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Cover image: Monument to the
Unknown Yugoslav Hero. Avala.
1934–1938. Jean Meštrović.
(Photo: A. Ignatović

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Architecture, Urban Development and the Yugoslovization of Belgrade, 1918–1941

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Nations! Nations are memories . . . memories of the regiments and flags, memories of the bugle calls and uniforms, of the days that passed. . . Nations are illusions! Illusions of the days of yore entwined with intellectual imagination in poetry, art and literature; nations are the books read and the images perceived, suggested hallucinations, conventional deceits, prejudices. . .

Miroslav Krleža, 1935[1]

THIS ARTICLE IS FOCUSED ON THE RELATION between the representative architectural culture of Belgrade and the ideology of Yugoslavism between 1918 and 1941, a period that spans the life of the first Yugoslav state, and is distinguished by ideological instability and political turmoil. In an analysis of the material apparatus of ideology[2] and the spatialization of power,[3] it is intended to illustrate interwar Yugoslavism as it was realized in the cityscape of Belgrade, the Serbian, ex-Yugoslav, capital. Urban and architectural examples will illustrate the ideological role of planning and building in this interwar period.

The Transformation of Belgrade (1867–1904)

Since the end of the 19th century master narratives of the modern history of Belgrade have been sharply marked by an interpretative tradition that has been based on a wide overview, the purpose of which, irrespective of the theoretical or methodological background of a particular historical narrative, has been to provide a coherent ideology. Established as an expressive 'model of transformation' that is entrenched into 19th-century descriptions and travelogues of the country of Serbia and its capital Belgrade, this model had a deep impact on the construction of collective identities of the Serbian community. Even recent narratives of the city's history, originating from the perspective of contemporary Belgrade, and developed from a minor historical antecedent over the course of two hundred years, employ this traditional model of transformation in a comparison of small, 19th-century Belgrade with the modern metropolis.[4]

As a rule, all these historical accounts emphasize constant and profound modernization as city's fundamental feature, reporting that only the recent stage of the two-millennium long history of Belgrade has witnessed tremendous changes of its cityscape.

These accounts tell us that on the eve of the so-called Serbian revolution of 1804 Belgrade was a modest settlement of around 5,000 inhabitants at the confluence of the Danube and Sava Rivers, and that it was limited in size albeit not in political importance. In terms of architecture, the city was only an insignificant Ottoman urban agglomeration. A handful of buildings, not worthy of consideration, were gathered around the fortress and the Ottoman garrison that directly faced the Austrian border. In population, urban fabric and architecture, it was a typical Ottoman settlement. Even after the 'national revolutions' of 1804 and 1815—when the semi-autonomous Dukedom of Serbia was established under the suzerainty of the sultan—Belgrade kept its irregular urban pattern, dotted with the many mosques and *caravanserais* that indicated the Ottoman character of the place. Only after 1867, when the last Ottoman garrison left Belgrade, and in 1878 when Serbia was declared independent at the Treaty of Berlin, did Belgrade begin to alter its image as an underdeveloped "Oriental town" (*orijentalna varoš*),[5] expanding its limits and re-casting its visual appearance. According to the narrative, from the final decade of the 19th century, a remarkable modernization, urbanization and political centralization of the state completely changed the cityscape, despite occasional, but catastrophic devastations during both the World Wars. Such an account of events is found in even modest historiographical narratives, in which the fundamental, systematically planned and expeditious transformation of Belgrade is generally portrayed as a showcase of the industrial and social progress of Serbia.[6]

