

The catalogue *Heroines of The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection* was published on the occasion of the exhibition within the program arc “Heroines” of the Foundation “Novi Sad – European Capital of Culture” in The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection in Novi Sad, 20 May – 17 July 2022.

Publisher:  
The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection  
Trg galerija 2, Novi Sad  
Republic of Serbia  
[www.beljanskimuseum.rs](http://www.beljanskimuseum.rs)

Editor:  
Milana Kvas, MA

Authors:  
Professor Milanka Todić, PhD  
Milana Kvas, MA  
Valentina Vuković, PhD

Rewievers:  
Professor Jasmina Čubrilo, PhD  
Assoc prof. Vesna Kruljac, PhD

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The exhibition was supported by Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, Provincial Secretariat for Culture, Public Information and Relations with Religious Communities of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Foundation “Novi Sad – European Capital of Culture”.

Media partners: Radio-Television of Vojvodina

**Nadežda Petrović**

**Liza Križanić**

**Zora Petrović**

**Leposava St. Pavlović**

**Ljubica Sokić**

**Vidosava Kovačević**

**Milica Zorić**

# HEROINES

of The Pavle Beljanski  
Memorial Collection



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**Catalogue**

# Pavle Beljanski's Heroines

Milana Kvas

"It's a very interesting occurrence in our country - this rising number of women who paint. Today, when we look more closely, there are lots of talented female painters."

Ljubica Cuca Sokić, 1988.

The project *Heroines of The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection*, which coincides with the program of the Foundation "Novi Sad – European Capital of Culture", is an excellent opportunity to show another special feature of the legacy created by the diplomat and collector Pavle Beljanski. There are not many collections, both national and international, that possess a quarter of the artworks created by women. Out of 184 artworks in total, the Beljanski's collection keeps 46 artworks by seven female artists: Nadežda Petrović, Vidosava Kovačević, Zora Petrović, Ljubica Sokić, Leposava St. Pavlović, Liza Križanić and Milica Zorić. This selection shows the collector's affinities, but also points out the features of Serbian modern art which Ljubica Cuca Sokić emphasized in a conversation with Milja Milosavljević in 1988. While recollecting the period between the two world wars and discussing the creative work of women in national art history, she stated: "There have always been quite many female painters in our country, almost like in no

other country in the West! The French, who carried the European painting for so long – there you have Vigée Le Brun, Suzanne Valadon, Laurencin, who is also an outstanding painter – but that's a small number for such a nation. And here, it's more like plethora!"<sup>1</sup> With similar enthusiasm but from the collector's point of view, Pavle Beljanski wrote about the heroines of modern art and their artworks from his collection: about Nadežda Petrović, a visionary of the new era, in whose landscapes the sun has to be scorching; about the strong existential tensions in the paintings of Zora Petrović; about the tapestries of Milica Zorić, as the most authentic examples of Serbian fine art.<sup>2</sup>

By carefully selecting art for more than four decades, Pavle Beljanski created a collection that confirms the statement of Ljubica Sokić on the importance of female creativity for further assessment of national art history. From the current perspective, when women's equality is still in question, its evaluation and the selection of female artists for the anthology of national and Yugoslav modern art represent a major undertaking. Beljanski picked their works between the two world wars and in the period of socialist Yugoslavia, when they were not only revolutionaries in painting, but took part in the social struggle of women for emancipation and the right to professional identity, sometimes actively and sometimes only through their respected authority. It is safe to say that his endeavour is heroic and the female artists whose artworks he chose for the collection are truly his heroines.

<sup>1</sup> "Љубица Цуца Сокић", *Код два бела голуба* (ed. Тамара Крстић), Радио Београд 1, available at <https://www.rts.rs/page/radio/sr/story/23/radio-beograd-1/2553145/kod-dva-bela-goluba.html>

<sup>2</sup> П. Бељански, "Дела трајне вредности", in: Ј. Јованов (ed.), *Спомен-збирка Павла Бељанског*, Спомен-збирка Павла Бељанског, Нови Сад 2009, p. 12–13.

