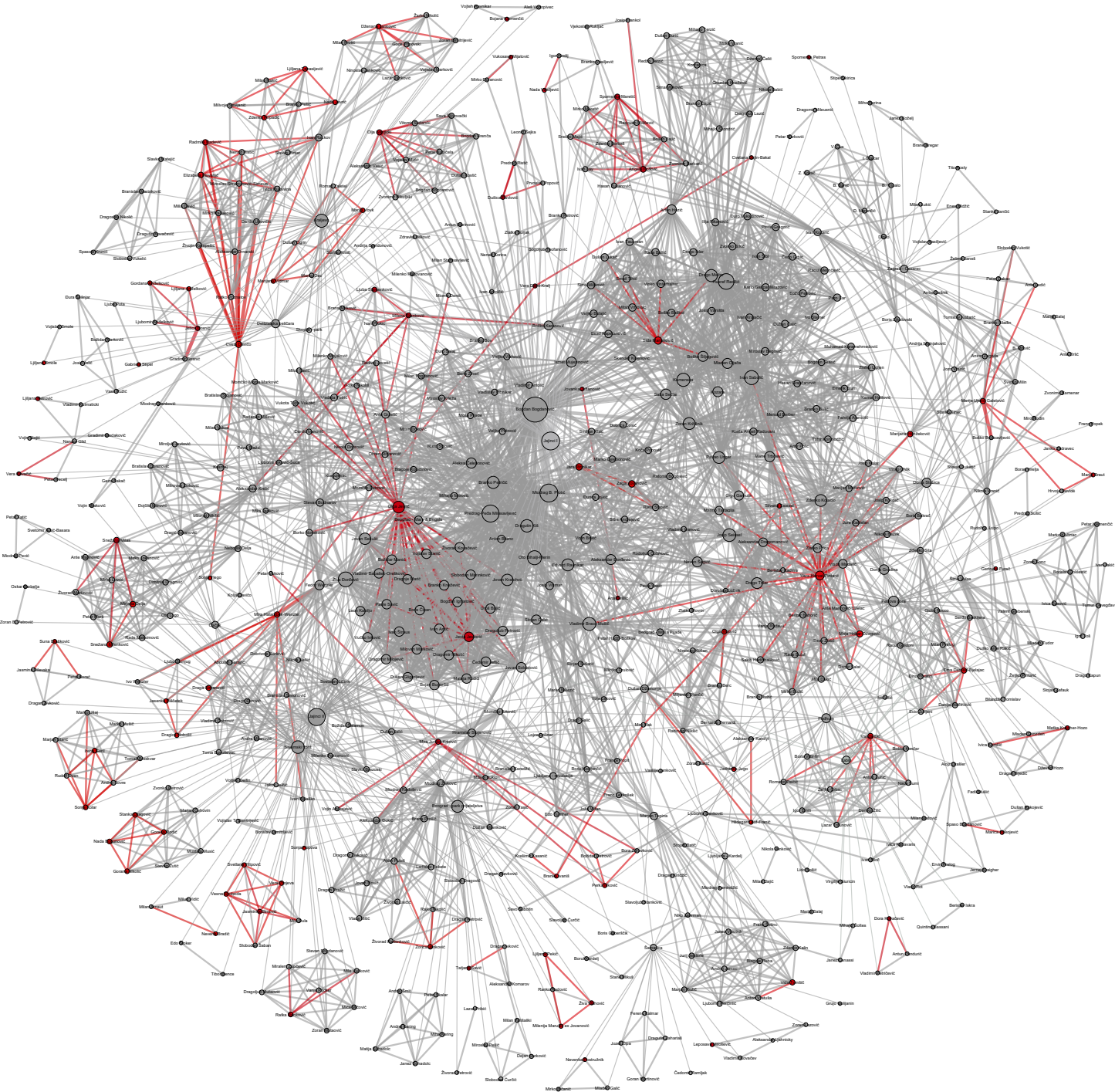


Fig. 8
The complete network with nodes and edges of female entities highlighted. Generated with Gephi.

them both to the field of memorial sculpture that allowed for such kinds of experimentation. Although they had already been recognized among most talented authors in the first half of the 1950s, the competition for Jajinci memorial (1957) was a landmark event for both of them, and the only occasion in which they both participated as competitors. They established themselves professionally in early 1950s, both as outstanding, leading artists and architects of their generation. At this point, however, their careers took different paths: Bogdanović became a member of the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade in 1953, thus beginning his life-long academic career that was crowned by the title of Professor Emeritus in 1987. His institutional power grew even stronger when he took on leading roles in professional organizations, such as the Yugoslav Union of Architects (1964), and when he became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1970, resigning in 1981). Džamonja, on the other hand, took the path of what today would be classified as a freelance artist. Interestingly, he managed to do so in a socialist system in which there was no real art market. In part, presumably, this may have been possible precisely due to the system of public competitions in which he would regularly participate. After gaining enough experience, skills and confidence at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb and at Frano Kršinić's Master Workshop (1951–1953), he almost completely broke away from the existing hierarchical structures and practices of the art academy, and embarked on an independent career. Besides developing a successful international career, applying for numerous public competitions was his main strategy for developing experimental practice in open-space large formats, and maintaining an independent position within the Yugoslav art system. Despite different structural positions and strategies, Bogdanović and Džamonja were

among the most dominant, prolific and well established names in the field of memorial production in former Yugoslavia. The geographic reach of their monuments was among the widest, but the commissions were obtained in different ways. While Džamonja continued to enter public competitions throughout his career, Bogdanović abandoned this practice very early on, instead continuing to work through direct commissions. This is also clearly visible from their positions within two respective networks: that of the participants of the winning projects – where Bogdanović takes the central position – and the network of the jury members, in which – surrounded by politicians, war veterans, public intellectuals and several other prominent architects and sculptors – Bogdanović looms as the central figure. His connectedness to the jury members at different competitions, and his continuous presence in decision-making processes, his social esteem as a public intellectual, critic and theoretician – all of these were crucial for obtaining direct access to commissions, thus bypassing the tiresome and often risky process of running for competitions. Zdenko Kolacio's structural position and strategy was rather similar – although being one of the most prolific architects in this field of practice in Croatia, he also soon gave up on submitting project entries, and became a highly prominent figure within juries. The main difference between these two strategies of securing position within the system of memorial production depended on the material conditions. Džamonja as a freelance sculptor chose to earn his living by making art, and was thus forced to use every opportunity to acquire funding and honoraria. The dynamics of such working conditions allowed him to spend more time in his atelier, preparing the extensive and detailed project documentation. On the other hand, figures such as Bogdanović and Kolacio, who enjoyed great renown in

society and were permanently employed at universities or urban planning offices, were invited directly. Their position was therefore privileged compared to those authors – usually emancipated freelance sculptors – who were highly dependent on the system of competitions. This also explains the ways in which Bogdanović's structural position conditioned him to speak against public competitions. We must keep in mind that his deep involvement in the decision-making processes made him highly aware of all corruptive, unregulated and problematic segments of that system.

STRUCTURAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE NETWORK

In addition to conclusions drawn on the basis of gender-related statistics, the visualization presented in Fig. 8 is even more telling in term of female positioning within the whole system of federal public competitions for monuments in Yugoslavia. The red nodes and edges represent the positions and connections of all female actors within the network. It is clearly evident that the majority are located along the peripheral edges of the visualization, where women often composed the majority of project teams. As the statistics have shown, women were present in the field of memorial production to a greater extent than would be expected, but since they usually worked as collaborators upon projects that rarely won first prizes, they were neither professionally nor financially motivated to stay in the field of memorial production or encouraged to compete with their own proposals. Women with a higher degree centrality were often spouses of more successful and famous architects and sculptors, with whom they worked in teams, like Mira Wenzler-Halambek, wife of Fedor Wenzler, and Mira Jurišić Krković, wife of highly prolific Serbian sculptor Momčilo Krković. The working conditions, unpaid labour, and

other professional limitations derived from such artistic partnerships should be further investigated, but they certainly contributed to the structural obstacles women had to endure in their professional careers. On the other hand, the high degree of centrality of the sculptor Olga Jančić and Vera Horvat Pintarić, prove that it was not impossible for women to become part of the decision-making cliques. Despite the better social position of women in socialism, it was, however, much more difficult for women to meet the criteria and come to such positions: both Jančić and Horvat Pintarić, each in her own field of work, were completely devoted to their careers, achieved the highest professional standards, and were internationally renowned and connected.

CONCLUSIONS

Digital Art History allows researchers to use new digital tools in order to include more actors, voices and (hi)stories in an analysis that has so far been constrained and limited by selective approaches and biased perspectives, dictated by the *grand narrative* schemes of the Western world. Although the main objectives of digital art history are usually described in terms of quantitative, socio-cultural, spatial analysis, with a tendency toward transnational and transdisciplinary inclusion of all actors included in the creative process,²⁹⁴ this study has shown that the same methods can be equally beneficial to the analysis of smaller-scale and localized phenomena. What is more, it has shown that, for phenomena such as public competitions, it is necessary to take into account not only those actors who crea-

294 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "ARTL@S: A Spatial and Trans-national Art History Origins and Positions of a Research Program," *Artl@s Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2012): Article 1.

tively participated in the process, but to juxtapose and overlap their collaborative networks with those networks generated in the decision-making sphere. As the first part of the analysis – based on qualitative approach or standard historiographical methods – has shown, jury members were not only crucial for making decisions; their structural position in the system of high-level memorial production significantly influenced the dynamics and division of power positions, constantly challenging – or even threatening – the democratic principles of public competitions. Without paying attention to jury membership, it would not have been possible to detect the division of power positions among certain prominent authors, as we have shown in the examples of Bogdan Bogdanović and Dušan Džamonja. Competitions for monuments nevertheless managed to maintain a relatively high degree of interest and competitiveness throughout the observed period. Although participation at federal competitions was limited exclusively to Yugoslav citizens, from today's point of view these competitions can be considered as transnational networking vehicles. It is also important to emphasize the importance of quantitative logic in social network analysis to opposing the *methodological nationalism*²⁹⁵ still present in most local art historical studies. Federal competitions were indeed the generators of the innovative and experimental development within the field of memorial sculpture and architecture in Yugoslavia, functioning as key organizational platforms that had contributed to the formation of the Yugoslav memorial landscape.

