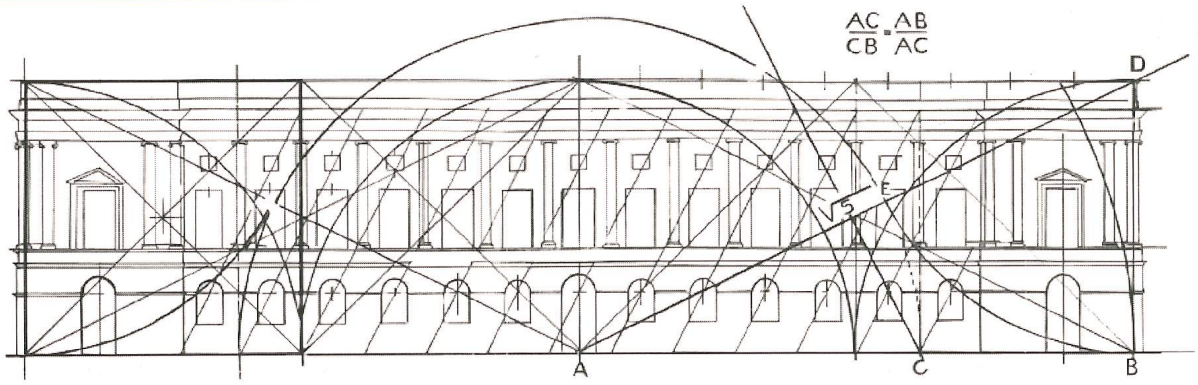
KONINKLIJKE VLAAMSE ACADEMIE VAN BELGIE
VOOR WETENSCHAPPEN EN KUNSTEN

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY NETWORK



Hilde Heynen & Janina Gosseye, eds.

CONTACTFORUM

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Brussels, 31 May - 2 June 2012

Hilde Heynen & Janina Gosseye (eds.)

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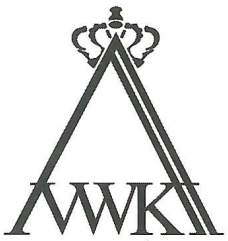

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NATIONAL UNITY THROUGH REGIONAL DIVERSITY: ARCHITECTURE AS POLITICAL REFORM IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1929-1941

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INTRODUCTION: A COUNTRY OF INVENTED REGIONS

When in 1929 King Alexander I dissolved the Parliament and abolished the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it was only the final act in a long-lasting political drama which had started back in 1918. The new kingdom was a highly centralized state, burdened by endless disputes between Serbian and Croatian elite over political dominance and power. The Kingdom eventually succumbed to virulent ethnic nationalisms and democratic breakdown in 1928. Ten years after it had been created, it became clear that the new country—born out of the tidal wave of enthusiastically promoted equality between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—was about to tear itself apart. Hence, the King's Dictatorship was aimed at beating ethnic unrest and obliterating ethnic differences. The King and the regime tactically induced a new political and cultural paradigm of 'integral Yugoslavism' and banished the nominal use of the names of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The new ideological course was given a considerable impetus when the name of the country was changed into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, to leave not a trace of its constitutive ethnic groups or historical sentiments. At the same time, the country became internally divided into new regional units, which replaced former historical provinces.[1]

The new composition of the state was based on a rather novel administrative division into nine regions or provinces (*banovine*), which were named mainly after major Yugoslav rivers.[2] These regions became the nucleus of a new national paradigm with huge ideological loadings.[3] Recalling the scope of the administrative division in the revolutionary France of the 1790s, the new regional composition was clearly aimed at creating a modern state, unified in the idea of a single, homogeneous Yugoslav nation. However, a potential threat of maintaining political centralism which had caused the political crisis, was managed by stressing the diversity, and not sheer unity, as the key component of the new Yugoslav identity; yet, it was the diversity of regions, not of ethnic groups. In the new ideological perspective, Yugoslavs were seen as ethnically homogenous but culturally different; nevertheless, it was believed the differences had stemmed more from geography, rather than history. On the one hand, the geographical 'naturalness' of new regions promoted the natural (as opposed to the historical) framework of national identity; on the other hand, though, the newly-imposed differences acted as a fiendish scheme of substituting the traditional ethnic divisions—which indeed plagued the entire history of Yugoslavia—by a politically innocuous concept of diversity. Just as the pre-1929 Yugoslav national identity had been officially proclaimed as the unity of three ethnic groups (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), the new concept of the nation retained the notion of diversity but instead of people, the focus was shifted to regions.[4]