However, such a synthetic history of Belgrade bears testimony to a complex process of social identification initiated by the mechanisms of Serbian political emancipation during the 19th century; a process that lasted until the mid-20th century. It is well known that the birth of the modern
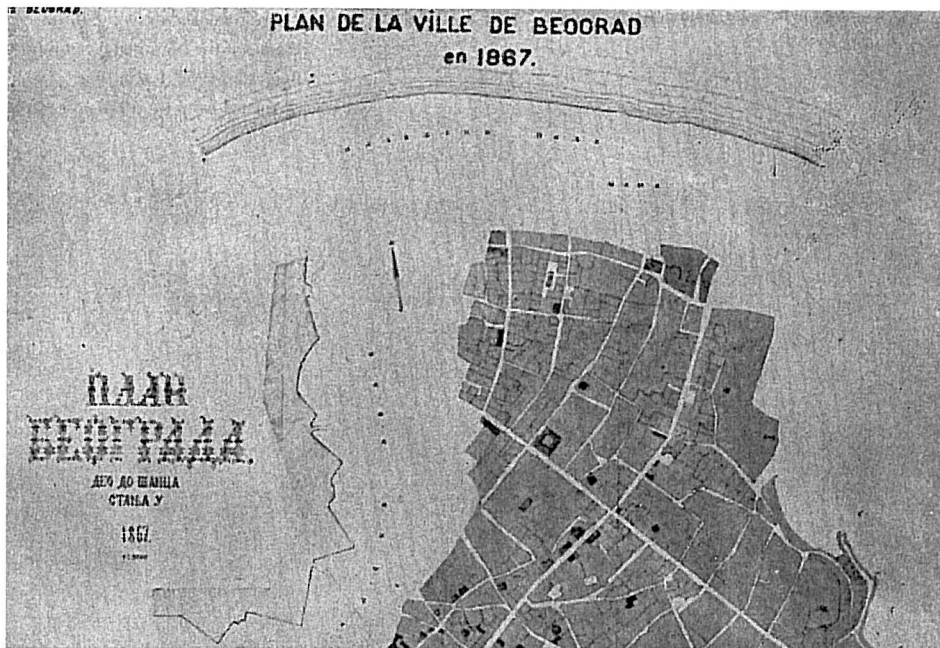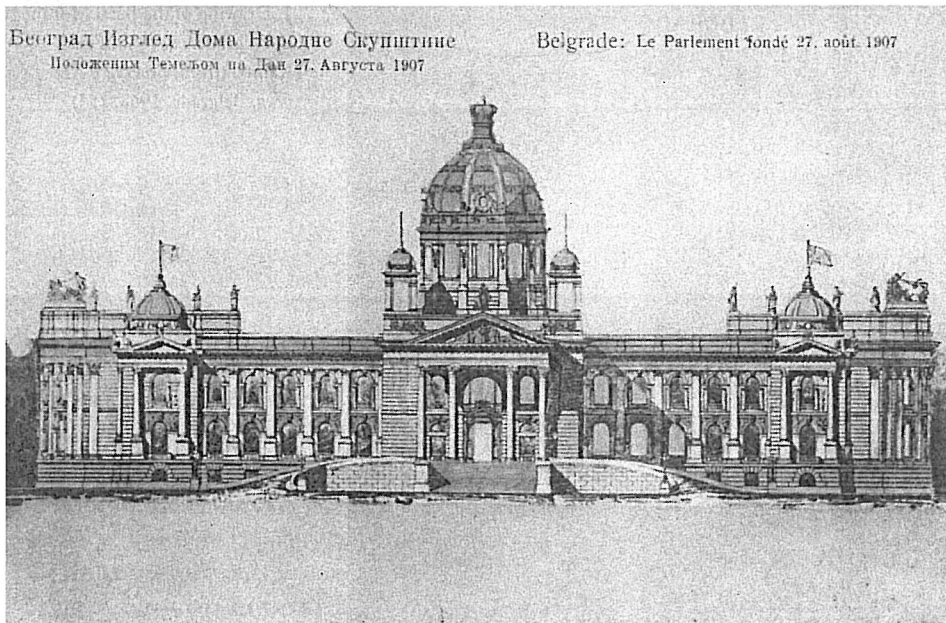
Serbian state and its society was sharply marked by the phenomenon of so-called Europeanization. At the same time, an integral part of the same process was a permanent and profound cultivation of the ideal of national authenticity. Paradoxically, such a dual epistemology—which included the modernization of all the Balkans—included both the imposition of local historical traditions and a progress that complemented and questioned such established national traditions.[7] In Serbia, the process of modernization simultaneously brought about ideals of progressivism and historicism at the same time. In this sense, the urban and architectural transformation of 19th century Belgrade into the capital of Serbia was loaded with a far more important dimension than that which the majority of historiographical accounts suggest.