The social network generated and analysed for the purposes of this study is but an initial survey of potential further exploration of the possibilities offered by digital tools. It has

shown that public competitions are apt for quantitative and network analysis. The existing network could be expanded both in terms of its quantitative scope – which would require further archival research – and in analysing and quantifying the nature and complexity of entities' interrelations. In more general terms, this study has indicated the analytic potential for using competitions as suitable angles for examining the intersections and overlapping of the fields of art/architecture and politics in the post-war period.

Several clear advantages can be outlined in the results of such an approach to the phenomenon of public competitions for monuments. With substantial knowledge on the historical background of the phenomenon, it enables a rapid shift between micro- and macro-story perspectives. The automatic data calculation and visualization makes all actors, regardless of their symbolic status, equally visible within the network, thus reducing the possibility of biased historiographical approaches. The visualizations can outline collaborative models that lie behind the production of a monuments or memorial complex, making visible the multitude of actors and professions included in this field of production, as well as creative collaborations that have, for various reasons, been forgotten or overlooked. Such an unbiased perspective on the position of individuals within larger social networks contributes to a fuller understanding of the phenomenon, and to the demystification of the role of "artistic genius" in the process of monument making, without undermining the creative potentials of individual artists and architects. Not only does team work become more evident in such representation, but so does the structural position of the "big names" within the network. Their roles in decision-making processes open up yet another critical perspective on the preferred and/or self-declared artistic autonomy of the modernist artist. Among the most rewarding findings of the statistical

analyses is the relatively high percentage of women among the awarded participants. However, coupled with their peripheral position within the network structure, these figures contribute to our understanding of the structural invisibility of female contributions to memorial projects. On the other hand, the centrality of some of female entities in the networks opens up further questions regarding their role as gatekeepers in the social network. Such assumptions could, however, only be investigated through a more in-depth analysis and adequate qualification of the nature and quality of the interrelations between various entities.

Finally, as the very structure of this paper manifests, quantitative methods in humanities – regardless of advances in the digital technologies that support them – should be preceded by or built upon a substantial body of knowledge on regarding a certain historical phenomenon, not only so that researchers and readers are able to comprehend the level of its social, political and cultural complexity, but to improve awareness of the multiple narratives and the existence of personal voices hiding behind differently sized and coloured nodes and edges, located in abstract diagrams and maps. *

* I wish to kindly thank my dear colleagues and friends who helped or assisted me in the process of gathering information on federal competitions for Yugoslav monuments: Jelica Jovanović, Mejrema Zatrić, Tamara Bjažić Klarin, Marija Đorđević, Katarina Mitrović, Oleg Romanov, Eleonora Luketić and Ana Kršinić Lozica. I would also like to thank to the reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions.

295 For the genesis of the term, see: Ibid, 11.

INTRODUCTION

The independent cultural scene is a term used for an artistic and cultural complex, whose occurrence, consolidation, and proliferation in Croatia can be traced back to the very end of the last and beginning of this millennium. Given the recency of the occurrence, it can still be regarded as an unexplored phenomenon, in which discussions regarding its basic outlines and characteristics are mostly held among its main protagonists. According to the researcher and independent scene actor, Dea Vidović, the independent scene can be described as a “new cultural field”, comprised mostly of non-governmental organizations, that is “specific in its agency and organization as well as its aesthetic, ideological, and political values and attitudes.”²⁹⁶ The author distinguishes between the two directions of independent cultural development: one that originates from the subculture, and is founded on the value principles of anarchism, activism, and DIY culture as well as the heritage from social movements of the 1970s and 80s, and another one that holds the artistic value as its guiding principle, wherein the artistic and professional context could belong to the institutional culture.²⁹⁷ By emphasizing that sometimes it may be difficult to draw a line between the two directions, the author indicates that their connection is shared through the initiatives’ use of a *bottom-up* approach, critique of socio-political context, non-profit logic, simultaneous focus on both local and

international cooperation, and interaction throughout artistic, cultural, technological, and political fields.²⁹⁸

Given the diversity of cultural and artistic practices and values that are created within such a widely-defined field, in addition to the various origins of individual actors, the independent scene can be viewed as a dynamic social space comprised of closely knit, though diverse social groups. Even though they are in a constant interrelated process of coming together and breaking apart, they form a network in which common aesthetic, social, and political values are created and shared; a space in which complex personal, social, and spatial-temporal relations are formed. The networking spaces within the independent scene can thus be viewed and interpreted as *netdoms*²⁹⁹—social spaces that are simultaneously based on social relations that constitute the network, and on definitions, discourses, and themes that occur within network interactions, which serve to maintain its structure.

When taking into account the attitudes and statements of the scene’s protagonists—gathered through semi-structured narrative interviews—the aim of this text is to offer an interpretation of the independent scene as a social space in which structure and culture are intertwined. In other words, by using insights from the actors themselves, the aim is to outline the structure, actors, and relations of the still evolving scene through 1990s, and the complex forms of communication and exchange that generated collective ‘stories’.

Taking into account the aforementioned diversity of cultural and artistic practices, the

296 Dea Vidović, “Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990. – 2010.),” in Dizajn i nezavisna kultura, eds. Maroje Mrduljaš, and Dea Vidović (Zagreb: Savez udruga Klubbura – UPI 2M PLUS d.o.o. – KURZIV, 2010), 9.

297 Vidović, “Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990. – 2010),” 14–19.

298 Ibid.

299 Harrison C. White: Identity and Control: How Social Formations Emerge (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

focus of this text is more limited and deals with the segment of the independent scene that primarily examines visual arts, i.e. the segment that, according to Dea Vidović, could be described as being close to institutional culture in the artistic and professional sense.³⁰⁰ In other words, the interview analysis was conducted with a further focus on one actor in particular—the curatorial collective WHW (What, How and for Whom). Aside from the fact that the diversity of cultural and artistic practices and the various origins of individual actors is visible in the independent scene as a whole, it is also visible in the analytically extracted segment relating to institutional culture. Since the approach to the independent scene is from the perspective of its protagonists, this diversity restricts broader generalizations with regard to scene's development. As such, a comprehensive analysis of the structure, actors, and relations based on the gathered data would go beyond the framework of this text.

METHODOLOGY

Methodologically speaking, this work is based primarily on the application of a qualitative structural analysis (QSA); an innovative methodological approach in which the quantitative network analysis is linked to qualitative approaches.³⁰¹ The intention

300 As is concluded by Dea Vidović, given that cultural and art practices in the independent scene almost always carry a sense of transdisciplinarity, it can often be hard to distinguish between the two developmental directions of the independent scene. This will be demonstrated in the text by referencing actors and projects that belong to the second developmental direction.

301 Andreas Herz, Luisa Peters, and Inga Truschkat, "How to Do Qualitative Structural Analysis: The Qualitative Interpretation

of such an approach is to bridge the gap between the qualitative and quantitative, and to develop tools that allow for interpretation of qualitative constructs with the help of concepts developed within traditional network analyses (e.g. structural holes, network centralization, homophily, and strong and weak ties). This type of methodological approach was used to analyze the gathered semi-structured narrative interviews conducted with the protagonists of the Croatian art scene in the 1990s, with the narrative data being processed using 'thematic coding'³⁰² in order to develop and interpret analytical concepts.³⁰³

According to Herz, Peters and Truschkat, the main idea of a QSA is "to combine the analytical approach of structural analysis with analytical standards from qualitative social research".³⁰⁴ They argue that a "QSA goes beyond being a 'mere' combination of different analytical methods and instead integrates a structural approach within a qualitative approach".³⁰⁵ As stated by Kadushin, there are two main approaches in the social network analysis: the analysis of whole networks and the analysis of egocen-

of Network Maps and Narrative Interviews," Forum: Qualitative Social Research 16/1 (2015).

302 Kathy Charmaz: Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis (London - Thousand Oaks - New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006).

303 In total, 29 interviews were conducted and transcribed, with a portion of the acquired data being included in the CAN_IS database. Also contributing to the conducted interviews of project ARTNET were Sanja Horvatinčić, Ivana Meštrov and Dalibor Prančević.