The new and the contemporary is what the seven artists from the collection of Pavle Beljanski brought to the culture and art of their time. This served as an idea to present seven contemporary female artists whose biographies are closely related to Novi Sad, the European capital of culture: Monika Sigeti, Jelena Vladušić, Jelena Janev, Jelena Kovačević Vorgučin, Milica Dukić, Bojana Knežević and Dragana B. Stevanović. Their engagement in different forms of visual art earned them a prominent place on the local and international art scene. A special video presentation and accompanying exhibition programmes aim to compare the position of female artists now and then by opening a dialogue between the works from the Memorial Collection and the contemporary artists. For the purpose of establishing these relations, photographs from the museum fund analysed both as artworks and documents, have been used in addition to the paintings and tapestries from the diplomat's legacy. This also involved a significant number of artworks, done in different techniques, created by the seven female artists from the collection that were procured through acquisitions, which increased the Memorial Collection's capacity to observe and assess their art.

This special feature of the legacy, which in 2022 celebrates the 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Pavle Beljanski's birth, becomes particularly visible in the year when Novi Sad is at the same time the European capital of culture. *Heroines of The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection* project equally emphasizes the importance of both the artists and the collector who selected their works for his collection.



## The Presence of Female Artists in the Pavle Beljanski Collection in Comparison with the European Legacies

Valentina Vuković

The domain of visual arts in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was predominantly masculine. Popular and acclaimed artists, gallerists, art dealers, art critics, collectors and donors were mostly men in male-dominated professions.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, even the women who had a considerable artistic talent were most commonly muses, assistants, aid and support of male artists.

During this period, women increasingly pursued successful careers in art but, due to the dominant social norms, this pursuit involved more energy, risk, sacrifice, and often required exiting the art world and seeking affirmation elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Such position of women in resulted from the persistence of a traditional, patriarchal society in which

1) Among the collectors in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is a significant number of women (mostly in America and Scandinavia) who collected artworks, independently or with their partners, and created some of the most important modern art collections: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Aldrich Rockefeller, Peggy Guggenheim, Gertrude Stein, Helene Kröller-Müller and others. For these women, collecting artworks was possible because of the wealth they inherited or acquired through marriage. It was not uncommon for women to be gallerists, especially in Paris. G. Pery, *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant-Garde*, Manchester UP, New York 1995.

2) The most obvious example is Nadežda Petrović, who was known for her involvement in numerous social activities. L. Merenik,

The Pavle Beljanski  
Memorial Collection, 1961.

men were the decision-makers in all segments of private and public life: family, politics, education, legislation, etc., while the scope of female activity did not extend beyond their household. Only the most liberal and well-educated families allowed their daughters to study art in schools and academies, but only after these institutions had become available to women. The most popular School of Fine Arts in Paris (L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts) opened for women at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>3</sup> while the Munich Academy of Fine Arts started to enrol women in 1920, when 14 female students were admitted. They made up 5% of the 264 students at the Academy.<sup>4</sup> Other rigorous regulations regarding women lasted for a long time. Until 1957, in Germany, husbands could terminate their wives' employment contracts if they thought their work interfered with housekeeping and childcare, while until 1976 married women needed their husbands' permission to look for a job.<sup>5</sup>

To assume their professional identity in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, female artists depended on their high social status and family support, and had to refrain from starting their own family.<sup>6</sup> Paradoxically, female artists were not taken seriously enough by their male peers, who were reluctant to formalize even their intimate relationships with female artists although women were openly condemned at the time for living in nonmarital unions. Open-mindedness and willingness to step out of the comfort zone, take risks and accept marginalization, seemed to have also been expected from women in their partnerships. Society was not ready to accept and support women in their desire to be artists, wives and mothers at the same time. Rejection, not only by men, but also by the family and the society, engendered humiliation, sometimes leading to more serious or even tragic consequences.<sup>7</sup>

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Nadežda Petrović, TOPY, Beograd 2006; Leposava Bela Pavlović was the secretary and later the president of the "Lada" art group, she organized exhibitions of this group around Serbia; she taught French at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade; she was a translator, proofreader and reviewer, and published studies on Romanian folk literature. L. J. Miljković, *Leposava Bela Pavlović*, Topy, Beograd 2008. If they did not get married, national and foreign female artists mostly taught drawing and painting until the middle of the last century.