The differing ideological perspectives of the various cultural groups were a prime component of the relationship between tradition and modernity in Serbia. There was an evolutionary focus, which viewed modernization as an incarnation of the traditional Serbian democratic culture of the peasant community. In addition, there was a conservative and exclusive view opposed traditionally to a 'national' and contemporaneous 'European' culture. But there was also a complementary perspective that determined authentic Serbian national culture and the necessity for Serbs to participate entirely in the civilization of the West.[8] The simultaneity of these different views in the context of the Serbian nation-building process suggests a complex, non-linear development. From the mid-19th century the systematic transformation of Belgrade's urban structure—assisted with and supported by architecture— has had unavoidable political connotations. It is of essential importance to underline the fact that the legitimization of the nation-building process was heavily dependent on a visual and architectural representative culture that was established in Belgrade simultaneous with political emancipation of modern Serbia.

The architectural culture of 19th- and early 20th-century Belgrade participated in several ideological processes. Culturally it comprised an excessive de-Ottomanization, in which an explicit and uncompromising suppression of the Serbian past reveals the cultural cohabitation of the Ottoman and Serbian ethnic elite. Politically, it included the forced migration of the Ottoman Muslim population,[9] and the devastation of the material remnants of Serbia's past, including the demolition of numerous mosques that dominated the Belgrade cityscape in order to systematically reconstruct and rebuild the city's urban matrix.

The demolition of the old Batal Mosque (1585, Batal Džamija, Batal-Camii) (Fig. 1) in order to replace it with the House of the National Assembly (1901; 1907) was a symbolic gesture, par excellence (Fig. 2). Devastated in the First Serbian uprising of 1804, the mosque remained intact in spite of a series of attempts of the Ottomans to reconstruct the building. Finally, the mosque was completely demolished in the very year when Serbia proclaimed national independence in 1878.[10] However, it was only in 1891 when the first design for the Serbian House of National Assembly was done by Konstantin Jovanović. Due

Београд Изглед Дома Народне Скупштине
Положеним Темељом на Дан 27. Августа 1907

Belgrade: Le Parlement fondé 27. août. 1907

2 Multicolored drawing of the House of the National Assembly. Belgrade. 1907. Jovan Ilkić. (Postcard from the 1910s).

to political and financial instability, the endeavor was prolonged, being followed by an architectural competition in 1901. The winning project of Jovan Ilkić resembled the first Jovanović's design and the building construction was ceremonially inaugurated in 1907.[11]

Even more striking were attempts to change the street layout of the old entrenched Ottoman Belgrade, inaugurated by the Emilijan Josimović's "Explanation" (*Objasnenje*) in 1867.[12] As the first Serbian modern urban planner, he proposed a comprehensive regulation of the old urban fabric of Dorćol—the Danube Slope of the entrenched Ottoman city, inhabited mainly by Muslims and Jews (Fig. 3). The following decade was distinguished by the further development of this de-Ottomanization agenda, which included a strict orthogonal street layout that permanently erased all cultural marks of the recent Serbian past. According to the "Plan of Belgrade" (Plan Beograda), done by Stevan Zarić in 1878 (Fig. 4),[13] as well as subsequent plans, the central district of Dorćol was entirely transformed: a once predominantly 'Turkish' settlement became a 'European' city. In mid-1880s the process of complete urban transformation was executed meticulously. At the same time, the opposite Sava Slope of the city, traditionally inhabited by ethnic Serbs, retained its traditional urban layout almost intact.[14]

These alterations of the cityscape, through specific urban and architectural modifications, became the most prominent issues in the political topography of the Serbian national capital. As David A. Norris has put it, in a analogy with Hayden White's description of the contemporaneous Victorian "fear of primitivism;" "the Ottoman legacy was

what Serbian culture had once been and what it might become again. Belgrade as the meeting place between East and West was buried under layers of the Balkan myth which functioned to remind . . . that the Oriental past was only recently left behind, and that transition into a new order was but a fragile step."[15]

Such a "new order" was gradually, but resolutely developing as the architectural and urban image of the city rapidly changed at the turn of the century. Mid-19th century travelogues, by English, German and French travelers, include many suggestive descriptions of the semi-oriental character of the city. From the common and widely shared stereotypical image of the city that, for instance, Gustav Rasch in 1866 portrayed as "a genuine chaos of a Turkish town, littered with narrow, cobblestone streets and small houses defiled with dirt,"[16] Belgrade was methodically transformed in order to display a newly-emerging elite's ideology. But already in 1887 the oriental image of the city, described as conforming to the general patterns of European Orientalism, was eliminated. Thereafter, the first systematic and widely popular survey of the Kingdom of Serbia announced the absolute change of the cityscape:

"For the twenty years of development . . . one can hardy imagine this was the Turkish town. Narrow and cranky, dirty roads that gave a special prominence to Dorćol have now disappeared. Instead, there are straight, wide and airy streets and rectangular urban blocks . . . . Furthermore, there is no evidence of the numerous minarets, which once gave the cityscape,

even from the great distance, its distinctive character of a genuine, oriental, Islamic town. . . . Still, owing to poor morality, intelligence and material conditions, there are an abundance of features that remind one of the city's long oriental past."[17]

"Nevertheless," the narrative continues, "As soon as Belgrade was captured by the Serbs and the violent and threatening hand of the enemy has been definitely cut off, the city began to develop rapidly and to undergo real resurgence."[18]

As an integral part of the same 'Europeanization' agenda, the city and the state authorities pursued a special policy of installing architectural monuments styled "in the European fashion" (*na evropski način*), which emphasized common attitudes toward progressivism and the democratization of society. Thus the culture of national memory was based on a culture of oblivion.

Yugoslavism: the shifting ideological landscape of Belgrade (1904–1941)

Parallel to the processes of national emancipation that comprised a cultural, societal and political transformation, the Serbian elite was engaged in a complementary ideology of
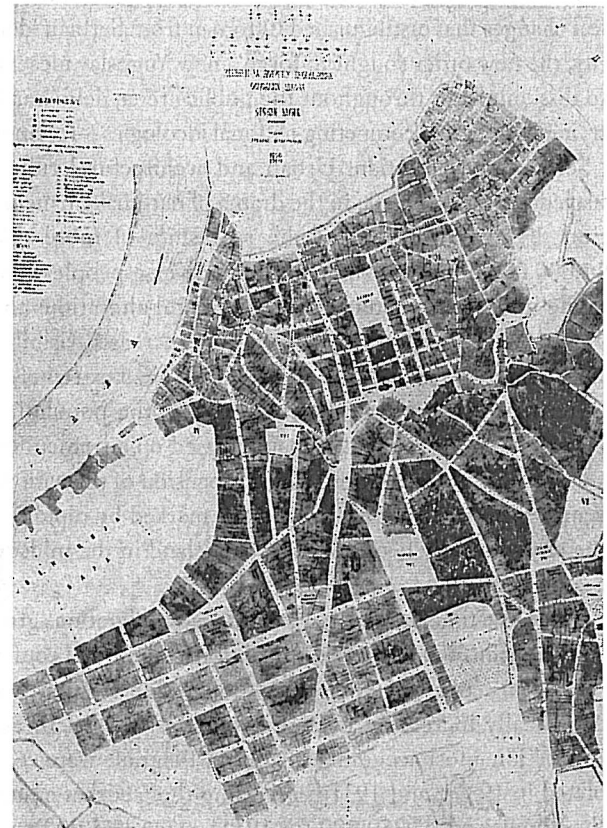
'Yugoslavism.'[19] At the turn of the century 'Yugoslavism' comprised an elaborate idea of the national, cultural and political unity of the South Slavs, as a determinate cultural, though not strictly political, program. From the 1850s, the rhetoric of Yugoslavism was constantly disseminated in the public sphere throughout the Balkans. In addition to different ideological narratives, scholarly accounts on Yugoslav race, ethnicity and history,[20] Yugoslavism was widely supported by visual and material artifacts, that included architecture.

In the wake of a Yugoslav ideology, labeled as the "national oneness" (*narodno jedinstvo*), which dominated the politics of the region between 1904 (political turmoil in Serbia and the establishment of the royal dynasty of Karadjordjević) and 1941 (when Kingdom of Yugoslavia collapsed), the Serbian capital and its architecture were gradually transformed. The city hosted not only the major institutions of the new Yugoslav state,[21] but also supported master narratives of Yugoslavism. Not only representative visual culture, but also the urban and architectural image of the state's capital became very significant for the national identity.[22] From 1918, the new political order was firmly based on the ideology of Yugoslavism: "national oneness and state unity" (*narodno i državno jedinstvo*), which included a diversity of formations, political directions and instrumental potentials.[23]