304 Herz, Peters, and Truschkat, "How to Do Qualitative Structural Analysis," 3.

305 Ibid., 16-17.

tric networks.³⁰⁶ In this article, an egocentric approach was applied, meaning that the main focus was on the analysis of individual relations, networks, and networking strategies of the scene's protagonists—or more specifically, the study's respondents. Following a qualitative structural analysis approach,³⁰⁷ a structure-focused, actor-focused, and tie-focused analysis of the interviews was applied. Structure-focused analysis includes observations regarding network density, cohesion, subgraphs (cliques), clusters, equivalence and similar structural properties of networks. An actor-focused analysis examines the positions and roles of individuals in the network; how easy is it for them to connect with other members in the network, what is their centrality like, and does an individual actor have a bridging role in the network or do they bridge structural holes? Finally, a tie-focused analysis studies the quality of relations within a network, digging into specific subgraphs; weak and strong ties between individuals in the network (in terms of emotional closeness, length of time they know each other, or type of relationship); are there multiple relations in the network, or how important is homophily. In other words, concepts that are typical for quantitative network analyses are here used as sensitizing concepts which guide the interview analysis.

While applying qualitative structural analysis, the concentration on the curatorial collective WHW originates from the material itself: WHW is an actor that all of the study's respondents have named, either by directly describing their work and activi-

306 Charles Kadushin: Understanding Social Networks. Theories, Concepts and Findings (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

307 Herz, Peters, and Truschkat, "How to Do Qualitative Structural Analysis."

ty as formative or important for their own practice or for the scene as a whole, or by using them as an example of changes that occurred at the turn of the millennium. In other words, this text does not cover the formation of the curatorial collective WHW as much as it employs their perspective in describing the scene's dynamic development through the 1990s and into the new millennium: how was the scene organized through the 1990s and in what way did the organizational models change throughout the decade and into the new millennium? In what way do the socio-political and cultural frameworks impact networking within the scene as well as the formation of individual groups? What is the curatorial collective WHW's position within the scene? Which actors are important for WHW's formation and further development? What is the relationship between the independent scene and institutional culture? And finally, in what way is the scene's structure related to its protagonists and their previously mentioned shared values?

The results gained from the qualitative structural analysis of the interviews have been expanded upon with the analysis of WHW's two collaboration networks in the initial years of their work. Through the generated visualizations, we consider the cooperation of the WHW collective and other organizations within the independent scene and institutional culture as well as cooperation with artists and other cultural workers, realized through the organization of exhibitions and various discursive programs.³⁰⁸

308 Given that the qualitative research was focused on 1990s and early 2000s, WHW's collaboration networks take into account the data from 2000 to 2006. This timespan covers the period from their first exhibition up to the time they start implementing larger European collaborative projects.



III. 1 The WHW curatorial collective (Ana Dević, Ivet Čurlin, Nataša Ilić, Sabina Sabolović), 2013. Photo: Ivan Kuharić. Courtesy the WHW curatorial collective.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS NARRATIVE INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

STRUCTURE-FOCUSED ANALYSIS

When talking about the 1990s cultural and art scene in Croatia, it is inevitable to reference the demise of Yugoslavia and the wars that followed. Representing the most visible and radical break between the two socio-political systems, the wars were followed by a rise of nationalism and conservatism as well as stagnation in the realm of cultural production, which led the scene's actors to often describe this period as "gloomy", "traumatic"³⁰⁹ or "ideologically uncomfortable and difficult".³¹⁰ On one hand, the changes in the socio-political system brought a standstill to the activities of many structures/organizations, such as the Alliance of Socialist Youth and other youth organizations that served as places of experimentation and live cultural production in previous decades. Additionally, due to the imminent dangers of war, museum collections were moved to depots and were unavailable for public viewing until late 90s. On the other hand, the lack of new strategic documents regarding cultural policies resulted in the government employing an *ad hoc* approach to the cultural sector—later described as neo-conservative—in which culture's only role was to symbolically represent the state.³¹¹ According to the scene's

actors, contemporary art was for the most part excluded from this process.³¹² This break in the continuum—labeled by one art critic and curator as a "conservative revolution"—was therefore perceived not only by the disappearance of structures and spaces, but also by the increasing inability to form relations with progressive artistic phenomena that marked the second half of the 20th Century:

The transition from one decade into another was therefore marked with what can be perceived as analogous to the current times—frankly, it was a horrible attempt to neglect the development of both the fluxes and phenomena that have not only birthed, but also defined Croatian contemporary art. In the period from the 1950s to 90s, when art production closely followed the most important international tendencies, there was an attempt to erase it all [...] and could be called, more or less accurately, a conservative revolution. The attempt was to form what some would call a national artistic paradigm [...]³¹³

Vidović, "Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990. – 2010.)," 11–13.

³¹² During that time, the press published art critics and artists' continuous critique of government's relentless focus on the past, naïve art, and kitsch, while at the same time pointing out that the contemporary art is an indicator of Croatia belonging to Europe. The exclusion of contemporary art could also be viewed through the continuous postponement of construction of the Museum of Contemporary Art, as well as the temporary closure of several spaces, manifestations, and contemporary art festivals.

³¹³ Interview 21, interview by Sanja Sekelj and Željka Tonković, March 6, 2017.

³⁰⁹ Interview 4, interview by Ivana Meštrov and Željka Tonković, November 25, 2015.

³¹⁰ Interview 11, interview by Ivana Meštrov, December 22, 2015.

³¹¹ Biserka Cvjetičanin, Vjeran Katunarić, eds., *Kulturna politika Republike Hrvatske: nacionalni izvještaj* (Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske – Institut za međunarodne odnose, 1998), 251. See also:

There are many reasons for referencing the socio-political context and climate of the early 90s when describing the cultural and art scene. Aside from it serving as a point of critique for many artworks and participatory actions, it also directly influenced the circumstances and means of forming networks among the scene's actors, as well as the structure itself. With regard to the latter, given that museums had to limit their activities in the early 90s and their collections were stored away in depots, many other spaces and contemporary art festivals were also temporarily put on hold. In visual arts, this was most drastically felt with the temporary closing of PM Gallery,³¹⁴ which throughout the 1980s went beyond being just an exhibition space, rather it was a gathering space frequented by the protagonists of the Zagreb, Croatian, and Yugoslav scene. This space in particular was referenced by most respondents, and its closure could be regarded as a symbolic marker to the temporary cessation of artistic spaces that served as gathering spaces. Although the respondents mention certain exhibition spaces whose programs they frequented (such as Nova Gallery, Miroslov Kraljević Gallery, Zvonimir Gallery or Gallery/Museum of Contemporary Art³¹⁵),

314 Expanded Media Gallery (PM Gallery) acted as a part of the Croatian Association of Artists (HDLU), from 1981 until autumn of 1991, when the HDLU space was occupied by the Croatian military forces at the very beginning of the war. It was reopened with the Exhibition of Food and Drinks, in May, 1994.

315 According to the interview analysis, the closure of the Gallery of Contemporary Art as a place of gathering seems to have roughly coincided with the death of its director, Davor Matičević in 1994. Although the Gallery is no longer mentioned as a relevant 'gathering space', the Museum is present in the interview analysis through

not a single one of these spaces, aside from the opening reception, facilitated informal gatherings to the same extent as PM Gallery.

Consequently, unlike the previous decades wherein progressive art currents could be linked to specific exhibition spaces, in the 1990s most of the gatherings took place in informal spaces such as coffee shops, bars, and clubs as well as certain public spaces or offices of NGOs and activist initiatives where relationships were built and projects initiated:

What is essentially left? [*after transition, with the disappearance of all former structures*] In my opinion, the only thing left were these informal elements of gathering. Along the lines of, two of us get together in a bar and then figure something out. Most of these projects, from Arkzin to Attack, and even WHW, were formed in random bars; Arkzin was formed sometime in autumn on some terrace in Tkalčićeva Street, the first WHW exhibition project was conceived in BP Club, etc.³¹⁶

On one hand, the consequence of exhibition spaces ceasing to serve as gathering spaces was the proliferation of artistic events in alternative exhibition spaces. The respondents of the study point to several crucial events such as the exhibition held at the Flower Square's abandoned Old Vjesnik printing house, marking Earth Day. Another one took place in a tunnel under Zagreb's Grič, originally designed as a shelter during Second World War, followed by exhibitions held at the abandoned toy factory

the activities of individual curators, such as Nada Beroš, Tihomir Milovac, Želimir Koščević, and Leonida Kovač.

316 Interview 17, interview by Željka Tonković, March 17, 2016.

complex Biserka as well as many individual art interventions in public space.³¹⁷ On the other hand, the constant lack of resources defined a whole generation of young artists, art critics, and other cultural workers who, by seizing these spaces as symbolic representations of their own positions as well as physical spaces for work, defined one of the *leitmotifs* of the cultural and art scene in the 1990s and early 2000s.³¹⁸ Moreover, this lack of gathering spaces was most likely the reason why the cultural and artistic scene in the 1990s was fractured and informally organized around narrow social circles. One of the study's respondents, a new media artist, explains the interrelation of private contacts and formal networks as follows:

It is one and the same. Private network is *the* network. Other forms of network simply did not exist in Croatia in the 90s. It was exclusively private networking, which predominantly

317 The installation exhibition observing the Earth Day was organized by artists Magdalena Pederin and Snježana Karamarko, as a part of the Life Quality Improvement Organization activities, and took place from April 18th through May 1st 1994. The exhibition, In the Tunnel, was also held on Earth Day, from end of April to beginning of May in 1995, and was organized by artists Magdalena Pederin and Ivan Marušić Klif, while side events, concerts and performances, were organized by Boris Bakal. The exhibition, Toy Factory, was also organized by Magdalena Pederin as a part of the ATTACK! program, taking place from May 23rd to June 12th 1998.