3) *L'entrée des femmes à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, available at: <https://deuxieme-temps.com/2018/07/31/entree-des-femmes-ecole-beaux-arts/>

4) *100 Years of Admitting to study at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna*, available at: [https://www.akbild.ac.at/portal\\_en/university/Advancement-of-Women-Gender-Studies-Diversity/100-years-of-admitting-women-to-study-at-the-academy-of-fine-arts-vienna](https://www.akbild.ac.at/portal_en/university/Advancement-of-Women-Gender-Studies-Diversity/100-years-of-admitting-women-to-study-at-the-academy-of-fine-arts-vienna)

5) <https://blogs.worldbank.org/psd/when-business-gets-personal-how-laws-affect-womens-economic-opportunities>

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6) None of the seven Serbian artists whose works are in the collection of Pavle Beljanski had children. Two of them were married to influential and much more famous men who can be considered their patrons. The much older partner of the Dutch artist Jacoba van Heemskerck was also her patron.

7) Camille Claudel, a talented young sculptor, muse, inspiration and lover of Auguste Rodin, with whom she shared an art studio, suffered a nervous breakdown a few years after the breakup. She was then placed in a mental hospital where she spent the next 30 years, until her death in 1943; Fame at last for Rodin's lost muse; available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/23/arts.artsnews>; In addition to his exceptional inventiveness, Pablo Picasso was known for his numerous mistresses and muses, among whom the most famous was the photographer Dora Maar (Theodora Markovitch), M. A. Caws, *Picasso's Weeping Woman: The Life and Art of Dora Maar*, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston 2000. Gabriele Münter, a talented artist and intimate friend of Vasily Kandinsky, broke off all contact with him after his second marriage. A. Hoberg, LR- C. Washton, "Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter", *Art Journal*, 55. 3, 1996.

Female artists who were active in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century very rarely achieved fame and recognition during their lifetime. Despite undeniable significance of their artwork, female artists were marginalized and remained unacknowledged by both male and female art collectors almost until the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, 20<sup>th</sup> century art shown in museum exhibitions mostly involves male artists.

In this context, In view the above, a substantial share of female artists in The Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection is quite a unique phenomenon. Between the early 1920s and the mid-1960s, Serbian diplomat Pavle Beljanski created a collection of contemporary Serbian male and female artists, which was above par in Yugoslavia and Serbia.<sup>8</sup>

### Tendencies and Features of Collecting Contemporary Artworks in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century did art collecting become available to a wider circle of collectors thanks to the industrial revolution which gave rise to bourgeoisie and established an entirely new art market. Art was no longer available only to the most privileged members of society, the royal family and aristocracy, but also to the middle and upper

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8) Given the complex structure of most museums in Europe and worldwide and the difficulties in obtaining archival material stored in them, this review of private and museum collections in correlation with the Pavle Beljanski's collection is based primarily on historiography and information available on the official websites of Europe's most famous legacies and museums when it comes to modern visual art that entered the museum collections until the 1960s.

bourgeoisie with significant income and free time at their disposal, which enabled them to become art experts, even noteworthy collectors.<sup>9</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, wealthy industrialists purchased artworks and established art collections to show their affiliation to the cultural elite, using more than their wealth to demonstrate their power, on a par with the old aristocracy. Art was collected for various reasons which oscillated between true love of art and a carefully planned investment strategy for the future.<sup>10</sup> Collecting and reselling art was primarily a source of income for some, or an integral part of a vocation for others. Many considered it a hobby, or a concept that defines or essentially determines their position in society and ennobles their surroundings, while for a few it was a mission in life.

Bourgeois collectors were primarily focused on historical styles, while modern art required certain time to gain popularity. It needed a "modern man" - a non-conformist ready to make an effort and understand specific artworks as well as the artist's conscious or unconscious intention. Free time, leisure, financial stability, social life, cafés, newspapers and magazines have all contributed to the infiltration of modern art into people's private lives.<sup>11</sup>

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9) G. Farmer Gordon, *Art Collecting: How the 20th Century changed it all*; available at: [https://medium.com/@info\\_91725/-20art-collecting-how-the-6th-century-changed-it-all6732571ea1](https://medium.com/@info_91725/-20art-collecting-how-the-6th-century-changed-it-all6732571ea1); "Стварање кућних музеја", in: *Историја приватног живота*, Ф. Аријес, Ж. Диб (comp.), Clío, Belgrade 2003, p. 339-400.

