

georg
schöllhammer

rosa luksemburška rosa of luxembourg

kip autorice sanje iveković
kao odgovor na luksemburški
ratni memorijal gëlle fra i
debata koju je izazvalo
njegovo otkrivanje

sanja iveković's
counter-monument
to the luxembourg war
memorial gëlle fra,
and the debate it
has caused

▼ "Srušite to!" "Šaka u oko!" "Uklonite to smeće!" - U financijskom raju kakav je Luxembourg, u jednoj od najbogatijih pokrajina svijeta, kip trudne žene izazvao je raspravu o kulturnom liberalizmu koja je - između ostalog i po svojoj žestini - nalikovala onoj koju je započeo ultra-konzervativac Jesse Helms svojom kampanjom protiv djela Andresa Serrana i Roberta Mapplethorpea u Sjedinjenim Državama krajem osamdesetih. Zagrebačka umjetnica Sanja Iveković podigla je kopiju luksemburškog zaštitnog znaka *Gëlle Fra* u njegovoj blizini kao svoj prilog izložbi *Luxembourg - The Luxembourgers*, koju je organizirao Enrico Lunghi u Casinu Luxembourg. Ta je replika itekako uzburkala duhove. *Gëlle Fra* je neoklasicistički kip koji je 1923. godine stvorio Claus Citto u spomen luksemburškim dobrovoljcima u Prvom svjetskom ratu, a koji su uništili nacisti. Sada su se začuli prigovori desnice da se replika izruguje tom starom spomeniku nacije. No, ta je indignacija sasvim novog datuma: naime, *Gëlle Fra* je tek nedavno postala "spomenikom nacije". Bilo je to tek nakon njegova ponovnog podizanja 1985. godine. Luksemburški su radnici 1940. sakrili kip od nacista. To je one koji su ga odlučili ponovno podignuti, a čija je jedina prvobitna motivacija zapravo bila želja za očuvanjem spomenika, navelo da spomenik proglašavaju antifascističkim memorijalom.

Sanja Iveković je svojom replikom u središte interesa dovela upravo tu kontroverzu koja okružuje zlatnu junakinju, a koja je bila potisnuta iz svijesti javnosti: godine 1923. katolička i konzervativna buržoazija pobunila se protiv "gole žene koja stoji točno nasuprot svetištu katedrale". Od 1981. godine se u sklopu rasprava o spomeniku prvi put raspravljalo o pitanjima kao što su prisilna mobilizacija za vladavine nacizma, postupanje prema dobrovoljcima u španjolskom građanskom ratu i način na koji su žene zapostavljene u službenoj historiografiji.

No taj je rad na lokalnoj memoriji i protiv njezina pogrešnog povijesnog tumačenja bio tek omanji faktor u javnoj raspravi koju je izazvala *Gospa Rosa Luksemburška* Sanje Iveković. Liberalni su komentatori stupili u obranu tog umjetničkog djela protiv ogorčenih Luksemburžana s namjerom da - ili se barem tako činilo - dotaknu uistinu skandalozne teme: otvorene ispade rasističke zlobe usmjerene protiv umjetnice. Naime, glas desnice, koja je Sanju Iveković

● "Tear it down!" "An eyesore!" "Take this rubbish away!" - In the fiscal paradise of Luxembourg, one of the richest regions in the world, the statue of a pregnant woman has provoked a debate about cultural liberality similar to the one caused by the ultra-conservative Jesse Helms with his campaign against the works of Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe in the USA in the late '80s - and just as heated. The Zagreb artist Sanja Iveković erected a replica within sight of the Luxembourg landmark *Gëlle Fra* as her contribution to the exhibition *Luxembourg - The Luxembourgers*, organized by Enrico Lunghi in the Luxembourg casino; and this replica has caused feelings to run high. Created by Claus Citto, the *Gëlle Fra* is a neo-classicist monument erected in 1923 as a memorial to Luxembourgian volunteers in the First World War. It was demolished by the Nazis. Right-wing voices were now heard saying that the replica made fun of this old national monument. This was indignation with an extraordinarily short memory. For the *Gëlle Fra* became a "national monument" very late on; in fact, only after it was reerected in 1985. In 1940 Luxembourgian workers hid the statue from the Nazis. This induced those reerecting the memorial, whose sole motivation was actually a desire to preserve monuments, to build the statue up to be an anti-fascist memorial.