318 For more see, for example: Vidović, "Nezavisna kultura u Hrvatskoj (1990. – 2010.)," 32–33. See also: Dea Vidović, "Taktičke prakse u pristupima lokalnim kulturnim politikama u Zagrebu," *Život umjetnosti* 86 (2010): 22–35.

took place in bars. There are no gathering spaces, no mailing lists, and no networks. Well, there are two functioning networks; as mentioned, one was Soros, and the other was Culturelink, whose international activities were concerned with other issues.³¹⁹

The same artist would later go on to say that true networking only began in Croatia at the turn of the millennium:

There was a turning point in the 2000s with the formation of WHW and their first exhibition. For the first time, the networking expanded to a second group around Mama, as well as a third group around CDU, with Sergej and Frakcija. These three groups really hit it off, and Croats finally understood what networking meant. In the 90s this simply wasn't the case. [...] The conscious networking only came about in the 2000s when these three groups came together and started working on POLICY_FORUM.³²⁰

At the turn of the millennium, the organizational logic of cultural actors changed—one year after the 2000 elections that brought a change in government, there was a restructuring of laws governing the formation of NGOs, making the registration process easier and providing more opportunities for accessing public financing for the arts. With the proliferation of numerous cultural NGOs, there came a tactical networking effort of local and national actors through the newly formed platforms *Clubture* and *Zagreb – European Cultural*

319 Interview 2, interview by Ivana Meštrov and Željka Tonković, November 24, 2015.

320 *Ibid.*

INVISIBLE ZAGREB

Read • 3LHD • STEALTH group

Zagreb – Cultural Kapital 3000

CENTAR ZA DRAMSKU UMJETNOST • MULTIMEDIJALNI INSTITUT • PLATFORMA 9,81 • ŠTO, KAKO I ZA KOGA [WHW]

Kapital 3000.³²¹ Their shared purpose was primarily to nurture cooperation through program exchanges and development, and share resources with the aim of further strengthening the scene at large. At the same time, in order to reinforce their position, the platforms furthered their advocacy efforts through closely following cultural policies and actively participating in the changes and implementations. Due to sudden expansion, the rhizomatic spread of organizations, and the need for networking, many of the study's respondents identified this structural change in the cultural field as the moment that allowed for the development of the scene to run parallel to institutional culture.

For respondents that participated in the activities of the *Zagreb – European Cultural Kapital 3000* platform, the formation of the independent scene at the turn of the millennium can be seen through a prism of “self-institutionalization” and “self-organization”—given that the needs of new actors surpass the levels of individual initiatives and actions and create their own organizational forms. Reflecting on the difference in networking and collaborative practices of the 1990s and early 2000s, one of the respondents pointed out that in the 90s, “there was no model”. Rather, the socialization and one-time initiatives were seen more “as a lifestyle”, lacking any “real structural relationships”. In contrast, the logic behind networking in the Cultural Kapital platform was quite different:

321 For more info about Clubture platform, see: “Clubture.” Accessed August 14, 2018. <http://www.clubture.org/> For more info about platform Zagreb – European Cultural Kapital 3000, see: Multimedia Institute, “Zagreb – European Cultural Kapital 3000.” Accessed August 14, 2018. www.mi2.hr/hr/suradnje/zagreb-kulturni-kapital-evrope-3000/

We were following a different kind of logic, one of self-organization. (...) In the 2000s, efforts were made to connect all of these cultural NGOs with the aim of strengthening and providing a lasting framework for cultural activities. One of the guiding principles was for networks to serve as a foundation for a new cultural center, a new type of institution for contemporary cultural practices. I believe that is the key difference between the alternative scene of the 80s and the independent scene that originated in the 90s, because the scene that took hold in the 2000s did not accept the label of alternative culture, unlike the one formed in the 80s.³²²

Still, one of the key issues that persisted in the early 2000s was the lack of working spaces (and sufficient resources for cultural production in general) that would enable organizations to gain greater visibility, thus driving the scene to focus on collective action and cooperation, as demonstrated in the aforementioned platforms. According to one of the members of the Multimedia Institute, solidarity and resource sharing came as the result of a joint effort by these organizations in offering context for critical contemporary art practices, while the idea of ‘gathering’ and collective action was the result of a belief that “the basic cultural infrastructure is not defined by buildings and operational costs, but by cooperation”.³²³ The study's respondents often linked the propulsion and sudden expansion of the scene from the 2000s onward with the es-

322 Interview 18, interview by Sanja Sekelj and Željka Tonković, December 6, 2016.

323 Interview 12, interview by Ivana Meštrović, January 13, 2016.

establishment of the WHW curatorial collective, namely, the first exhibition organized by the independent curators Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić, and Sabina Sabolović, who were later joined by Ivet Ćurlin. The exhibition took place at the Croatian Association of Artists in 2000, under the title *What, How, and for Whom? On the Occasion of 152 Years of Communist Manifesto*, which would later become the name of the collective and NGO.³²⁴ Thanks to the members of the collective, the inspiration for and the execution of the exhibition are well known: the initiative came from the magazine, Arkzin and its editor in chief, Dejan Kršić, with the aim of increasing visibility of Arkzin's 1998 reissue of the *Communist Manifesto*, with a foreword by Slavoj Žižek.³²⁵ Initially, the planned 1998 exhibition was supposed to include several

324 The exhibition took place at the Meštrović Pavillion in Zagreb, June 16th - July 10th 2000, and was organized in collaboration of independent curators (Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić and Sabina Sabolović), Arkzin, Multimedia Institute, and Croatian Association of Artists. The list of exhibiting artists can be found at WHW website: WHW, "What, How and for Whom: On the Occasion of 152nd anniversary of the Communist Manifesto." Accessed July 25, 2018. http://www.whw.hr/izlozbe/2000_izlozba1.html >

325 See, for example: Una Bauer, "Crvene niti kontinuiteta i kolaboracije - intervju s kustoskim kolektivom WHW." *Kulturpunkt*, March 9, 2010. Accessed July 25, 2018. <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/crvene-niti-kontinuiteta-i-kolaboracije-0>. Dea Vidović, "Život s WHW-om - intervju s Dejanom Kršićem." *Kulturpunkt*, August 16, 2010. Accessed July 25, 2018. <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/%C5%BEivot-s-whw-om>. Sven Spieker, "Interview with WHW Collective." *ARTMargins*, July 5, 2011. Accessed July 25, 2018. <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/5-interviews/635-interview-with-whw-collective-zagreb>.

young Croatian artists, but ended up happening in 2000 with almost 50 artists from across Europe, predominantly ex-Yugoslavia and former Eastern Bloc countries. In conjunction with the exhibition, and organized in collaboration with the Multimedia Institute, there was an extensive program of lectures, discussions, and projections that included curators from Serbia, Slovenia, and Albania, as well as Hito Steyerl, Frederic Jameson, and Richard Barbrook.

According to respondents, the curatorial collective WHW held one of the central roles within the independent scene structure, and their contribution to the tactical organization of the scene was often emphasized. The collective's curators belong to a younger generation of cultural actors, whose early work critically examined and reflected upon the socio-political and cultural climate that affected them throughout the 1990s. In their words, the project can also be interpreted in the spirit of generational rights in establishing their own attitudes towards the past as well as the need for the restoration of continuum with regard to the artistic phenomena of the socialist period.³²⁶

Alongside the Multimedia Institute, the Centre for Drama Arts, and Platform 9.81, the WHW curatorial collective was also one of the core members of the *Zagreb - European Cultural Kapital 3000* platform, and one of the first members of the *Clubture* platform. Aside from participating in collaborative efforts of the scene, this element of collectivity is present in WHW's work in general. On one hand, WHW is a collective, curatorial identity that jointly signs exhibitions, texts, and other programs, in addition to sharing work obligations. One of the members correlates the subject of collective work with the pragmatism of shared workloads but also with the increased visibility in the

326 Bauer, "Crvene niti kontinuiteta i kolaboracije."

public landscape that originates from the collective platform, emphasizing that collective work is

[...] both a necessity and a matter of choice, because choices carry certain consequences—the way you organize your time, your life, and ultimately, how you organize certain choices in life. (...) ³²⁷

On the other hand, the elements of collectivity in WHW's work can be recognized in their lasting quest for establishing a symbolic space for dialogue, networking and collaboration of various actors. This was already present in the organizational efforts leading to the Communist Manifesto exhibition, first through WHW's collaborations with Arkzin, the Multimedia Institute, and the Croatian Association of Artists, and second, with the subsequent integration of artists, curators, and art historians through various participatory and discursive formats. One of WHW's members goes on to say that in the 1990s "a great isolation and complete lack of communication on any level was a constant with regard to cultural production", thus making collaboration "a central issue of WHW's first exhibition, and in fact, of all of our projects moving forward."³²⁸

ACTOR FOCUSED ANALYSIS

When asked about actors whose roles were crucial in the forming of networks in the 1990s scene, the respondents predominantly reference their own project collaborators or artists whose practice was interesting and/or formative for their own

327 Interview 20, interview by Sanja Sekelj, December 8, 2016.

328 Interview 16, interview by Sanja Horvatinčić and Željka Tonković, March 29, 2016.

work, or whose segments stood out from the bulk of art production at the time. Almost every art historian, curator, and artist who was active in the 90s art scene is listed in the full interview; institutional art protagonists such as Museum of Contemporary Art curators, employees of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art, artists connected to the PM Gallery during the 1980s, and even younger artists who were fresh out of the Zagreb Art Academy.

