Paper prepared for the Second Euroacademia International Conference Re-Inventing Eastern Europe

Prague, 15 – 16 November 2013

This paper is a draft
Please do not cite

The Sculptor Ivan Meštrović – Cultural and Political Diplomat of the 20th century: in the context of meetings with Czech (Czechoslovak) politicians and artists

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Abstract: The Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović (Vrpolje, Croatia, August 15, 1883 - South Bend, Indiana, USA, January 16, 1962), although never considering himself a politician, took an active part in events that determined the political fate of himself and his country. He made skilful use of his position and fame as artist in order through the medium of sculpture and the exhibition platform to promote ideological positions which it was particularly important to present abroad to countries that were potential allies. This review of Meštrović's connections with Czech culture and politics tells of his role in historical events. The relations that he built up with his art and exhibitions, and with his meetings, today provide for historians and art historians opportunities to understand some of the political and social dynamics in the first half of the twentieth century in Central and Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Ivan Meštrović, Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk, the exhibition platform, promotion of ideological positions, cultural diplomacy

Introduction

Cultural diplomacy is interpreted as an evolution of or a kind of superstructure on top of state diplomacy. American political scientist Joseph Nye mentions cultural *soft power* as being, next to state *hard power*, an important factor in the influence exerted by a given state. He underlines the possibility of strengthening and expanding the field of diplomacy not only through the work of heads of state, ministers and ambassadors, but also through the efforts of people in the arts. Cultural diplomacy is becoming an increasingly important and sometimes essential and crucial component in international relations. Contacts made in the domain of culture enable a secure and hospitable environment for the development of bilateral relations, open up doors for negotiations, shape and redefine relationships with other states. Although it might be said that all artists are ambassadors for their countries, for with their activity they make its culture present in other milieus, some deliberately expand their activity beyond the primary domain and actively get into the area of politics and international relations. The Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović (Vrpolje, Croatia, August 15, 1883 - South Bend, Indiana, USA, January 16, 1962), although never considering himself a politician, took an active part in events that determined the political fate of himself and his country. He made skilful use of his position and fame as artist in order through the medium of sculpture and the exhibition platform to promote ideological positions which it was particularly important to present abroad to countries that were potential allies.

The beginnings of Meštrović's engagement in politics

We shall sum up Meštrović's activity and involvement in the field of cultural diplomacy. During his training as sculptor and architect at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts (1901-1906) and just after that, he made his name as an artist close to the circles of Rodin and Klimt. Down to 1907 he created works with a symbolist charge and impressionist modelling, which brought him appreciable success at the exhibitions of the Vienna *Secession*, of which he was a member (1903-1910). While still studying he adopted ideas about the unification of the South Slavs. The question of the national, that is of the South Slav, identity and of detaching the home country, Croatia, from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy become a

particularly live issue in 1908 after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This event would push him to leave Vienna and settle down in Paris, where he lived and worked for two full years (1908 and 1909).

In Paris he worked out the project for *the St Vitus Day Shrine*, which was never to be built. ⁱⁱ From 1908 to 1912 he created some fifty sculptures, and made a wooden maquette for the shrine. The sculptures that we connect with this shrine, that is, with *the Kosovo Series*, show a departure from the Rodin phase towards an expression marked by heroic monumentalism. The likenesses of warriors, widows, shepherds and other figures are principal actors in the Battle of Kosovo Field, in which on St Vitus Day in 1389 the Serbian army was defeated by the Ottoman forces. This historical event was recognised as a symbol of the destiny of the Serbian and other South Slav peoples. Creating a national myth, Meštrović was inspired by the achievements of the older cultures – of Egypt, Greece and Rome, and of others, which he saw in museum collections like that in the Louvre.

Works of a powerful charge and exceptional quality achieved remarkable successes at exhibitions. The series received its first accolade in the very heart of the empire that it was undermining – in 1910 in Vienna at the 35th Secession Exhibition, for which he asked his friend and great exemplar Auguste Rodin to write the preface. This did not, alas, come to fruition. The next year he uttered a powerful political statement when he exhibited the Kosovo Series and the Kraljević Marko Series at the International Exhibition in Rome at the Pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia, instead of in the Austrian or Hungarian pavilion. He won the first prize for sculpture, while the painting prize was taken by Klimt.