10) C. Ontiveros Valdés, *The contemporary story of art collecting: the 20th and 21st centuries*; available at: <https://artcollection.io/blog/history-of-collecting-art-part-two>

11) Ж. Дига, *Културни живот у Европи на прелазу из 19. у 20.*

A certain number of art collectors sold their collections in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, but most collections were donated to the cities and became a part of large museum holdings. Donors of extensive collections desired to preserve their totality and therefore financed, in entirety or with the help of the government sources, the construction of separate objects for this purpose. In any case, private art collections were the foundation of most world museums and played a vital role in their development.

Same as in the previous period, Paris was the most important art market in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a hive of activity of most artists, art dealers and collectors.<sup>12</sup> Despite the development of other important art hubs, Paris was considered a worldwide art centre where the advanced ideas saw the light of day, where influences were exchanged and the artists' importance acknowledged. The fact that American collectors (Peggy Guggenheim, Gertrude Stein) and artists, such as Mary Cassatt, came to Paris to pursue a career shows that Paris was their most desired destination. The most prominent artists in the market worked in Paris: Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, Paul Cézanne, Georges Braque, Pierre Bonnard, Oscar-Claude Monet, and many more. The reason behind their popularity lay not only in the successful exhibition activities and positive feedbacks, but also in the market value of their artworks.

In addition to the aforementioned, Italian artists were also valued in the art world, above all Giorgio

век, Clío, Београд 2007.

12) *Art Market. The 20th Century to World War II*; available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/art-market/The-20th-century>

de Chirico and Alberto Giacometti. In northern Europe collectors preferred Paul Klee and Vincent van Gogh. In America, the most popular artists were also those situated in Paris. The totalitarian Fascist regime in Italy desired to emphasize the importance of national art and Italian artists were therefore in great demand. The interest in national modern artists gradually grew in Serbia, where local authorities wished to highlight the importance of historical, national and cultural identity.

Gertrude Stein, an author, a proclaimed lesbian and a feminist, validated the absolute supremacy of men in collections around Europe and America. While in Paris, together with her brother Leo, an art critic, she formed one of the first collections of Cubist and Fauvist art. She owned the artworks made by Picasso (her friend who painted her portrait), Matisse, André Derain, Braque, Juan Gris, and other young artists.<sup>13</sup>

Ambroise Vollard, the most famous French art dealer, a gallerist and writer, who discovered talented modern artists and was their companion, was also a renowned collector of masterpieces by French artists. He died in 1939 without a direct heir, and bequeathed in his will from 1911 one piece by Paul Cézanne, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Bonnard to

13) A. Lubow, *An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein*; available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/an-eye-for-genius-the-collections-of-gertrude-and-leo-stein-6210565/>; The works by French artists collected in Paris were donated to museums in America. Only the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) received a total of 47 works from the Stein collection; "The Museum of Modern Art, Gertrude Stein Collection", *Press Archives*, no. 3, 1969; available at: [https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press\\_archives/4170/releases/MOMA\\_1969\\_Jan-June\\_0003\\_3.pdf](https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/4170/releases/MOMA_1969_Jan-June_0003_3.pdf)

the Petit Palais in Paris, where they have remained since 1945.<sup>14</sup>

One of the most famous museum legacies in the world, the Berggruen Museum, was founded by Heinz Berggruen, a German who fled to the United States before the outbreak of the Second World War because of his Jewish origins and returned to Europe afterwards. Several artists dominate in the collection, now a part of the Berlin Gallery, above all Picasso with over 120 of his works that show developmental stages from his early studies to late works.<sup>15</sup>

Two Russian entrepreneurs from famous and wealthy families - Ivan Morozov and Sergei Shchukin - were among the most important collectors of Parisian modernism in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Morozov's collection consisted of nearly 400 works by Russian 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century artists, including the leading Russian Symbolists, Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. Morozov accepted the advice of the most famous French art dealers, such as Paul Durand-Ruel, Vollard, Georges Bernheim, Eugène Druet, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, and collected nearly 250 works by artists who worked in Paris and other parts of France

14) *Историја колекција. Музеј лепих уметности града Париза*; available at: <https://www.petitpalais.paris.fr/en/content/history-collections>