ARCHITECTURAL IMAGINATION OF YUGOSLAV REGIONALISM

Over the course of the early 1930s, it was crucial for the regime to gain control over the political process of regionalization which led to the new concept of national identity. The major role in this process was in the domain of architecture, conceived, interpreted and utilized as regional, in a variety of instances. Architecture played a major part in the regionalist campaign, starting from the scholarly discourse of ethnography, anthropology and architectural history—which provided a sort of epistemological basis for Yugoslav regionalism—and ending in an unprecedented scale of new constructions, which expressed the visual language of the new nation.

The regionalist architectural paradigm was mainly based on the already developed discourse of Yugoslav geography and anthropology as outlined by Jovan Cvijić. Apart from being a world-distinguished scholar, he was the author of *La Péninsule Balkanique* (1918), one of the most meritorious works for the regionalist imagination of Yugoslavia. While writing about common racial origins and cultural descent of Yugoslavs, he considered geographical (and not historical) factors decisive for the 'psychical character of peoples',[5] influencing the whole generation of scholars, among whom were architects and architectural historians. They believed that aside from folklore, the most distinctive characteristics of several Yugoslav regions he had constructed were 'different types of traditional houses and buildings'.[6] Consequently, scholars developed the classificatory systems of distinctive Yugoslav regions using a variety of building types: from the Dinaric log cabin and the half-timbered Moravian house, to the Adriatic Littoral and Pannonian houses. Importantly, the architectural system of national diversification remained congruent with

the post-Vitruvian tradition of seeing architecture as determined by local context. Thus, the environmental basis of Yugoslav architectural regionalism provided a sort of intra-disciplinary legitimization of the regionalist paradigm of identity, placing architecture beyond the threat of seeing it as obedience to political ideology.

Regionalist narratives soon spilled over from scholarly discourse into extensive, state-sponsored architectural programme. A map drawn by architect-trained scholar Aleksandar Deroko is but one example of this representative culture used to bolster new regional identities (Fig. 1). Presented as diachronically almost fixed phenomena,[7] newly-proclaimed different building types had a huge impact on the ongoing process of visualizing the nation through the conceptual model of the 'unity of diversities' or 'uniting decentralization'. In the decade that preceded World War II, the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Engineering of Yugoslavia[8] produced a variety of blueprints for different architectural projects, which were primarily concerned with social housing and communal infrastructure.[9] The centralized production of regionalist styles was quite similar to the contemporaneous practice in Germany which, to a certain extent, was an ideological underpinning of a much broader cultural paradigm of *Heimat*,[10] where many schools, military barracks, resorts for *Kraft durch Freude* or even the least utilitarian objects as substations and telephone exchanges, were planned and executed in one of the established regional styles.[11] In a very similar manner, the Yugoslav Ministry produced a range of projects for schools, post offices and rural houses, literally inventing a couple of regionalist styles which unambiguously corresponded to the already established rhetoric of regionalism.