The whole of the decade, from 1910 to 1919, Meštrović's solo and collective exhibition projects were marked by a distinct engagement and by his propagation of the South Slav idea. We will mention here just the one-man show in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1915, opened by Lord Robert Cecil. Texts by British journalist James Bone and British political activist and historian Robert William Seton-Watson clearly confirm the South Slav apotheosis embodied in Meštrović's works. The latter writer played an important role in the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of the new states, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the first Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Empire and the establishment of the new states, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the first Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

In the same year Meštrović was involved in the foundation of the Yugoslav Committee in London. And finally, after the first Yugoslavia, then known as the Kingdom of the SCS had been founded in 1918, in 1919 an exhibition of Yugoslav Artists was held in the Petit Palais in Paris, while the Versailles peace conference was going on. Ivan Meštrović was both an organiser of and a participant in the exhibition. In the meantime, the horrors of World War I were heading him in the direction of an entirely different style, of expressive stylisation, and of themes inspired by religion. Forty three works from *the Kosovo Series* were offered for sale to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the deal was closed. This was supposed to have ensured him an income for life, but the payment was never completed as it should have been.

Meštrović was very close to the royal house of the Karađorđević family. He had met Petar I in 1904, when he came to do his portrait in Belgrade. He had a particularly close relationships with his son Aleksandar I, who offered him a position in the government at one time. In the decades to come, until the beginning of World War II, Meštrović became the most successful Croatian and Yugoslav artist, the best known among his contemporaries beyond the country's borders, confirming his fame with numerous exhibitions in prestigious world exhibition venues and projects for public sculptures.

Meštrović's Czech connections and acquaintance with Masaryk

The complexity of his role as a cultural diplomat can be studied closer up in the context of his relation with Czechoslovakia and its famed politician and statesman Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk. Meštrović's arrival in the Austro-Hungarian capital in 1900 must have been quite difficult since although he was seventeen he had never graduated from school and did not speak German. He managed to overcome this adverse beginning, however, among other things, thanks to the help of the Czech František Sykora, who took him into his flat on the outskirts of Vienna. He lived with him and his family, his wife and two sons, for a year. Sykora was a "modest private clerk, born in the Slovak part of Moravia". He helped Meštrović to obtain materials, and perhaps even introduced him to the teacher who helped him to prepare for the Academy, Otto König. vi

Meštrović's first exhibition outside Croatia or Vienna happened in Prague, in 1903, at the 10th Exhibition of the Mánes Art Association. Art Association. A return visit of Mánes to Zagreb at the invitation of the Society of Art was held in May 1904. The other two exhibitions in which he appeared in Prague, in 1908 and 1909, were organised by Vienna's Hagebund. Included among the sculptors exhibiting at the latter show were the Czechs Bohumil Kafka and Jan Stursa. At the

Prague exhibitions, Me \dot{s} trović confirmed his now incontestable position in the artistic context of Central Europe during the first decade of the 20^{th} century.

Crucial for Meštrović's "Czech Connection" was 1914. The beginning of World War I found him in Rome, in which he spent a very fertile period, having a lively role in cultural and intellectual circles. He made a portrait of Auguste Rodin, as well as of the Czech woman artist Růžena Zátkova whom he had met in Rome two years earlier. He had a very close relationship with her, as described in the autobiographical novel *Fire and Burns*, in which he depicted relations with the women who had determined his life and work. The portrait of Růžena is today in the National Gallery in Prague, together with another eleven sculptures and six drawings by Meštrović.

At that time, he also met Masaryk. Their first and all the subsequent meetings were recorded by Meštrović in his book of memoirs *Memoirs of Political People and Events*. In these writings, Meštrović often referred to him familiarly as *stari*, the old man. Masaryk and Meštrović met through the agency of Alexander Valentinovich Amfiteatrov, Russian columnist and man of letters, in Meštrović's flat in Rome. Feeling quite at equal levels, they discussed the fates of their countries, which were, as they had been in many moments in history, very similar at that time. Meštrović had the impression that Masaryk did not believe the Empire would collapse completely, and wanted the Croats and Slovenes to share their destiny with the Czechs. Masaryk thought it might be possible to have the monarchy turn into a confederation. These meetings, as with the envoys of France, Russia and England, were risky, for Austrian spies worked very openly in Rome, dogging Masaryk's footsteps, as Meštrović wrote. He strović wrote.