With her replica, Iveković made the controversy surrounding the golden heroine, which had been driven from public awareness, her central theme: in 1923, the Catholic, conservative bourgeoisie rose up against the "naked woman right opposite the sacred shrine of the cathedral". And, from 1981, during the debates surrounding the reerection of the monument, issues such as compulsory recruitment during the Nazi years, the treatment of volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, and the way women had been left out of official historiography were discussed for the first time.

But this work on local memories and against their historical misrepresentation was only a minor factor in the public controversy about Iveković's *Lady Rosa of Luxembourg*. It was cited by liberal commentators to legitimate their defense of the work against the people's anger so that they - or so it seemed - could skirt the truly scandalous issue: the openly racist malice directed against the artist. The voices from the Right that admonished Iveković by say-

sl.1,3: *Lady Rosa of Luxembourg* Sanje Iveković i ratni memorijal *Gëlle Fra* / *Lady Rosa of Luxembourg* by Sanja Iveković and the war memorial *Gëlle Fra*, Luxembourg, 2001.



2

opomenula da bi ona, kao Hrvatica, morala biti prva koja će razumjeti simboličku vrijednost spomenika otporu, bio je još i najumjereniji. Luksemburški su nacionalisti, međutim, besramno insinuirali kako je Ivekovića svojom replikom pokušala iznova uništiti spomenik koji je 1940. godine postao simbol otpora “u interesu Njemačke”.

Čak su i liberali, koji su se osjetili ugroženima od strane desnice, na prilično simptomatičan način pokušali regionalizirati to umjetničko djelo. Jedna je političarka, na primjer, javno izjavila sljedeće: “Ratovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji dali su dodatnu dimenziju okrutnostima kojima su žene izlagane.

ing that she, as a Croat, should be the first one to understand the symbolic value of a memorial to resistance were the most moderate. Luxembourgian nationalists even crassly insinuated that Iveković had tried once more to destroy this monument, which became a symbol of resistance in 1940, “in Germany’s interest”.

Even liberal politics, which felt itself under attack from the Right, found a not unsymptomatic way out by regionalizing Iveković’s work. One female politician, for example, was heard delivering the following public statement: “The wars in the former Yugoslavia have added another dimension to the cruelties to which women have been

Silovanje kao ratna strategija - a rat u Jugoslaviji se teško može nadmašiti po okrutnosti - bilo je usmjereno protiv žena kao specifičnog cilja." Druga je linija obrane - koju je, na primjer, zauzela ministrica kulture Erna Hennicot-Schoepges - pokušala umanjiti javni status djela interpretirajući ga u kontekstu osobnog iskustva umjetnice: spomenula je kako je Sanja Iveković bila i neposredna i posredna žrtva rata te da je njezina majka, aktivna sudionica pokreta otpora, provela dvije godine u Auschwitzu.

Ti pokušaji napada i obrane koji su potekli iz različitih političkih tabora imaju i jedno zajedničko obilježje: nepriznavanje spola kao specifične kategorije u okviru rasprave o nacionalnoj pripadnosti i nacionalnoj uključenosti/isključenosti. Deteritorijalizacija i privatizacija motiva koja obezvređuje ili čak poriče lokalno - kao i univerzalno - političko (a ne tek kulturno) značenje Ivekovićkine umjetničke intervencije, dobro je poznata strategija.

Djelo Sanje Iveković od sedamdesetih se godina vrti oko tema spola, identiteta i memorije. Svojom trudnom junakinjom ona se također okrenula jednoj od ključnih tema feminističke borbe za priznanje tijekom prošlih desetljeća, a to je neutralnost, apstraktnost i općenitost definicije građanskog statusa koja je kruto zadana u poslijeratnim europskim ustavima i čija je slaba točka upravo ta nemogućnost da prepozna političku relevantnost spola. *Gëlle Fra*, spomenik koji je zakasnio i u stilističkom i u ikonografskom smislu te dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća oponaša ženske alegorije nacionalne države iz 19. stoljeća - *Germanije*, *Polonije* i *Marijane* - prema mišljenju Sanje Iveković osobito je pogodan za otkrivanje te slabe točke, koja je i danas prisutna u konceptima nacionalnosti: "Taj je spomenik posvećen sjećanju na muškarce, a ipak, svoj učinak proizvodi ljepotom ženskog lika koji stoji na vrhu obeliska."