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the most common types of traditional country houses in different parts of Yugoslavia. (source: Aleksandar Deroko, Narodna arhitektura. 2, Folklorna arhitektura Jugoslavije (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1964)

Some of the most illustrative examples of the newly-constructed architectural regionalisms are small post offices designed in several variants by the same Ministry in 1931 (Fig. 2).[12] Each architectural type was styled in different 'regional' idioms, and among them four were of exceptional interest. The first one was conceived as a rather cubical structure roofed by curved clay tiles, and it was distinguished by a porch topped by a simple wooden arcade which probably referred to the vernacular heritage of Kosovo or Macedonia. On the other hand, the shape of the windows almost exactly matches the local building tradition of the eastern Balkans, clearly suggesting that the design was perhaps to represent the 'central Yugoslav type' as defined by Jovan Cvijić. The second type was also executed in several variants, all of which distinguished by white stone cladding akin to the littoral architecture of the Adriatic. Surely, such a type might have been considered as representative of the Littoral and Zeta Departments (*banovine*). The third and the fourth regional types are interesting too, the former distinguished by the features of the plain 'Pannonian' vernacular, and the latter by the traditional folk architecture of Serbia Proper and Slavonia. The fact that the sheets with all these designs were stamped by labels with an empty space left to be later inscribed by a particular location of a building (which would actually be erected according to the design), clearly shows that they were initially conceived as ready-made models. It is beyond doubt that these regional types were part of the architectural imagery of Yugoslav identity, constructed out of different regions, as sanctioned by political authorities.[13]

Another example is a bulk of local railway stations designed and built by the same Ministry for parts of the country lacking railway infrastructure.[14] There were also plans for the Ministry to produce different blueprint plans for households in the countryside, 'according to predefined [architectural] types designed in response to the building traditions of each region, albeit technically advanced.'[15] Curiously, the very idea of architectural 'type' suitable for highly generalized conditions of a region or province utterly opposes the common practice of design process, where local conditions dictate all sorts of constraints.

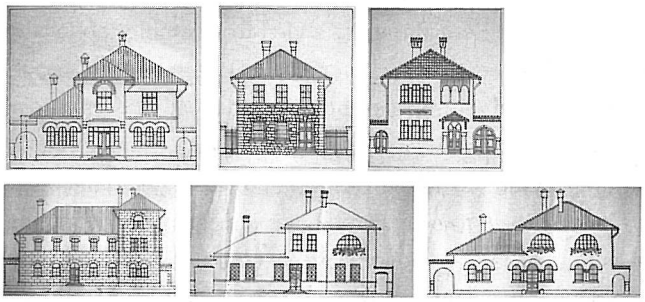

Figure 2. Designs for different post offices in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Engineering, 1931. (source: The Archives of Yugoslavia, the Ministry of Engineering, no. 62, the Collection of Plans no. 349)

Importantly, such a centralized and state-imposed practice was a textbook example of a common twentieth-century cross-national phenomenon of architectural regionalism that is usually 'imposed from outside, from positions of authority'.[16] In this perspective, the question of the architectural nature of regionalism seems irrelevant, even though Yugoslav regionalisms are neither critical[17] nor constructive.[18] Despite the fact that in a strict sense Yugoslav architectural regionalisms were firmly attached to the tradition of the so-called romantic or nationalistic

regionalism,[19] it seems the deeply-entrenched presumption about the alleged opposition between centralism and regionalism—in terms of both attitude and policy—needs to be revised. I am going to discuss how the discourse of regionalism was constructed and employed in order not to support the identities of Yugoslav regions, but to tacitly reinforce their unity and political centralism. The current idea of the 'unity of diversities' was, indeed, 'designed to foster even greater centralization'[20] which, of course, further propelled old ethno-nationalisms.[21]

ARCHITECTURAL IMAGERY OF YUGOSLAV PROVINCES

Perhaps the most conspicuous examples of the paradigm of 'unitary centralization' are two groups of buildings. The first represents a series of royal mansions built for the Yugoslav ruling dynasty Karadjordjević in the early 1930s. Another group consists of several administrative seats of the newly-established regional departments (*banovine*).[22]