Meštrović met Masaryk again at the end of 1923. At that time he was invited to Prague to make a bust of him. This was not an official but a private commission, for Charles Richard Crane, a friend of Masaryk's, for whom Meštrović had made a bust of King Feisal in London in 1919. The sculptor was never sure whether the initiative had come from Crane himself or whether it had been suggested to him by Henry Wickham Steed, who had written to him on Crane's behalf. The sculptor was never sure whether the initiative had come from Crane himself or whether it had been suggested to him by Henry Wickham Steed, who had written to him on Crane's behalf.

Meštrović was quartered in Hradčany, in the apartment of Edvard Beneš, for the presidential part was not yet finished, and Masaryk lived in Lány, to which Meštrović set off for a couple of days. They particularly discussed the relations with the Wood them spoke long about political conditions in their countries. They particularly discussed the relations with the Slovaks, who were at that time very dissatisfied with the number of governmental jobs, the neglect of Slovak even inside Slovakia, and so on. Beneš also referred to the issue of the Germans in the Sudetenland, and Meštrović was interested in the reasons for the conflicts of Czechoslovakia with Poland about Cieszyn. Actually, in 1918, Beneš had given Meštrović a passport in Paris, so that after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Meštrović was able to return to Zagreb. This was the third or fourth Czech passport ever issued. This was the third or fourth Czech passport ever issued. This was the third or fourth Czech passport ever issued. The wrote felt quite at home. It was a simple and warm hospitality and atmosphere that only the Slavs can offer, he wrote. He stayed with them for eight or nine days, because Crane wanted a bust of Miss Masaryk as well. From the undated letter that Meštrović sent to Alice Masaryk, we can learn that he also made a portrait of Masaryk's wife. He did it from a photograph, and Meštrović was never satisfied with it; he told Alice that she could keep it but if she was not pleased with it, she could throw it away.

Plaster casts of the portraits of Masaryk and Alice are to be found in the holdings of the Meštrović Studio, and the bronze casts, the property of John Crane, were exhibited in the Meštrović exhibition in Brooklyn Museum in New York, in 1924 and 1925. He also showed the portrait of Růžena Zátkova, *Woman without Arms*. This was his first solo show in New York, and the start of a number of individual exhibitions in a string of cities throughout the USA.^{xx}

During this visit, Meštrović discussed political conditions with Masaryk. Once again about the Slovak question; and they also touched on King Aleksandar and the Croatian politician Stjepan Radić, president of the Croatian Peasant party. xxi Masaryk had no liking for Radić or for his wife, a Czech, but Meštrović defended him. In June 1928 Radić was killed in the National Assembly in Belgrade by the court agent and member of the Radical Party Puniša Račić. Just half a year later, King Aleksandar introduced the dictatorship. Talking about Aleksandar then, Masaryk observed that he was "too much just a soldier, and too little educated". He also complained that "so far there [had] been no serious Yugoslav envoy in Prague via whom it might be possible to do anything.". xxii

Meštrović put forward his own views on the art of the Czech artists of the day: "However much the old man had a Slavic heart and soul he was to the same extent intellectually a realist, and abided by this. It came out when the talk was about Russian and even Czech writers that those features that we call specifically Slavic were inaccessible to him, or he was afraid of them. He looked at those characteristics in the same way as other westerners. He practically fled from everything that looked a bit mystical or metaphysical, as if from some morbid dreaming. Irrespective of his not

understanding art, he appreciated Josef Václav Myslbek, while for Frantisek Bilek he had no feeling, and he placed Otokar Brezin in the same category with respect to Jan Ollar or Jaroslav Vrchilcki as Bilek with respect to Myslbek." He met him twice more subsequently: when he was called to serve in the jury for the Žižka monument, and in 1933, when he had a solo show in Prague, the patron of which was Masaryk himself. They touched on politics again, and Masaryk said of Aleksandar that he was anti-democratically inclined. At the moment we do not know exactly when he visited Prague in connection with the monument to Jan Žižka. The competition for the memorial to the Czech Legion lasted from 1923 to 1926 and in the end the plan for an equestrian statue by Bohumil Kafka was accepted in 1931. Meštrović was acquainted with Kafka, for they had exhibited together in 1909 in Prague at the Hagebund exhibition; a year earlier, Meštrović had portrayed his Czech colleague, the portrait also being kept today in the Prague National Gallery.