Somewhat dissimilar to previous ideological and political changes that distinguished Ottoman from Serbian identity, the new order sought to forge a new Yugoslav idea and to disseminate it throughout the public arena, deliberately trying to put aside competing national ideologies—foremost , Serbian and Croatian. Urban and architectural culture played a prominent role in the drama of national emancipation. Being the capital of the new state of more than 11,000,000 ethnically and culturally diverse peoples, Belgrade underwent systematic architectural alterations that gave the the new Yugoslav ideology an increased visibility. In the interwar period, the city itself changed extremely—in terms of size, physical structure, and the population. However, such growth was mainly based on a tremendous administrative aggregation, whilst expansion of the national economy was neither noticeable nor marked by rapidity:[24] the city gradually became an "urban island in the midst of a rural sea."[25]

It was a time, however, when intensive migrations gradually transformed the previously uniform ethnic and confessional structure of the city's population, which was continually increasing over the course of the 1920s and 1930s. The most accurate censuses in Belgrade were completed in 1929[26] and 1931,[27] revealing the fact that among the population of 250,000 (in 1931) around 15,000 were

Jews, 9,500 Russian émigrés;[28] there were also 2,500 Czechs and Slovaks,[29] not to mention a great number of the newly settled Croats and Slovenes, employed in many governmental institutions or industries in the city. At the same time, structural modernization was followed by immense building activity.[30] The built-up area of the city was enlarged from 10 square kilometers in 1921 to 40 square kilometers in 1938.[31] In the period of just ten years, from 1921 to 1931, the number of new buildings reached 6,000, providing around 15,000 dwellings for the Belgrade inhabitants that were becoming progressively greater in number.[32]

Far more important than these statistics, however, were ideological and political issues that arose with these new constructions and the city's urban development. The Yugoslavization of the cityscape represented the constitutive discourse of such tremendous growth of the city. Moreover, the conceptual complexity of Yugoslavism now could be concretely expressed in urgan and architectural forms that fully participated in the cityscape of the Yugoslav capital. Interestingly, since the 19th century, the language of Yugoslav nation builders was distinguished by use of architectural metaphors.[33] With the birth of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929) these metaphors were comprehensible in the public space of the country's capital. In this process of the formal expression of an ideology, the public architecture of Belgrade became a fundamental issue. In relation to the urban locales and their underlying ideological connotations—in terms of local topography, traditions, inherited patterns of meaning, historical significance, matters of cultural continuity, etc.—these new constructions were given a special ideological aura that purposely recalled the common imagery of the Yugoslav nation and its identity, in the same fashion as did countless scholarly narratives that already distinguished the contours of Yugoslavism. Within a visual perspective, architectural monuments installed in Belgrade during 1920s and 1930s were acted as symbolic objects essential to the ideological topography of Yugoslavism.

However, there was not a single and coherent ideology which could be titled 'Yugoslavism.' Instead, at least three major narratives based on a single ideology simultaneously dominated public discourse of the time, having diverse, yet complementary political significance:[34] primordialism, syncretism and universalism, which spread throughout Yugoslav society. The new political context of Yugoslavia entailed these separate ethno-nationalisms, which weakened the energy for accomplishing the imagined Yugoslav potential. Simultaneity of these diverse ideologies witnessed the complex political agenda of the Yugoslav elite, sourced in the traditions of both historical and ethnic rights.

It is precisely this multifarious ideological landscape of the interwar Yugoslavia that brought about the architectural diversity of Belgrade. Following are case studies concerned with the city's representative architecture, demonstrating the ideological roles that continually played within the puzzling Yugoslav political arena of the 1920s and 1930s (Fig. 5).