The architectural imagery of the Drava Province (which covers the territory of Slovenia) is best seen in a royal hunting lodge in Kamniška Bistrica, designed by Jože Plečnik in 1932. Despite the claims that it was to correspond to the alpine surroundings and mountainous milieu,[23] the architecture of the lodge is detached from local building tradition. Set on a massive base of stone, it is a wood-lined brick building with curiously arranged vertical planks. Its low slope roof and projecting eaves are more akin to the Mediterranean tradition than that of the Slovenian Alps, distinguished by steep roofs and wooden porches.[24] Instead of representing an authentic vernacular tradition of the region—as one might view it if the building is seen as a curious example of romantic regionalism—Plečnik's architecture seems to have symbolized an idealized image of the Drava Province, stretching from the Alps, the Great Pannonian Plain and the Adriatic coast.

The similar regionalist approach took place in Han Pijesak (today in Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the Drina Province, where an old mansion was reconstructed to suit the needs of royal hunting resort. The existing building was restyled as a curious combination of a log cabin and the so-called Oriental house, symbolically representing the identity of the province. Even the small details were employed to tell the story of the province's bucolic identity, like the walls of the drawing room covered with 'boards made of oak, elm, sycamore and walnut wood'.[25]

The King's rustic lodge in Demir Kapija (1930-34), set amidst a farm in the southernmost part of the Vardar Province (which covered Macedonia and parts of Serbia and Kosovo), was designed to represent the region as a hybrid between different vernacular idioms. The half-timbered building was painted white and distinguished by a porch, an arcade and a pyramid hip roof covered with curved earthenware tiles.[26] At the same time, the government announced a competition for the administrative seat of the same province to be erected in its capital Skopje. The architecture of the winning entry imagined the Vardar region as a realm of ancient Slavic tradition and a modern Yugoslav region in sharp contrast with the oriental urban culture of the local Albanians and Turks.[27] Since it was the region marked by disputes between Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek nationalism, it had to be represented as simultaneously modern, de-Orientalised and Slavicised.[28] This is the context of the contemporary accounts which perceived the palace as a 'modernist edifice with some elements borrowed from the old architecture of Skopje',[29] which practically meant the appropriation of the traditional vernacular idiom, already de-Orientalised and Yugoslavised by contemporary scholars.[30]

A few years later, the littoral region of Yugoslavia got its architectural imageries too. A royal seaside villa in Miločer (in Montenegro) was built in 1932-34, soon to become an epitome of the virile identity of both the Zeta and Littoral Provinces.[31] The architecture of the villa, styled to resemble the local tradition, lent an aura of a rather primitive rusticity, reinforcing the contrast between the local vernacular (interpreted as peculiarly Slavic) and the Italianate architecture of historic Dalmatia and Montenegro.[32] A difference of style and meaning was crucial for the Yugoslav symbolic re-conquest of the region, formerly ruled by Austria and Italy.[33] At the same time, such an interpretative scope reinforced the geographic (instead of historical) determinism of architecture, as the key principle of current architectural theory of the time. This was the ideological context for the royal villa in Miločer to be understood as a means of constructing national identity through regional representational tactics. The villa was, in a sense, a modern representation of a widely discussed littoral type of architecture in Yugoslavia which, according to contemporary scholars, distinguished the whole region 'from Istria to the far end of the Montenegrin coast'.[34] With its stone being quarried out of different places in the region, the villa indeed summed up—virtually and symbolically—the identity of the region. The apparent irony that the villa itself was made of reinforced concrete and only clad in stone clearly represents the underlying rationale, common for all examples discussed: the architectural regionalism had more to do with the politics of invention than with interpretation of regional styles, forms and tectonics.

A rather virile identity of the Zeta Province itself, which straddled Montenegro, Herzegovina, Kosovo and South West Serbia, had striking architectural images too. The best examples are the administrative seat of the Province in Cetinje[35] and King Alexander I's royal house in Rijeka Crnojevića.[36] These buildings from 1930-32, designed by the King's favourite architect Nikola Krasnov, were distinguished by stone cladding and a rather primitivist detailing. Both were strategically conceived as archaising structures

which connoted primordial, Dinaric identity of the region as opposed to historical, 'superficial' and 'undomestic' Montenegrin or Italian traditions. In the context of the former capital of Montenegro, which was marked by a pastiche of the *neo* historical styles, the robust and coarse façades of these new buildings were quite telling. They were deftly conceived in order to symbolically annul the Montenegrin sovereignty over the region, which was officially transferred to Yugoslavia in 1918.