Given the nature and diversity of the interview responses, there are a few people that can be singled out as important or formative for the scene at large, due to either their frequent referencing or emphasis of their role. For example, Slaven Tolj's significance was emphasized in most of the interviews with regard to both his art practice and event organization at the Art Workshop Lazareti in Dubrovnik, as were contributions from the mid-generation artists, Mladen Stilinović and Sanja Iveković. Even though the roles of the latter two are also referenced with regard to the relevancy of their artistic practices, younger generation art historians and artists predominantly list them in the context of sourcing and information sharing, an alternative education of sorts that greatly influenced their formation. This role was also highlighted by the members of the WHW collective, who refer to both the more formalized methods of education such as Sanja Iveković's workshops, executed through her NGO Elektra - Women's Art Center, and also more informal moments of gathering and information proliferation:

[...] due to a true lack of resources, people were referred to one another. You couldn't really travel much, and there wasn't much to see, but there was a nice practice out of which perhaps came this spark of collectivity through WHW. I remember [the two



III. 3

Sanja Iveković and Mladen Stilinović on the opening of the exhibition *Economies among us* (Final Exhibition of the Zagreb – European Cultural Kapital 3000 platform), Nova Gallery, December 2005. Courtesy of the WHW curatorial collective.

of us from the collective] exchanging books and catalogues every time somebody would go traveling abroad; the ritual of catalogue exchanges, of unearthing the catalogues together, but I also have to admit that both Stilinović and Sanja were very interested in lending books and giving oral deliberations in order to open up new worlds for those who recently graduated or were still students and simply didn't have a chance to discover these worlds.³²⁹

Aside from the role of the mid-generation artists, the members of the WHW collective also underscore the relevancy of activist initiatives and practices for their own formative state. After listing numerous young artists whose work she followed, one of the members of the collective concludes:

I was perhaps gravitating more to circles around ATTACK! and Arkzin that were not necessarily connected to the arts. If I were to draw a line, I would say that I mostly followed the activities of ATTACK! and Arkzin. During and shortly after university studies, I also followed Sanja Iveković who worked on several projects through Elektra where she held seminars that involved young students and art historians.³³⁰

Another member of the collective points out how, in the 1990s art field, there was a lack of cooperation and communication as opposed to the 2000s, and interprets the importance of the activist scene in terms of its organization, versatility, and sense of togetherness, while at the same time, she interprets the general need for cooperation

as a political act.³³¹ For a great majority of respondents, the importance of the anti-war, pacifist, and the associated anarchist and feminist initiatives played an important role in cultural and art fields in the 90s and 2000s. Even though the umbrella organization of the peace movement, the Croatian Anti-war Campaign, gets rarely mentioned,³³² the connection between the activism of the 1990s and that of the emerging art scene can be interpreted both through the participation of some artists in the organization's activities, and through their support for certain art events. For example, the aforementioned relevant art projects, such as the one held at the Old Vjesnik printing house to mark Earth Day in 1994 came together with the help of the Life Quality Improvement Society, one of the NGOs that founded the Anti-war Campaign. They furnished the participants with working spaces and assisted with administrative and organizational tasks. However, the influence of the Anti-war Campaign in forming the independent scene can be primarily observed through their Arkzin magazine, whose first issue came out as a fanzine in 1991, as well as through the influence of ATTACK! – Autonomous Cultural Factory, an NGO founded in 1997.³³³

³³¹ Interview 16.

³³² For more on Croatian Anti-war Campaign, see: Vesna Janković, Nikola Mokrović, eds., *Antiratna kampanja 1991. – 2011. Neispričana povijest* (Zagreb: Documenta – Centar za suočavanje s prošlošću – Antiratna kampanja, 2011); Paul Stubbs, "Networks, Organisations, Movements: Narratives and Shapes of Three Waves of Activism in Croatia," *Polemos* 15 (2012): 11–32.

³³³ For basic info about Arkzin, see: Tomislav Medak, Petar Milat, eds., *Prospects of Arkzin / Izgledi Arkzina* (Zagreb: Arkzin – Multimedijalni institut, 2013); For more about ATTACK!, see:

³²⁹ Interview 20.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

The awareness of the greater socio-political context and openness to diverse forms of civil initiatives and artistic expressions were characteristic of both the magazine and the NGO. The contents of Arkzin's editorials ranged from critiques of the state apparatus, to reports of peace initiatives, minority rights, ecological catastrophes and initiatives, macrobiotics, current rave parties, as well as theoretical texts by Slavoj Žižek and Terry Eagleton, among others. The magazine also covered film, concerts, theater and dance performances, fanzines and exhibitions, as well as new media events from across Europe and America. Similarly, ATTACK! organized events on topics of ecology, human rights, and political accountability, and provided an organizational framework and means to numerous theater, music, and film groups and alternative art events. According to Vesna Janković,³³⁴ the focus on versatility of artistic expressions, their interconnectivity and a shared perception of art and culture as social and political processes created a "form of bastardy, hybridity [that was] a novelty on the civil scene".³³⁵ Due to this openness, the respondents simultaneously perceive Arkzin and ATTACK! as being both important actors on the scene and important places of gathering. They emphasized that "at the time, Arkzin served as a recognition mechanism of sorts",³³⁶ or was called, alongside ATTACK!, WHW and the Multimedia Institute, a "spiritual gener-

Naša priča: 15 godina ATTACK!-a (Zagreb: Autonomni kulturni centar, 2013).

³³⁴ Vesna Janković was editor-in-chief of Arkzin from 1992 to 1997, as well as one of the founding members of ATTACK!

³³⁵ Vesna Janković, Marko Strpić, "Mi gradimo Attack, Attack gradi nas!", in Naša priča: 15 godina ATTACK!-a, 25.

³³⁶ Interview 1, interview by Ivana Meštrović and Željka Tonković, November 3, 2015.

ator" of the scene.³³⁷ One of the members of the WHW collective recognizes ATTACK! as an informal space with a potential for gathering people, while the atmosphere around Arkzin—who initiated the first WHW exhibition—proved crucial in the strengthening of own practice, adding

Arkzin [...] was extremely important. It was important to me as a politically thoughtful being, so it was great that our project was an idea born out of Arkzin. [...] I believe Arkzin does incredibly important work. [...] Arkzin was truly a political, pop cultural magazine. I think it was very important also because it provided translations, being a pioneer in some theoretical translations, publishing articles on international art practices that were completely absent from our mainstream. And it wasn't moving away from theory, but rather insisted on it—trying to dig deeper into more complex and problematic approaches in places of trauma.³³⁸

Even though Arkzin and ATTACK! served as physical gathering spaces of various actors, the respondents most commonly treat the magazine and NGO, as well as other aforementioned organizations such as WHW or the Multimedia Institute, as scene's actors. In other words, the change in organizational logic at the turn of the millennium is also reflected in the perception of the key actors who generate the scene. Moreover, they are not individuals but rather NGOs who, from the 2000s onward, not only form the structure, but are also the scene's most important bridging actors and concentrators. The respondents also relate the founding of the WHW curatorial collective at the turn of

³³⁷ Interview 11.

³³⁸ Interview 16.

the millennium to a point from which the Croatian art scene is organizationally run by curatorial collectives and independent curators. Interestingly, the projects that were identified by the respondents as being important for the 90s art scene were, for the most part, created and organized by artists. The artists and organizers of these alternative events in the 90s would go on to describe their involvement as a need for self-expression, for entering the public sphere and opening up dialogue—a need to simply do, in spite of slim resources. At the same time, they qualify the formation of curatorial collectives at the turn of the millennium as a point in time from which they could concentrate more thoroughly on their own artistic practices, since "it seemed needless for us to do work that is not in fact our job".³³⁹

TIE FOCUSED ANALYSIS

In continuation of the aforementioned assertion regarding the lack of a structural approach to collaborative practices in the 90s, the interview analysis identified a few themes according to the type and quality of relations created in the art scene. Given the previously described socio-political context and climate of the 90s, the lack of structures and material resources made collaboration the foundational capital of the emerging scene. One of the WHW members asserts that "people were referred to one another due to lack of resources";³⁴⁰ another respondent states that during the 90s, there was no strategy but an "impulse to collaborate";³⁴¹ while a younger generation artist identifies the need for unity throughout the 90s:

I was under the impression that our gatherings were not of any special

³³⁹ Interview 25.

³⁴⁰ Interview 20.

³⁴¹ Interview 15.

nature. I mean, there were very few artists that did stuff and so we kept together. There was no room to criticize each other. We were surrounded by things that were threatening our livelihoods [...] and so we simply stuck together during this period.³⁴²

Overall, the interviews have indicated several different types of connections between actors, which for the most part seem difficult to differentiate, thus pointing to the fact that art scene protagonists nurtured multiple relations. The study's respondents often point out the importance of comradeship in accomplishing certain projects, with an emphasis on friendships and networks within their own generation. This is, according to one WHW member, "something that has its own rhythm, enthusiasm, and type of fluidity",³⁴³ while at certain points this element of friendship mixes with the element of "recognition" based on shared aesthetical and ideological values, ultimately making it impossible to differentiate between the two. For example, when speaking about the art project *The Order of Bank and Money Worshipers*,³⁴⁴ one new media artist states:

³⁴² Interview 25.

³⁴³ Interview 20.