15) Other important figures are Paul Klee, followed by Henri Matisse, Alberto Giacometti, Georges Braque, Henry Lawrence, Paul Cézanne, as well as examples of African sculpture. Berggruen donated 90 of Klee's works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and in 2000 he finally sold his collection of 165 works, along with 85 of Picasso's pieces to the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation. *Museum Berggruen*; available at: <https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/museum-berggruen/collection-research/about-the-collection/>



Gertrude Stein sitting on a sofa in her Paris studio, 1930



Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of Ambroise Vollard*, 1899

- Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Renoir, Monet, and Matisse, among others.<sup>16</sup>

For almost two decades, from 1895 to 1914, Shchukin collected 264 paintings, including roughly 50 created by Picasso and more by other French artists. Having been nationalized during the revolution in 1918, the collections of the two art connoisseurs were mostly exhibited jointly thereafter. Their homes were turned into the State Museum of Modern Western Art (Figs. 1 and 2). Since 1948, the pieces from the collections were gradually distributed to the Russian public institutions and most of their depositories are now a part of the State Hermitage Museum and the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>17</sup>

Due to favourable conditions for the development of art markets in Northern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, more private collectors managed to assemble high-quality art collections, which required adequate space for storage, preservation and maintenance. Among the first was the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo, the Netherlands. Between 1907 and 1922, Helene Kröller-Müller and her husband Anton Kröller purchased almost 11,500 artworks, thereby establishing one of the largest private collections of the 20th century. In addition to the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam, this museum is primarily known for housing the second

16) M. Врѣбель, *The Morozov collection. Icons of Modern Art*; available at: <https://presse.fondationlouisvuitton.fr/morozov-collection-pr/>  
[https://www.morozovcollection.com/index.php/\\_\\_\\_trashed-4/](https://www.morozovcollection.com/index.php/___trashed-4/)

17) N. Semenova, A. Delocque, *The Collector: The Story of Sergei Shchukin and His Lost Masterpieces*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2018.

largest world collection of works by Van Gogh, with almost 90 of his paintings and over 180 drawings.<sup>18</sup> The Kröller-Müller Museum was opened on 13th July 1938, in a purpose-built object designed by Belgian architect Henry van de Velde and financed by the government.

The Henie Onstad Art Center in Norway was established thanks to two collectors, Sonja Henie<sup>19</sup> and Niels Onstad,<sup>20</sup> successful athletes and entrepreneurs who donated their collection of artworks mainly created during the interwar period, along with a building designed to showcase the collection. Sonja Henie's interest in paintings began in 1955 when she met Niels Onstad, who had already been thoroughly occupied with collecting. As a response to an invitation from the Kunstneres Hus in Oslo in 1959, they decided to make their collections available to the public. Two years later, the Sonja Henie and Niels Onstad foundations were established as two separate gift collections, which served as the basis for the establishment of a modern museum in Burgum. These gift collections are the largest private donation of works of art in the history of Norway. The first donation in 1963 consisted of 100 paintings.<sup>21</sup>

18) Besides him, the museum preserves artworks by Monet, Georges-Pierre Seurat, Picasso, Pieter Mondriaan, the Dutch De Stijl and Italian futurism. The large garden accommodates sculptures by Aristide Maillol, Jean Dubuffet, Marta Pan and others. <https://kroellermuller.nl/en/kroeller-muller-museum-temporarily-closed>

19) Sonja Henie (1912–1969) was a figure skater, Hollywood actress and one of the Norwegian 20th-century icons; available at: <https://hok.no/en/sonja-henie-from-the-ice-to-hollywood>

20) Niels Onstad (1909–1978) was an active football player, but more known as a shipowner and art collector; available at: <https://hok.no/en/niels-onstad>

21) *The Henie Onstad Collection*; available at: <https://hok.no/en/>



| Helene Müller and Anton Kröller, ca. 1888

The collection of Sonja Henie and Niels Onstad became a part of the modern European tradition of art collecting primarily focused on the Paris art scene. It contains works by Juan Gris, Jacques Villon, Picasso and Bonnard, as well as art of the 1950s.<sup>22</sup> Their collection conveys to the public the content “that pleases the eye and brings peace” as the director Ole-Henrik Moe wrote in the introductory text of the 1968 publication of the Art Center.<sup>23</sup> The building of the new museum in Burgum was constructed in 1968 according to the projects of young Norwegian architects Jon Eikvar and Svein Erik Engebretsen, who won the first prize in the 1962 design competition.<sup>24</sup>