A similar shift of identity can be traced in the architectural representation of the neighbouring Littoral Province. It was initially planned for the new seat of the province, conceived as a rigid Bauhaus-styled structure, to be juxtaposed to the ancient palace of Diocletian in Split (today in Croatia).[37] Such a decision immediately caused deep resentments; the most problematic issue concerned placing a radically modern building in the midst of historical setting, yet the polemic was hardly a matter of professional judgments only.[38] After 1929, the architectural language of modernism had indeed become a 'new style' for the new Yugoslav regime, a perfect means of propagating the new political course and its ardent anti-historical sentiments.[39] At the same time, in the context of the recently conquered Dalmatia, the same style might well have served to strengthen its modern Yugoslav character and what was believed to be the superiority of Slavs over Italians and Austrians, the former rulers of the region.

The same identity-construction process was simultaneously taking place in North Eastern part of the country, where the historical heritage of Austro-Hungarian culture was being obliterated from the newly-established Danube Province. The province itself was to become a symbol of the new, prosperous and modern country. Given the fact that this region—which mainly covers northern parts of Serbia—was particularly exposed to Yugoslavisation (due to many Germans and Hungarians who had lived there for centuries),[40] it is clear why its architectural representation was not only a matter of professional judgement. The prize-winning design of 1930 by Dragiša Brašovan had a robust appearance, with rough brick façades simultaneously connoting the local vernacular tectonics as a contrast to the historicist urban setting of Novi Sad, the capital of the region where it was later erected as the 'biggest building in the Balkans'.[41] In the Vrbas Province too, a similar process of substituting the former Austro-Hungarian to Yugoslav identity took place at the same time, when a huge provincial seat was built in Banja Luka (today in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Its massively decorative, motley architecture had many different folkloric ornaments interpreted as familiar to the province's multiethnic population, to both Serbs and Croats, as well as the Orthodox, Catholics and Muslims.[42] In this way, the architectural imagery of the region was constructed as simultaneously 'domestic' and transethnic, with *fakeloric*[43] elements used as the ideological loading of the official doctrine of the 'national oneness'.

Each of the newly established regions had its own distinctive architectural images, yet all referred one to another, clearly suggesting that it was their unity, and not diversity, which formed the basis of their meaning. Seen as integral parts of the Yugoslav whole, these different regional identities simultaneously testified to the naturalization of the nation and its regional diversification. In the economy of identity, the architecture was a very critical and powerful tool.

CONCLUSION

The problem of the Yugoslav political transition of the 1930s is perhaps best seen in the architectural representations of the state's new regions. This brief but wide ranging architectural history is manifested in a dizzying array of instances: from a series of typified projects for local post offices or schools which emulated newly forged regional styles, the strikingly emphatic idioms of administrative seats of these new provinces, to royal summerhouses and hunting lodges, scattered throughout the country. While connoting the naturalness of each regional identity, the architectural imaginations of Yugoslav regions intentionally relied on a set of images imposed by the highly centralised state authorities, which actually reinterpreted and reinvented certain historical traditions to suit ideological agenda of the 'unity in diversities' paradigm.

Despite differences in the 'tectonic' and 'scenographic',[44] as well as the constantly changing attitudes towards local geographic and cultural conditions, the architectural construction of Yugoslav regionalism had a common denominator: each region was imagined to represent differential quality, being clearly opposed to another. The significance and meaning of each unequivocally depended on another and, importantly, on the sum total of all regional identities. A paradox that lies at the heart of Yugoslav architectural regionalism is that all regional identities—imposed from the centre and at the same time represented as autochthonous—were in fact highly manufactured from the already canonized regional styles of historical provinces. While pleading regional authenticity, the architectural constructions of Yugoslav regions were actually detached from local contexts, inasmuch as they spoke in favour of political ideology rather than about architectural autonomy.