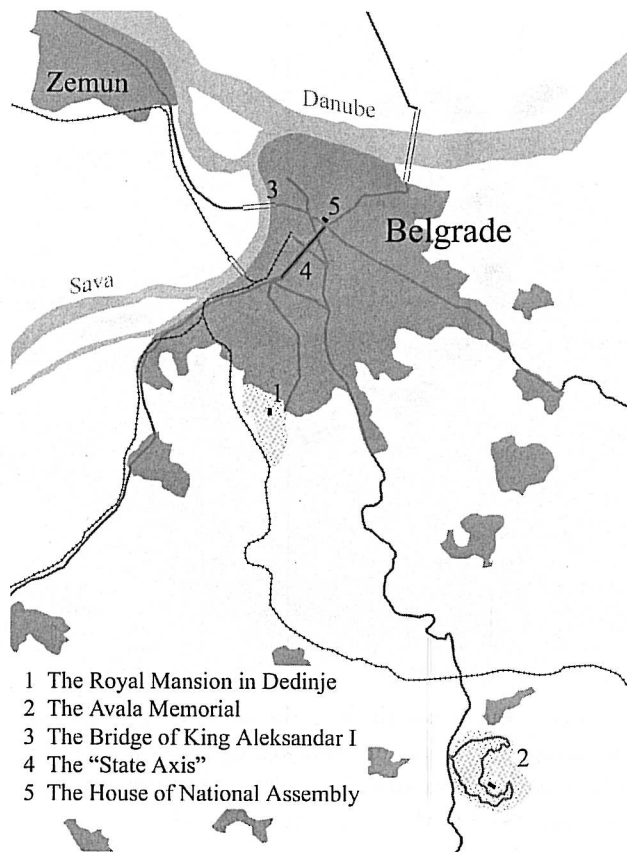## Yugoslav primordialism in the Belgrade cityscape (1920s–1930s)

A. The King's Residential Complex at Dedinje (1922–1929)

The primordial focus comprised Yugoslav nation as primeval, authentic and genuine, having the potential of a national homogenization of its diverse ethnic groups. The peculiarities of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were purposely interpreted as coming from one original ethnic and racial Yugoslav core. Cultural differences of Yugoslavs were considered to be superficial, minor, imposed by foreign cultures and due to the diverse interrelated conditions in which these ethnic groups developed in the past. In political discourse of the interwar period primordialism was manifested as the "Integral Yugoslavism" (integralno jugoslovenstvo), the official policy of the state over the great period of its existence.[35]

Visual and architectural representations of primordial Yugoslavism confirmed a supposed primeval sameness of the nation. The alleged national unity was simultaneously projected from the past to the present of the nation.[36] To achieve this, the architectural imagery of Yugoslavism was given a special ideological role, intended to confirm specific primordialist assumptions in the public space.

Imagined Yugoslav identity was interpreted as closely connected to folk culture, and as a rule related to natural surroundings: architectural constructions of this genre always connoted vernacular building types and congenitally natural environments. These were intended to resemble those of the earlier nation. Belgrade became marked by a series of artificially naturalized urbanscapes, displaying primordial Yugoslav identity.

One of these is the residential complex of Dedinje, built for the Yugoslav royal dynasty Karadjordjević in 1929. It is a significant example of such an identity-building strategy.[37] The main palace, the collaborative work of several architects, was designed as a traditional civic mansion, a building type spread throughout traditional urban agglomerations on the Balkan Peninsula (Figs. 5, 6). Commonly known as the "Oriental House," this building type was considered to be national, South Slavic in character: it had a considerable position in the architectural imagery of the

1 The Royal Mansion in Dedinje
2 The Avala Memorial
3 The Bridge of King Aleksandar I
4 The "State Axis"
5 The House of National Assembly

5 Map of Belgrade showing the locations of the representative projects (1918–1941). (courtesy of the author Dragutin Protić)

primordial Yugoslav identity. In accord with a de-Ottomanization agenda, the Dedinje district, where construction of the new royal mansion was begun in 1922, it was designed to connote the original heritage of the Yugoslav, pre-Ottoman Balkans, as it had been described by Jovan Cvijić (La Péninsule Balcanique, 1918), who declared such a building type to be a pristine example of indigenous architecture that the Ottomans merely adapted to their needs.[38] The spatial layout, architectural form and the style applied on the mansion we re distinguished by a number of features of the "Oriental House" type. Such was the central arrangement of the plan, projected bay windows at the first floor (divanhana), along with numerous architectural details like roof subdivisions, eaves or chimney pots. Its alleged South Slavic and Balkan origins were associated with a time before the cultural, religious and political schism of the 'Yugoslavs,' and also with a peculiar 'Yugoslav' geographical and cultural context. It was highlighted by the elements of secular architecture of the pre-Ottoman Balkans that the royal mansion

6 View of the Royal Mansion in Dedinje. Belgrade. 1922–1929. Živojin Nikolić and Viktor Lukomski. (Postcard from the mid-1930s).

resembled, but also with the early medieval type of Christian religious architecture that distinguished the adjacent royal chapel, dedicated to St. Andrew, that Viktor Lukomskii and Živko Nikolić designed in 1925–1929.[39]