Diplomatic encounters in Paris

In 1933 Meštrović celebrated his fiftieth birthday. He had two big solo shows: in the Jeu de Paume in Paris, where he exhibited at the invitation of the French and under the patronage of the minister of education Anatole de Monzie, and in Prague, in the Belvedere of Queen Anne at Hradčany under the patronage of Masaryk. While he was in Paris, he invited Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak ambassador in London, over for a talk. The next day and took a room in the hotel next to Meštrović's. The stayed two days and talked a lot with the sculptor. Meštrović was interested in how the English looked at Yugoslav politics and the tensions with Italy, which was showing an increasing appetite for the Croatian coastline. According to what Jan said, the English did not like this and thought it would not end well, but did not intend to interfere, or in the Italian issue, because the French had become involved as a kind of protector and thought it was their concern. They also talked of Yugoslav and Czechoslovak internal problems, which were to an extent similar. Like his father, Jan condemned Aleksandar and his dictatorship: "Serbian presumption and Aleksandar will bring down themselves and us", said Jan, telling Meštrović that the old Masaryk himself had several times tried to intervene with the Yugoslav king.

Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk died on September 14, 1937 in Prague. Meštrović devoted an obituary to his old friend in the *Lidove noviny*. This is a warm account in which he expresses his own pain for the loss, but also the pain of the people in Yugoslavia, particularly in Croatia, who believed that Masaryk's thinking led to a way out. **xvii**

Meštrović kept up his contacts with the family. From 1959 to 1961, Meštrović, who was then living in South Bend, corresponded with Alice Masaryk. She was also living in the USA, and asked the old sculptor to do a monument to Antonín Dvořák, the composer. He created a portrait in 1960, a three-quarter figure of the musician looking at music notation in his left hand, according to photographs supplied him thanks to Alice.

In 1963, a year after the sculptor's death, the Czechoslovak National Council of America donated the bronze sculpture to the New York Philharmonic; however, it never put it on public display. There is a plaster cast in the Manhattan School of Music. The bronze sculpture was first of all placed awkwardly on the terrace of the Afery Fisher Hall in the Lincoln Center of the Performing Arts. It was placed on a concrete plinth and over the course of three decades underwent serious corrosion damage. Finally, in 1997 it was moved to the park Stuyvesant Square, and on this occasion it was renovated and placed on a better plinth of green granite, designed b the Czech-American artist Jan Hird Pokorny. On September 13, 1997, it was unveiled quite close to the place in which Dvořák had achieved one of his greatest successes. In the neighbourhood, that is, once stood the house in which he lived in 1893. There was a crowd of several hundred present at the ceremony, including many distinguished persons like the then mayor of Prague Jan Koukal, after which a concert of Dvořák's music was given in the nearby St George's Church.

The role of an artist in the creation of history

This review of Meštrović's connections with Czech culture and politics tells of his role in historical events. Meštrović's memories are an invaluable source for historians in the context of a comprehension of Masaryk's viewpoints concerning the government in Yugoslavia, which he formally supported because of their relationship as allies, for which reason he also did nothing formally on behalf of the Croats, lest he be accused of meddling in the internal affairs of another country. And then Meštrović's works themselves tell of the deep and intimate connection with many celebrated Czechs – from Růžena Zátkova to Tomaš and Alice Masaryk. Making use of art to promote the political aims of his people abroad was useful for his own reputation and for that of his land. However, in the personal contacts with individual politicians,

as described in this review, his disappointments with the policy of Yugoslavia can be gathered, as well as something of the shadow diplomacy he was conducting. The relations that he built up with his art and exhibitions, and with his meetings, today provide for historians and art historians opportunities to understand some of the political and social dynamics in the first half of the twentieth century in Central and Eastern Europe.