³⁴⁴ *The Order of Bank and Money Worshipers* was an art project that took place from autumn of 1994 till spring of 1995, and was made up of interdisciplinary group of artists, dramaturges, architects and musicians. The activities of the group were comprised of unannounced micro-performances taking place in banks across Zagreb, raising the issues of changes in the socio-political context through emphasizing the rituality of the space. See, for example: Katarina Pejović, "Bakal, Boris: navigator izmještanja i diskontinuiteta – portret multimedijalnog umjetnika," *Up & Underground* 7/8 (2004), 26.

There is this one art group—they even called me, and now I'm sorry I didn't join—the *The Order of Bank and Money Worshipers*. This was a completely bottom-up initiative. [...] It was one of the better art projects in the 90s. The *Order of Bank and Money Worshipers* [...] was an informal mix, along the lines of we all know each other, we're friends, this is how it goes. There was no institution at all. It was all recognition-based. It was all about recognizing each other on the street. Today, you have these residencies, and that's something new. It didn't exist back then. We were working off of a scent—somebody articulates an idea, another one builds upon it.³⁴⁵

The friendship element is especially pronounced in the early onset of professional engagements of the new generation artists and art historians. Though, when analyzing the interviews as a whole, it can be concluded that the element of "recognition" tips the scale and is determined by project accomplishments, shared acquaintances, frequenting the same informal gathering spaces, or even participating in the events that become collective spaces of resistance to the dominant socio-political or cultural climate. For instance, one of the WHW members speaks of "scandalously traumatic spaces that generated a certain kind of a scene"³⁴⁶ in the 90s, such as the devastation of the Flower Square in Zagreb or the installment of a new director at the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1998. Moreover, when talking about networking related to the platform Cultural Kapital, another respondent gives a direct advan-

tage to the relations based on recognition rather than friendship, saying:

Neither I nor any one of us were in some kind of special friendship relations [...] these collaborations were made following the logic of recognition, not only through the work we do but also, in my opinion, through a shared work ethic.³⁴⁷

The social circles in the independent scene were therefore founded on mechanisms of status and value-based homophily as well as transitivity. Regarding the former, the actors shared a social status that implied the claiming of spaces outside institutional culture as well as sharing aesthetical and ideological views based on left-leaning political ideas, the critique of the socio-political context, as well as a tendency toward art experimentation. While with respect to transitivity, most of the actors with similar affinities connected rather quickly to one another due to the relatively small size of the scene.³⁴⁸ Relations established through these mechanisms carried a sense of permanence and often implied long-lasting collaborations in which the professional and friendship relations are intertwined. At the same time, their foundation in value-based homophily created a network that was homogenous in its basic ideological values, while at the same time, heterogeneous in discipline through the inclusion of interdisciplinary groups of artists, activists and humanities experts.

In contrast to the above described spontaneous generation of sociability, the rela-

347 Interview 18.

348 The formation of informal social circles based on status and value homophily is one of the typical signifiers in the cultural and art fields. See: Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks*.

tions of some actors were also established through more formal channels, such as participation in international art and communication networks, which were a novelty in the arena of European cultural policy of the 90s.³⁴⁹ The majority of respondents identified Zagreb's Soros Center for Contemporary Art (SCCA) as the key intermediary for establishing art relations with both the international and domestic actors. In addition to providing financial support for certain artistic and curatorial projects, the Center acted as an information hub for international art happenings and connected domestic artists and curators with colleagues from abroad. Its role was also emphasized by the WHW members, citing the Center's support for their first international exchanges and residencies. One of the members also highlights meeting her WHW colleague due to a Soros grant, followed by the artist Sanja Iveković with whom the collective established a permanent collaboration. Due to the difficulties in establishing communications in the 90s, the grant also helped in connecting and collaborating with colleagues from Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, making it an important part of their work even from their first exhibition.

Alongside the SCCA, the international connections were also established thanks to a greater presence of new communication technologies. However, even though these kinds of gatherings or interactions imply a sense of 'anonymity' among the participants, the conducted study suggests that the participation in large international networks was also personalized, and is perceived by the respondents through forming relations based on similar aesthetical and ideological affinities. In this sense, the establishment of relations among

349 Cf. Vidović, "Razvoj hrvatske nezavisne scene (1990. – 2002.)," 14.

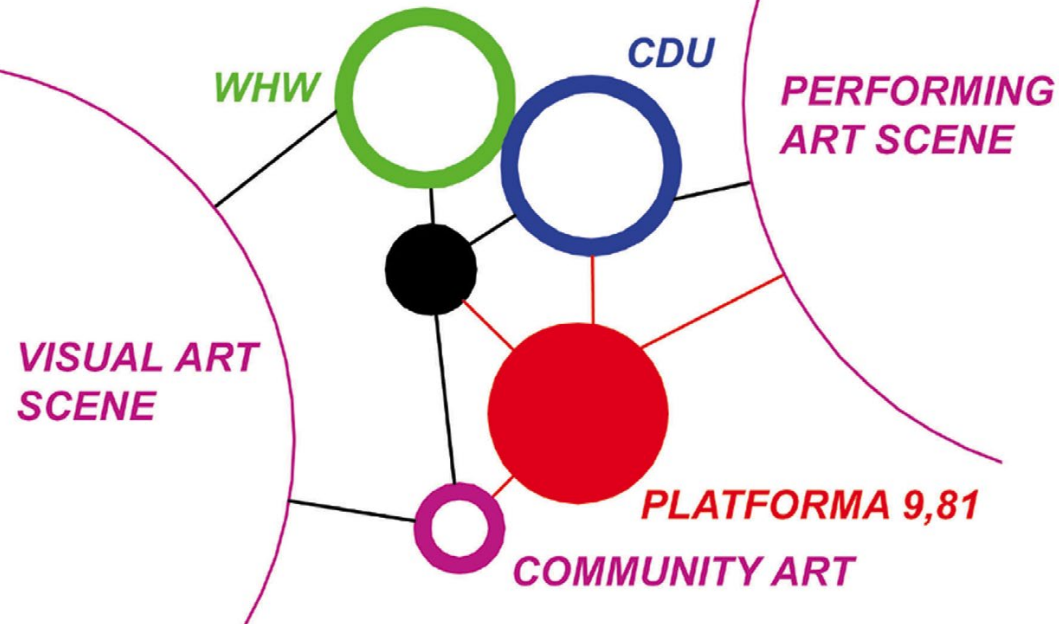
international artists and curators could be interpreted similarly to the domestic art scene processes, resulting in several very strong connections with international curators and artists. From the perspective of the independent scene at large, some relations between domestic and international actors can therefore be described as weak and strong at the same time. They can simultaneously imply a long-lasting and close collaboration with a specific actor, while through short-term contact, the rest of the independent scene receives new information that can, to a greater or lesser extent, influence the further development of individual artists or even the scene as a whole. The first exhibition of the WHW curatorial collective included a large number of international artists precisely due to the earlier established international networks. Their participation brought new values, context, and perspectives to the local scene, and in turn, domestic art production was given a broader context and greater international visibility. Given the ambitiousness of WHW's initial projects and other curatorial collectives of the time, such as Kontejner and BLOK, their high levels of organization and efforts to connect domestic artists with international curators and collaborators, the respondents draw a distinction between institutional and independent culture. Namely, pointing to openness and flexibility of the independent scene versus institutional sluggishness, and defining the turn of millennium as the moment when the independent curatorial initiatives took over the production and promotion of contemporary art. In other words, according to one mid-generation curator, after the year 2000, "when WHW emerged, that whole generation carried the independent scene [...] contemporary art was carried by the independent scene".³⁵⁰

350 Interview 1.

345 Interview 2.

346 Interview 16.

GROUP DYNAMICS



However, the relations between the independent scene and institutional culture cannot be viewed through a simple dichotomy, and are rather much more complex. And although the majority of respondents assessed the relations between these two sectors as virtually non-existent or existing in a “state of mutual indifference”,³⁵¹ several respondents have recognized the efforts of a few institutional workers in bridging the gap between the two sectors by supporting the realization of art and curatorial projects produced by the younger generation. One of the important mediators in the case of WHW’s founding was Nevena Tudor, the director of Croatian Association of Artists (HDLU) in the early 2000s. She was identified, not only by WHW members, but also by many younger generation respondents as the key enabler in the realization of their ambitious projects by providing them exhibition spaces and ensuring greater visibility through HDLU’s program.³⁵² The WHW members highlight her openness toward the younger generation of artists and curators fresh out of university, and also provide a specific view of the relations between the independent scene and institutional culture at large: by mediating between the two sectors, some institutional workers enabled the “reclaiming of traditional institutions”, or at

³⁵¹ Interview 12.

³⁵² Her role in supporting the independent scene was previously highlighted by the critic Marko Golub, primarily for opening up spaces for inclusion of independent scene actors when organizing the 25th and 26th Youth Salon, which aided the further consolidation of the scene by gathering of all current and future actors in one place. See: Srđan Sandić, “Kritičar kao dionik, zagovarač i medijator – intervju s Markom Golubom.” *Vizkultura*, March 9, 2016. Accessed July 25, 2018. <https://vizkultura.hr/kriticar-kao-dionik-zagovarac-i-medijator/>.

least “opened new possibilities for participation and dialogue”.³⁵³ Additionally, by providing greater visibility for independent projects, which delivered a more potent socio-political critique to the curatorial concept, WHW members also saw these individuals as crucial to the development of the art scene at large:

When we first started working, we didn’t want to create a project that would stay at the same level as Arkzin and remain outside of institutional culture. Our initial intention was to find ways of infiltrating the institutional space with our socio-political critique, and that was an important project goal.³⁵⁴

In that sense, the problems were deep-rooted, and it was impossible to expect institutions to offer a more complex insight into social realities. Yet, precisely because of that, it was important that the projects such as *Communist Manifesto* take place within an institution, as was the case with *Broadcasting*. The institutions are crucial, but not as entities, rather as people within the institutions.³⁵⁵

ANALYSIS AND VISUALIZATION OF COLLABORATIVE NETWORKS OF THE WHW CURATORIAL COLLECTIVE

Given the aforementioned assertions that collaboration is the main capital of the emerging scene, and that after 2000, the role of key actors in the network is inhabited by newly formed NGOs, the collaboration

³⁵³ Interview 17, interview by Ivana Meštrović and Željka Tonković, March 29, 2016.