Od početka ožujka komemorativni su činovi pretvorili novu *Gëlle Fra* u mjesto javnog sjećanja: cvijeće vezano ukrasnim trakama polaže se "za ženu koja je patila zbog rata", a sama lokacija i rasprava koja je okružuje postali su snažno nabijen simbolički medij. I sama je umjetnica pružila primjer stavivši u podnožje kipa traku s natpisom na kojemu su navedeni suprotstavljeni politički i kulturni pojmovi koji obilježavaju patrijarhalno viđenje žene: *liberté*, *indépendance*, *pravda*; *umjetnost*, *kultura*, *kapital*; *djevica*, *Madona*, *kućka*, *kurva*.

subjected. Rape as a system of war - the war in Yugoslavia, which could scarcely be surpassed in terms of cruelty, used it to make women a particular target." Another line of defense, one employed, for example, by culture minister Erna Hennicot-Schoepges, tried to tone down the work's public status by interpreting it in relation to private experiences in the artist's life: it was mentioned how Iveković had been a direct and indirect victim of the war, and how her mother, an active resistance fighter, had spent two years in Auschwitz.

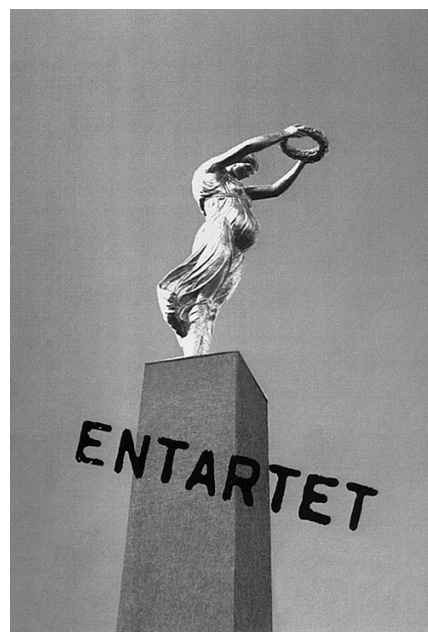
These attempts at attack and defense coming from various political flanks have one characteristic in common: the non-recognition of gender as a specific category when citizenship and national inclusions /exclusions are under discussion. The deterritorialization and privatization of motives, which plays down or even denies the local - and universal - political (and not merely cultural) significance of Iveković's art intervention, is a very familiar strategy.

Iveković's work has revolved around the themes gender, identity, and memory since the '70s. With her pregnant heroine, she takes up precisely this theme of feminist struggles for recognition over the past decades as well: the neutral, abstract, and universal definition of citizenship firmly set down in postwar European constitutions, whose blind spot is its inability to recognize the political relevance of gender. The *Gëlle Fra*, a monument that is belated both stylistically and iconologically, and, in the '20s, imitated the 19th century female allegories of the nation-state - the *Germanias*, *Polonias*, and *Mariannes* - is, says Iveković, especially suitable for exposing this blind spot, one that still exists today in concepts of citizenship: "This monument is dedicated to the memory of men, yet it derives its effect from the beauty of a female figure standing on the top of an obelisk."

Since the beginning of March, commemorative actions have made the site of the new *Gëlle Fra* into a place of public remembrance: flowers tied together with ribbons for the woman who suffered because of the war« have been laid there, and the location and the debate surrounding it have become a highly charged symbolic medium. Iveković herself set the example by placing a ribbon with an inscription at the base of the statue. On it, she juxtaposed political and cultural terms



3



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sl.4: Razglednica Dobro jutro Luxembourg / Postcard entitled Good Morning Luxembourg, Jerry Frantz, Danny Prum

sl.5: Traka u podnožju kipa s pojmovima koji obilježavaju patrijarhalno viđenje žene / Inscription band at the foot of the monument bearing words conveying patriarchal view of the woman

sl.6: U atelijeru umjetnice / in the artist's studio: Tihomir Milovac, Damir Ujević, Petar Ujević, Sanja Iveković, Josip Jerković