Bio-note on the Author:

Barbara Vujanović (Zagreb, 1983) is a curator, researcher and art critic. She graduated from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in 2007, at the departments of Art History and French language and literature. Since 2009 she has been employed as curator in the Meštrović Atelier (the Ivan Meštrović Museums) in Zagreb. Since 2003 she has regularly published reviews and articles in papers, journals and specialised periodicals. She has written prefaces in catalogues and devised curatorial conceptions for independent and group exhibitions in the domain of modern and contemporary art. She has taken part in a number of conferences at home and abroad featuring research into the life and work of Ivan Meštrović.

She was engaged as expert associate in 2012 at the exhibition *Ivan Meštrović – Croatian Expression* in the Rodin Museum in Paris. In 2013 she was the editor of the catalogue *Meštrović – Milles* and co-author of one of the texts for the exhibition *Milles at Meštrović* organized in the Meštrović Atelier in cooperation of the Ivan Meštrović Museums and Millesgården. The same year she was the co-author and curator of the exhibition *Meštrović at Milles* in the Millesgården in Stockholm.

She is the author of the *MEŠTART* programme which was launched in order to show the continuous relevance of the oeuvre of Ivan Mešrović in the light of new readings stimulated by contemporary forms of artistic expression. She is the author of *The Mark of Meštrović in Zagreb*, a project in which the Museums of Ivan Meštrović are presenting Meštrović's public sculptures, monuments, architecture and works in other museums and churches in Zagreb through publications and various actions.

She is currently writing her doctoral dissertation on Ivan Meštrović for the art history department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.

ⁱ For more, see: Ksenija Jurišić and Ira Keller, *Kulturna diplomacija (Cultural diplomacy), Međunarodne studije (1332-4756) 7 (2007), 3-4*, 143-154.

ii Milan Ćurčin et al, *Ivan Meštrović: A Monograph* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1919), 81. "I conceived the idea of the Temple of Kossovo almost immediately after I left school, but at that time I did not feel strong enough to start its execution on broader lines. Only on the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, when our national catastrophe seemed to be complete and the fate of our race sealed; at the climax of our national sorrow and in the fever with which all of us trembled, I dared to begin to work out some fragments, and it was in this and the following years that I did what exists of them."

iii Robert William Seton-Watson (1879-1951), English historian and journalist. A university professor in London. He opposed the oppression of the nations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and wrote about the condition of the Slav countries in the Monarchy. During World War I he kept up connections with Masaryk and the Yugoslav Committee, taking part in their political actions.

The Yugoslav Committee, an organisation of South Slav middle class politicians from Austro-Hungary who after the outbreak of World War I emigrated or happened to be abroad. Founded in 1915, the Committee propagated the dismantling of Austro-Hungary and the foundation of a common South Slav state, collecting money and organising volunteers for the purpose. The president was the Croatian politician Ante Trumbić. After the unification into the Kingdom of the SCS, the Committee disbanded itself on March 16, 1919.

^v Aleksandar Karadorđević I (1888-1934), king of the Kingdom of the SCS, or Yugoslavia. Son of King Petar I and of the daughter of the king of Montenegro Nikola. Crown prince from 1909. Nominal commander of the First Army in the Balkan Wars, in 1914 he obtained royal authorities. In World War I, CIC of the Serbian Army. On December 1, 1918 he became regent of the Kingdom of the SCS and in 1921, after his father's death, king. On January 6, 1929 he introduced the dictatorship. In foreign policy he looked mainly to support from France. In 1931 he imposed a constitution that was markedly centralist and anti-democratic. Assassinated on October 9, 1934, in Marseilles, during a state visit to France.

vi Duško Kečkemet, Život Ivana Meštrovića, Vol. 1 (1883 – 1932), (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009), 68 – 71.

vii Irena Kraševac, *Ivan Meštrović i secesija, Beč – München – Prag, 1900-1910*, (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Fundacija Ivana Meštrovića, 2002), 155 – 160.

xvi Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956), English journalist. Worked for and then edited *The Times* (1914-22), publisher of *Review of Reviews*. Professor of Central European history in London. Came out against Austro-Hungary and for the liberation of the nations it ruled. Worked with the Yugoslav Committee and organised the congress of the subjugated nations of Austro-Hungary in Rome in 1918.