³⁵⁴ Interview 16.

³⁵⁵ Interview 20.

network of the WHW collective with other organizations (2000 to 2006) offers a glimpse into their initial strategic partnerships (Fig. 1). The relations between actors/organizations in this one-mode network represent the organizational collaboration of art exhibitions and discursive events, with consideration of both complex forms of collaboration through program production, as well as smaller contributions through the lending of spaces or including authored projects in the yearly programs of other organizations.

The visualization primarily offers an insight into the intensive network growth of WHW, realized within only six years of their work. In the first two years, they established collaborations with cultural institutions in Croatia (HDLU, Technical Museum) and Slovenia (ŠKUC Gallery, Mestna Gallery), as well as with NGOs (Multimedia Institute, Arkzin. com/munications). The collaborations with the Multimedia Institute and Arkzin can be considered as strong ties that last to this day, and the institutional relations could be either interpreted as a form of ‘infiltration’ or a search for an adequate space to present their work, while the Slovenian institutional collaborations can be seen as fulfilling a need to reestablish connections with the centers of ex-Yugoslavia.

One of the WHW exhibitions, *A Small Country for a Big Vacation*, that took place in ŠKUC Gallery,³⁵⁶ was realized through the *Middle-South-East Projects*, initiated during Ljubljana’s Manifesta 3 in 2000. The goal of the project was to intensify the exchange of programs and insights of actors from Ljubljana, Zagreb, Budapest, Sarajevo, Graz, and Bologna.³⁵⁷ In addition to ŠKUC Gallery and SCCA Sarajevo, one of the WHW members specifically highlights this project and the role of <rotor> Gallery from Graz, as an important meeting place for artists and curators from the ex-Yugoslavian countries.³⁵⁸ The collaboration with Mestna Gallery in Ljubljana was realized in 2002 with the exhibition *Start*, with the goal of showcasing young artists from Croatia and Slovenia, and reconnecting the two artistic milieus. After 2003, there was an increase in the quantity of programs and intensification of organizational networking, following WHW’s appointment to a new curatorial role in Zagreb’s Nova Gallery. With the continuation of close collaborations with the Multimedia Institute and Arkzin, primarily seen through collaborations with designer Dejan Kršić (sometimes listed as the 5th member of the collective), most of the collaborations leading up to 2006 were established with NGOs. Local collaborative efforts were realized through the platform, *Zagreb – European Cultural Kapital 3000* (Multimedia Institute, Platform 9.81, BLOK, Shadow Casters, Community Art, Centre for Drama Arts), and included productions of thematic programs that dealt with issues of group and collective work, relations of independent scene and institutional culture, public accessibility and democratization of culture, or even critical analysis of the wider social context of ‘normalization’ that enabled the growth of the independent scene. In other words, the programs dealt with specific issues that were the focus of Cultural Kapital platform’s advocacy activities.

In conjunction with local networking, collaborations were established on a national level through the *Clubture* platform. The strengthening of ties with the Art Workshop

356 The exhibition curators were Nataša Ilić and Ana Dević, and it took place at the ŠKUC Gallery, from September 14th - October 8th 2000.

357 For more about [MSE Projects](#), see:

358 Interview 20.

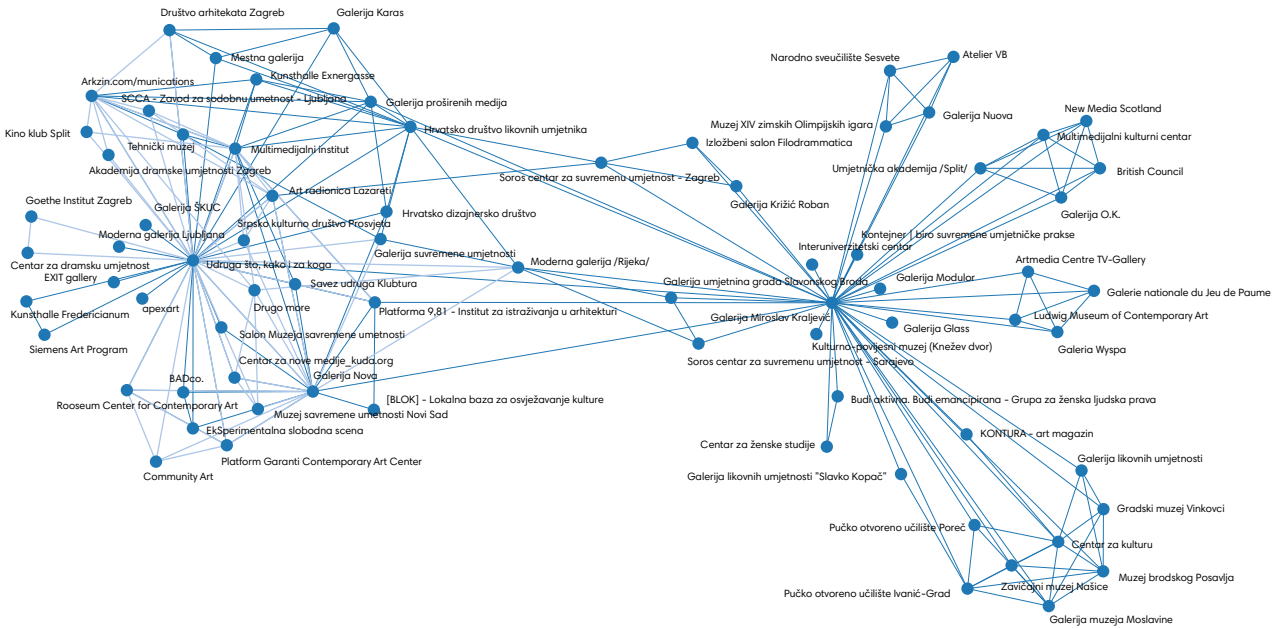


Fig. 1
Institutional collaboration of the WHW curatorial collective between 2000-2006.