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Endnotes

1. On the regionalization of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Royal Dictatorship and its political implications, see: John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 163-8; Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens 19.-21. Juhrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 290 ff.; Stevan K. Pavlowitch, Serbia: the History Behind the Name, London: Hurst, 2002), 111-38.

2. The new administrative units were: the Danube (*banovina* or Province) with the seat in Novi Sad, the Sava (Zagreb), the Drava (Ljubljana), the Vrbas (Banja Luka), the Drina (Sarajevo), the Zeta (Cetinje), the Morava (Niš), the Vardar (Skopje), and the Littoral (*Primorska*) (Split). The capital city of Belgrade, however, acquired a special administrative status.

3. See: J. R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*; Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992* (London, Hurst: 2003); Jovo Bakić, *Ideologije jugoslovenstva izmedju srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma: 1918-1941* (Zrenjanin, Gradska narodna biblioteka: 2004).

4. The internal homogenization of an ethnic group usually comprises its functional and qualitative diversification, too. See: Philippe Poutignat and Jocelyne Streiff-Férnat, *Théories de l'ethnicité* (Paris: PUF, 1995).

5. Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje.* vol. 2 (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1931), 1.

6. J. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje* , 4.

7. Aleksandar Deroko, "Estetika kuće u polju", *Umetnički pregled* 1: 5 (1938), 143.

8. See: Snežana Toševa, "Organizacija i rad Arhitektonskog odelenja Ministarstva građevina u periodu između dva svetska rata", *Nasleđe* 2 (1999), 171-81.

9. See: Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941* (Belgrade: Gradjevinska knjiga, 2007), 374-7.

10. See: Elisabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat—A German Dream: Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture, 1890-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

11. See: Winfried Erdinger, "A Hierarchy of Styles: National Socialist Architecture Between Neoclassicism and Regionalism", in *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators 1930-45* (London: Thames and Hudson, Hayward Gallery, 1996), 322-5; Barbara Miller-Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Heidi Fuchs, *Kraft durch Freude: Modernity, Leisure, and Social Politics in Nazi Germany* (Amherst, MA: Amherst College, 2007); Winfried Erdinger, *Bauen im Nationalsozializmus - Bayern 1933-1945* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1993); Eric Sorm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press: 2011).

12. The architects in charge were Jezdimir Denić and Dragutin Maslać from Belgrade, see: The Archives of Yugoslavia, the Ministry of Construction, no. 62, the Collection of Plans, 349.

13. A similar practice took place in the contemporaneous Germany. See: W. Nerdinger, *Bauen im Nationalsozializmus — Bayern 1933-1945*, 325; William J. R. Curtis, "Totalitarian Critiques of the Modern Movement", in *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 357.

14. See: Aleksandar Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila u srpskoj arhitekturi (sredina XIX veka - sredina XX veka)* (Belgrade: Gradjevinska knjiga, 1997), 183.

15. "U Ministarstvu građevina osniva se Odeljak za uređenje i izgrađivanje sela", *Politika*, October, 26. 1940.

16. Keith Eggener, "Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism", *Journal of Architectural Education* 55:4 (2002), 228-37 (228).

17. See: Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, "The Grid and the Pathway,"*Architecture in Greece* 15 (1981): 164–78; Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Post-Modern Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 21; "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism,"*Perspecta* 20 (1983) , 148; *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 327.

18. In his account on "Constructive Regionalism" Anthony Alofsin has put it: '[A] true constructive regionalism would respond to local colours, materials, and customs; it would embrace tradition and transform tradition [...] it would foster craft and push the limits of technology; it would speak to the individual search for

the universal.' Cited from: A. Alofsin, "Constructive Regionalism", in Vincent Canizaro, ed., *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity and Tradition* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 369-73 (372).