xvii Edvard Beneš (1884 – 1948), Czechoslovak politician and diplomat of liberal orientation. From 1918 to 1935, first and longest-lasting CS foreign minister. When Masaryk retired from the presidency in 1935, Beneš took over the position in his first period of office, in which he lasted until 1938. From 1940 to 1945 he was president in exile, taking over the job again in the Prague office from 1945 to 1948. He was prime minister in 1921 -1922.

xxi Stjepan Radić (871-1928), politician and writer. In 1904, with his brother Antun, he founded the Croatian Peasant Popular Party. In 1918 he rebelled against the centralist-hegemonist manner of the unification and soon changed the name of the party to the Croatian Peasant Republican Party. In 1925 he acknowledged the monarchy, the centralist St Vitus Day constitution, the political system and became a member of Pašić's government From the beginning of 1927 he was once again in opposition and combined with the independent democrats of Svetozar Pribičević in the Peasant-Democratic Coalition. Wounded in a shooting in the Assembly on June 20, he succumbed to the wounds he had received on August 8.

viii Růžena Zátková (1885. – 1923.), Czech painter. From 1910 she lived and worked in the circle of Italian Futurists and the Russian avant-garde. Her work was innovative and experimental, unique in Czech art of the time. For more see: Alena Pomajzlova, *Růžena: Story of the Painter Růžena Zátkova* (Prague: Arbor and Porte, 2011)

ix Ivan Meštrović, Vatra i opekline: Ružena, Ruža, Klara (Zagreb: Dora Krupićeva, 1998)

^x Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1886 – 1948), Czech philosopher, sociologist and statesman; a professor in the Czech faculty in Prague. During World War I he was busily engaged with the cause of Czechoslovak independence, and was first president of the republic. He retired in 1935. He had an influence on the younger intellectual generation in Croatia at the turn of the centuries.

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

xii Aleksandar Valentinovich Amfiteatrov (1862-1923), Russian columnist and man of letters. Opposed to the Bolsheviks, he went into exile after the October Revolution.

xiii Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 40 – 41.

xiv Ivan Meštrović, *Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje*, 151 – 158. In his memoirs Mestrovic mistakenly gives 1924 as the year he visited Prague; in fact, it was 1923.

xv Charles Richard Crane (1958-1939), wealthy American businessman, heir to a big industrial fortune, extremely well versed in Arab culture, a known scholar of Arabic. He had a particular interest in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. At the beginning of the century he got to know Masaryk, after which he became interested in Slav nationalism. As patron, he supported Alphonse Mucha's series of paintings *The Slav Epic*.

xviii Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 101.

xix Undated note of Vesna Barbić, first manager of the Meštrović Studio, Archives of the Meštrović Studio, Zagreb.

xx The works in the catalogue are divided into six groups: Heroic, Religious, Portraits, Miscellaneous, Lithographs, Drawings for the mausoleum. Along with the wooden maquette for the Kosovo Shrine is the following description: "The Temple of Kosovo memorializes the great battle fought of the plain of Kosovo, June 28, 1389. It is likewise an attempt to give a synthesis of the national Jugoslav Idea, to symbolize, in architecture and sculpture, the country's tragic souvenirs of the past and high hopes for the future. The design first took definite shape in the artist's mind in Belgrade in 1907-8." This description, the only one in the catalogue list apart from that about the drawings for the Mausoleum of Petar Petrović Njegoš, tells of the importance of the presentation of this vehicle of the identity during the third decade. *The Meštrović Exhibition. Introduction and catalogue by Christian Brinton*, Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1924 – 1925 (without pagination)

xxii Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 155.

xxiii Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 157.

xxiv Ibid.

xxv Ivan Meštrović, Uspomene na političke ljude i događaje, 201-202.

xxvi Jan Garrigue Masaryk (1886-1848), Czech politician and diplomat. Son of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk; envoy to the UK (1925-1938). During the occupation, foreign minister and assistant prime minister in the émigré government. After the war, foreign minister up to 1948, when he committed suicide.

xxvii Croatian translation published in: "Meštrović o Masaryku", *Jutarnji list*, Zagreb, 22.9. 1937, 2.

xxviii Masaryk, Alice (sister of Jan Masaryk), 1959-61, CMST 3/119, UNDA, Archives of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, USA

xxix "Stuyvesant Square", accessed 29.10.2013. http://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/stuyvesantsquare/monuments/1784