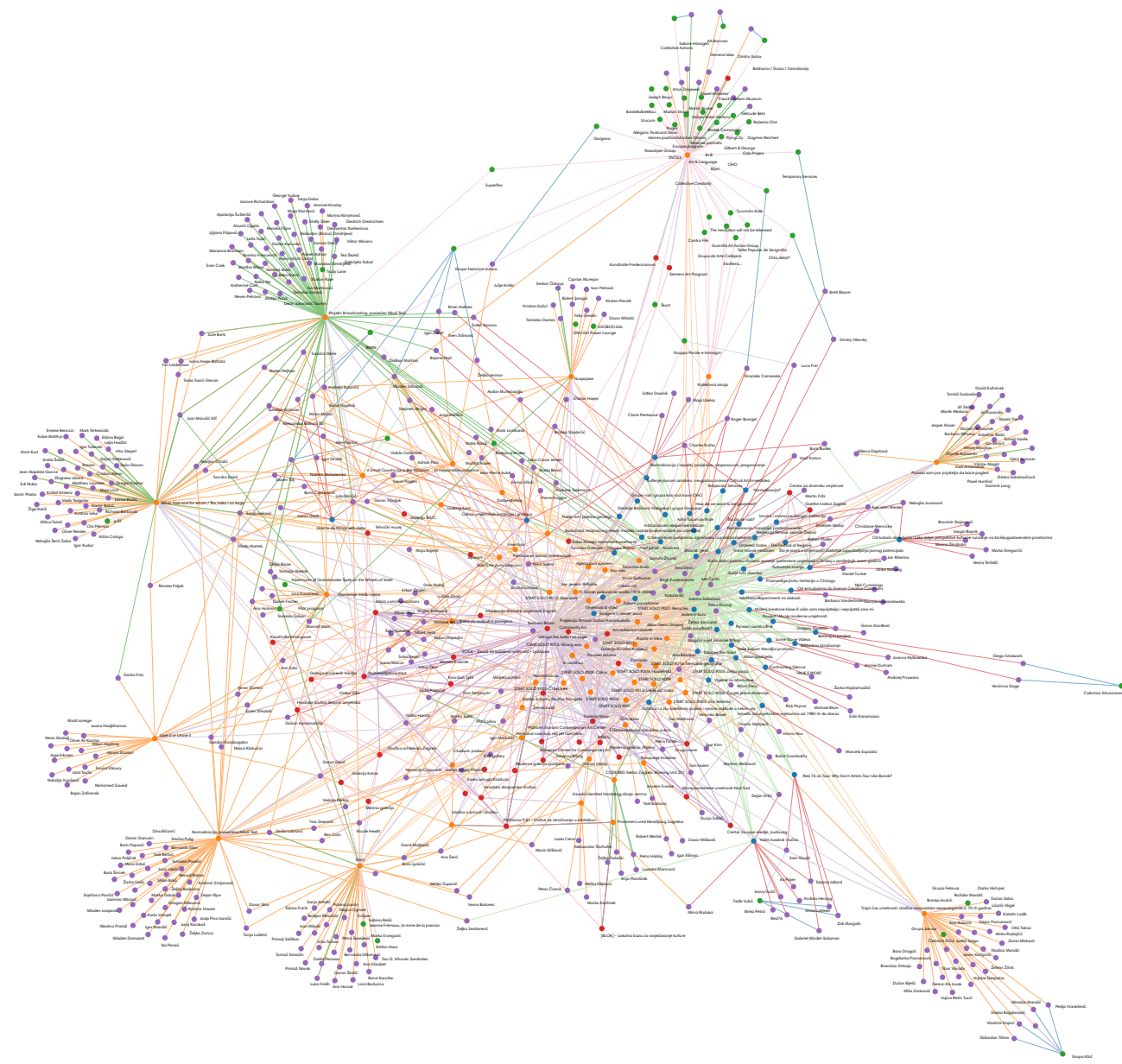


Fig. 2
Collaborative network of the WHW curatorial collective 2000–2006

Lazareti in Dubrovnik and Drugo More in Rijeka was of great importance, which brought discursive program exchanges with lectures by visiting international artists, art groups, and curators across multiple locations in the country (e.g. Charles Esche, Barbara Vanderlinden, Gregory Scholette). It is interesting to note that the programs realized through these two platforms enabled WHW to further develop their international collaborative efforts; namely with the Center for Contemporary Art Rooseum in Malmö, led by Charles Esche, Platform Garanti from Istanbul, led by Vasif Kortun, as well as the New Media Center_kuda.org from Novi Sad, a collaboration that continues beyond 2006 with the project, *Political Practices in Post-Yugoslavian Art*,³⁵⁹ in an effort to strengthen ties with NGOs in Serbia.

The situation becomes much more complex with the inclusion of all realized programs in WHW's collaborative network. Alongside institutions and NGOs, the constructed total collaborative network (Fig. 2) also includes all exhibitions and discursive programs that were either organized or co-organized by the WHW curatorial collective, as well as all individuals and art groups that participated in the programs as either organizers or participants. The result is a complex, multimodal network with a central position made of four members of the WHW curatorial collective, who, from 2000 to 2006, organized 56 exhibitions and 51 discursive events, and established relations with 400 individuals and 50 art groups.

Larger international exhibition projects are clearly visible at the edges of the visualization and include exhibitions realized

through WHW's curatorial concepts or exhibitions of visiting curators in Nova Gallery, where WHW members acted as event organizers and coordinators. At the center of the visualization are smaller exhibitions and discursive programs which mostly took place at the Nova Gallery. One visually distinctive event was the exhibition series START SOLO that took place in 2003 and 2004. The exhibitions were a continuation of the 2002 exhibition *Start*, with the aim of introducing and presenting the work of young Croatian contemporary artists, in addition to stimulating productions of new work. The visualization also offers an insight into WHW's programs' dynamics, which can be observed through the participation of artists, curators, and theoreticians in the secondary events surrounding the early exhibitions (colored differently than the direct participation in the exhibit). From 2003, this can be observed through a growing number of smaller exhibitions and discursive formats that mark a shift from the more conventional exhibition-focused programs toward creating a gallery that serves as a public space for communication and discussion.

Although the majority of participants in larger exhibition events only made a single relation within the program,³⁶⁰ the visualization also demonstrates that a number of program participants realized multiple relations. This was predominantly the case with local actors who, alongside WHW members, stand out in the number of established relations; specifically, Mladen Stilinović and Sanja Iveković with 11 and 9 relations respectively, followed by Andreja Kulunčić and Vlado Martek with 6 relations,

359 Alongside WHW, the project partners were Prelom Collective from Belgrade, kuda.org from Novi Sad, and pro.ba/SCCA from Sarajevo, and it lasted from 2006 until 2010.

360 The visualization would probably look different if the WHW collaborative network was analyzed to date, and would likely show some of the participants having more than one relation.

Tomislav Gotovac, Ana Hušman, and David Maljković with 5 relations, as well as Igor Grubić, Goran Trbuljak, Stephen Wright, Marko Tadić, and Aleksandar Battista Ilić with 4 established relations.

Given that only the formal types of interaction and collaboration through the realization of programs were taken into account when generating the visualization, the assumed existence of strong ties within the network can only be distilled from the frequency of collaborations, while the qualitative research results, together with the research on the WHW program after 2006, mostly confirms the above listed actors as having strong ties with the collective. These ties presuppose the existence of long-term collaborations and an intertwining of professional and personal relations, but also express the aesthetical and ideological affinities of WHW members that are congenious to the practices of certain artists (establishing the continuity of critical art practices from the socialist era, focusing on art practice as a social practice, contemplating new technologies as well as new forms of expression).

The visualization also confirms earlier claims that after 2000, the roles of the most central actors in the independent scene were no longer occupied by individuals, but rather by NGOs. For example, while the Multimedia Institute realizes 19 relations in the network, or Art Workshop Lazareti 16 relations, the important actors within these institutions who presumably participated in the program organization, such as Slaven Tolj, Tomislav Medak, or Marcell Mars, do not take central stage in the visualization. Such a representation is reflective of collective work within NGOs; the sharing of obligations and merits, and devising program concepts through joint participation and discussion. Consequently, the visualization allows for the synchronous assessment of all established collaborative relations in the first six

years of WHW existence. Given that a large number of diverse programs took place in this period, it is important to note that the collaborative network of WHW never actually resembled Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, but was rather in a constant state of flux: some actors were recurring, some performed multiple roles, many were part of the network only at one point, while others were establishing different kinds of relations with the members of the collective outside of their official program.³⁶¹ However, when talking about successful collaborations between individual actors and the WHW collective, it can be assumed that, if the need arises, these individual relations can be reactivated with WHW serving as a link among the actors within its existing network.

CONCLUSION

The structure of the Croatian cultural and art scene in 1990s can thus be described as a fragmented field of activities informally organized around smaller social circles. Such structural characteristics can be seen as a direct consequence of a transitional socio-political context and the unfavorable position of the cultural field at large. Consequently, it is not surprising that the end of 1990s through to the early 2000s was marked by an absence of central actors that would serve as network 'concentrators', even though there were prior instances of actors paving the way for the structural formation of the independent scene. Additionally, given the interview analysis, it can be concluded that despite fragmentation, the scene's structure was marked by a fair-

³⁶¹ Given that the visualizations represent the researchers' construction based on the available documentation, the analysis did not employ standard calculations of network density and measurements of centrality.



ly high density of relations among actors. Therefore, the structural holes—or what Pachucki and Breiger describe as cultural holes³⁶²—are not considered a primary characteristic of the structure of the independent and cultural scene of the 1990s. Conversely, the existence of such holes is evident when considering the relations between the dominant cultural matrix on one hand, and independent and progressive initiatives on the other.

Due to an absence of systemic institutional support for progressive art currents that existed in past decades, as well as hindered institutional inclusion of the younger generations, the 1990s can be viewed as a period of searching and regrouping, wherein the support of mid-generation protagonists played an important role. This resulted in the post-2000 formation of an almost para-institutional structure of the independent scene. In this structure, the newly-formed NGOs and platforms acted as both the structure and the main actors of the scene. The socio-political and cultural context was also echoed in the processes of forming relations within the network. These relations were primarily formed on the basis of shared ideological and aesthetical affinities of the actors—built on mechanisms of status and value-based homophily and transitivity, resulting in the proliferation of strong ties and a high density of the network. Even though the formation of relations between institutions and independent initiatives was challenging, they did in fact exist, and, unlike the independent scene, the activities of the institutions were perceived through the actions of individual institutional workers.

After 2000, the curatorial collective WHW serves as an example of a typical network concentrator in the independent scene, acting simultaneously as a collective identity and a NGO. According to the conducted qualitative study, WHW is one of the key actors on the scene, whose practice is perceived through the critique of socio-political and cultural climate of the 90s—viewing contemporary art practices as a part of wider social processes. Through the organization of various types of activities, WHW acts as a mediator between various NGOs on the local and national level, and various types of actors on the national and trans-national level, as well as between the older, mid, and younger generations of artists (contributing to the re-establishment of continuity with progressive art currents from the socialist era).

In conclusion, the independent scene's structure, the formation of its key actors, and the means of establishing relations within the network, were significantly defined by the socio-political and cultural context of the 1990s. It was precisely this context—perceived through the collapse of the socialist state, the growth of conservatism and nationalism, and a lack of infrastructure for contemporary art practices—that caused the efforts to create conditions for contemporary art production to be perceived as a form of collective resistance to the dominant social and cultural climate, or the struggle for context and self-positioning within the social and cultural field. In other words, it was precisely this struggle for structure that influenced the grouping of actors with similar ideological and aesthetical affinities, helping them form their communal story.

362 Mark A. Pachucki, and Ronald L. Breiger, "Cultural holes: Beyond relationality in social networks and cultures," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 205–224.

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Modern and Contemporary Artists' Networks.
An Inquiry into Digital History of Art and Architecture

Institute of Art History Online Editions, book 11

Publisher
Institute of Art History
Ulica grada Vukovara 68
HR-10000 Zagreb
Croatia

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Language editing
Alexander Masters

Design & Layout
Damir Gamulin

Network visualisations
Novena d.o.o.

ISBN 978-953-7875-59-6

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31664/9789537875596>

Zagreb, 2018