19. See: Wim Denslagen, "Architecture, Critical and Uncritical", *Romantic Modernism: Nostalgia in the World of Conservation* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 179-81.

20. Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 81.

21. It is beyond reasonable doubt to maintain a belief that 'one of the mainsprings of regionalist culture is an anti-centrist sentiment': K. Frampton, "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism", 152; or an 'anti-centrist consensus': K. Frampton, *Modern Architecture*. And neither is likely to regard architectural regionalism as an 'aspiration for some kind of cultural, economic and political independence': K. Frampton, "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism", 152.

22. Five administrative seats of *banovine* were built out of nine of them. See: A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*, 388-90.

23. The Archives of Yugoslavia, 74-295-435.

24. Andrej Hrausky, et al., *Plečnikova Slovenija* (Ljubljana: Galerija DESSA, 1997), 48-53; Damjan Prelovšek, "The Royal Hunting Lodge Kamniška Bistrica", *Piranesi* 1: 2 (1992), 12-18.

25. The Archives of Yugoslavia, 74-387-576.

26. See: the Archives of Yugoslavia, 74-392. Cf. Mile Radenković, "Kraljevsko, a sada makedonsko", *Politika*, April 30, 2008.

27. Victor Roudometof, ed., *The Macedonian Question: culture, historiography, politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

28. On the ideology and politics of the architectural culture in interwar Macedonia see: Kokan Grčev, *Arhitektonskite stilovi vo makedonskata arhitektura od krajot na 19 vek i periodot megu dvete svetski vojni* (Skopje: Institut za folklor "Marko Cepenkov", 2003).

29. "Novo Skoplje", *Politika*, December 17, 1930.

30. A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*, 186-9, 393-7.

31. The architect in charge was Dragomir Tadić from Belgrade, see: The Archives of Yugoslavia, 74-285-420; 74-286; 74-388-579; 74-389-579; 74-390-580.

32. A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*, 380-6.

33. Aleksandar Deroko, *Folklorna arhitektura u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1974), 77.

34. A. Deroko, *Folklorna arhitektura u Jugoslaviji* ,78.

35. See: Ivan Marković, "O arhitekturi zgrade Kraljevske banske uprave Zetske banovine", *Novopazarski zbornik* 28, (2004), 115-30.

36. The Archives of Yugoslavia, 74-392-583.

37. Žarko Domljan, "Arhitektura XX stoljeća u Hrvatskoj", in Zoran Manević *et al.*, eds., *Arhitektura XX vijeka* (Belgrade: Prosveta; Zagreb: Spektar; Mostar: Prva književna komuna, 1986), 41.

38. On the competition for the Littoral *banovina* see: Davorin Tušek, *Arhitektonski natječaji u Splitu 1918-1941* (Split: Društvo arhitekata, 1994), 66-70.

39. A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*, 386-8.

40. See: Lj. Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941*, 40-51.

41. Donka Stančić and Miško Lazović, *Banovina* (Novi Sad: Prometej, 1999), 57-8.

42. On the architecture of the Vrbas *banovina* in Banja Luka, see: Siniša Vidaković, *Arhitektura javnih objekata u Banjaluci 1918-1941* (Banjaluka: Akademija umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2006).

43. The term 'fakeloric' appeared in the 1970s in the literature to suggest a 'fake folkloric' appropriation of vernacular traditions in modern culture; it the context of interwar Yugoslavia the term was first used in Andrew B. Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 112.

44. As related to the firm outlines of critical regionalism established by Kenneth Frampton. By juxtaposing the tectonic and tactile to the scenographic, Frampton has reinforced the supposed architectural autonomy putting the tectonic (that is the presentation of a structural poetic) and the tactile aside from politics and ideology: 'Despite the critical importance of topography and light, the primary principle of architectural autonomy resides in the *tectonic* rather than the *scenographic.*' K. Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism", 16-30 (27).