Same as Pavle Beljanski, Sonja Henie and Niels Onstad also perceived collecting as very personal and established close friendships with the artists whose works were included in their collections.<sup>25</sup> When the Henie Onstad Art Center opened to the public in 1968, the collection was expanded by another hundred paintings. The museum continued to expand the collection, providing more space to Norwegian artists, as well as artists from other countries.<sup>26</sup>

The collection of Marie-Luise and Ruth Betlheim entitled “The Works by Students and Professors

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the-henie-onstad-collection

22) The artworks mostly belong to two movements, lyrical and geometric abstraction inspired by the Paris School, as well as more brutal, Nordic Expressionism as articulated by the artists of the “CoBrA” association.

23) <https://www.hok.no/en/the-henie-onstad-collection>

24) <https://www.hok.no/index.php?p=en/architecture-and-design>

25) <https://hok.no/en/the-henie-onstad-collection>

26) <https://hok.no/en/the-henie-onstad-collection>



The Kröller-Müller Museum and the sculpture garden in Otterlo

of the Bauhaus” is a part of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb. It was created as a result of companionship between Marie-Luise Betlheim, born Morgenroth, and Bauhaus students in Weimar. Marie-Luise Betlheim brought the collection to Zagreb, where she arrived in search of work in 1927. The collection included 75 artworks and 138 archival documents, mostly created between 1921 and 1924, when the famous Bauhaus School of Architecture, Art and Design operated in Weimar. The collection mostly contained works by Hungarian Functionalists and Constructivists - Farkas Molnár, Henrik Stefán, Sándor Bortnyik, as well as famous German artists devoted to the Weimar Bauhaus school: Paul Klee, Karlo Peter Röhl, Franz Frahm-Hessler, Kurt Schwerdtfeger, Hinnerk Schepfer, and others.<sup>27</sup>

The establishment of totalitarian regimes in Italy, Germany and Russia during the 1930s fundamentally shook the world of art and its market in Europe as well as all other aspects of life. During this period, the Italian government instructed collectors, artists, art critics and art dealers to contribute with their aesthetic concepts, exhibitions and market ventures and restore the supremacy of Italian art from the period of classical antiquity by rejection of foreign influences, especially the French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, whose paintings were widely dispersed around the European art market.<sup>28</sup> An opportunity to demonstrate such a strategy was the exhibition of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Italian

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27) *Zbirka Marie-Luise i Ruth Betlheim radovi studenata i profesora Bauhausa*; available at: <http://www.msu.hr/zbirke/zbirka-marie-luise-i-ruth-betlheim-radovi-studenata-i-profesora-bauhausa/40/hr.html>

28) C. Caputo, “Shaping an Identity for Italian Contemporary Art



| Sonja Henie and Olav V The king of Norway at the opening of the Art Center Henie Onstad

painting at the 16<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale in 1928, which was supposed to shape the idea of “Italianness” in art, based on national aesthetic and ethical values.<sup>29</sup> During the interwar period, this idea encouraged collectors in northern Italy to collect artworks made exclusively by Italian artists. Almost no mention of the female artists can be found in the reviews of these collections.

The entrepreneur Emilio Jesi and his wife Maria formed a collection of artworks during the 1930s and 1940s (today a part of the Pinacoteca Di Brera),

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During the Interwar Period: Rino Valdameri’s Collection”, in: *Italian Modern Art*, no. 4, 2020, p. 1–42; available at: [https://www.academia.edu/43882495/C\\_Caputo\\_Shaping\\_an\\_Identity\\_for\\_Italian\\_Contemporary\\_Art\\_During\\_the\\_Interwar\\_Period\\_Rino\\_Valdameris\\_Collection\\_Italian\\_Modern\\_4\\_2020\\_n\\_1\\_n\\_42\\_n\\_](https://www.academia.edu/43882495/C_Caputo_Shaping_an_Identity_for_Italian_Contemporary_Art_During_the_Interwar_Period_Rino_Valdameris_Collection_Italian_Modern_4_2020_n_1_n_42_n_)

29) *ibid.*