This identity-construction process largely corresponded to the political act of the so-called Dictatorship of the 6 January of 1929, in which king Aleksandar I abolished parliamentary democracy and officially proclaimed the 'Yugoslav nation' in order to eliminate ethnic grievances that paralyzed the country. The king, who made himself a personification of the 'original Yugoslav,' took up residence in his new palace. The act was interpreted by the state elite as a symbolic transfer of the state's political direction into one rooted in the ideology of Yugoslav "national oneness."[40] The new residential complex became a symbol of the ethnic unity of the nation, an effective act that mirrored the regime's contemporaneous attempts to diminish the cultural discrepancies of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[41] Apparently, the identity of the king's new residence can be understood as a mirror image of the political transfer, epitomized by the official ideological motto of the time: "The king and the people." Only two years later, in 1931, this formula became a driving force for the new Yugoslav Constitution,[42] at the same time as popular photographic images of the Dedinje royal mansion were widely disseminated, fortifying this imagined Yugoslav ideal.

The king's removal from the old royal palace in the center of Belgrade to the 'genuine' national architecture of the Dedinje mansion had a strong political significance based not only on the architectural semiotics of the new building, but also on the naturalism of its environment. In the interwar period, Dedinje remained detached from the dense urban district, albeit very close to the city center. During the time when the new royal mansion was being completed, the whole area went under ideological pressure, becoming both a kind of natural and national oasis in the midst of the Yugoslav metropolis. The wooded slopes of the neighboring hills were intentionally interpreted as resembling the original dark woods of ancient Serbia (*Šumadija* is the "land of the forests"), commonly seen as both the "Yugoslav Piedmont" and the core of united and liberated Yugoslavia. The royal mansion represented only a part of an ambitiously conceived residential complex, composed not only of picturesque parks, lanes, staircases, pavilions, pools and pergolas, but also of the neighboring hills, which formed a coherent semiotic whole. The environment was extensively re-forested in order to display not only a proper frame for the king's new populist, pseudo-vernacular home, but also to create an imagined habitat for an ideal Yugoslav, reminiscent of that of the royal dynasty ancestor Karadjordje (1768–1817)[43] and thus of the genuine national culture of Serbia proper. Such a wooded ambience suggests an imagined communion of peoples without ethnic or political differences, for the design is based on an allegedly national Yugoslav architecture set in primordial Yugoslav landscape.[44] Architecture, urban setting and natural environment were purposefully fused into one coherent image that harmoniously narrated a Yugoslav identity. Ethnic diversities were hidden behind this visual metaphor of a primordial Yugoslav identity, distinguished by its authenticity,

ethnic unity and moral dignity. Subsequently, it is no wonder that the surroundings of the Dedinje royal palace became a very popular residential district for the emerging Yugoslav elite, eager to participate in the symbolic realm of the king's integrated Yugoslavism.

That is the reason why the overall character of the royal mansion was interpreted as if was spanning and fusing vernacular building and aristocratic palace, being a symbol of Yugoslav culture stretched between rural and urban, sublimely primitive and civilized.[45] The royal complex became the living metaphor of the cultural crossroads that already distinguished scholarly narratives of Yugoslavism.[46] Imagined as technologically already developed, the Yugoslav nation, symbolized by the mansion, was nonetheless deprived of the "technical agony, convulsions of power, empire and capital that had paralyzed Europe," and at the same time was far from the "paroxysm of theocracy" that distinguished the culture of the East.[47] Yugoslav civilization was anchored solely in primordial Yugoslav antiquity, still unearthed beneath layers of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian history

B. The Monument of the Unknown Hero. (1937–1938)

It is exactly this *Urbild* of the Yugoslav identity that distinguished another architectural example of primordialism, the Monument of the Unknown Yugoslav Hero (1934–1938) on the Avala Hill, in the close vicinity of Belgrade (Figs. 5, 7).[48] When King Aleksandar Karadjordjević I, only a few months before his ultimate trip to Marseille in October of 1934, decided to erect the Monument, the problem of confronting ethnic ideologies was at its peak, in spite of a series of legislative and political reforms that were enacted from 1929 in order to stabilize the country politically. The king himself introduced the architect of the Memorial: Ivan Meštrović,[49] a sculptor who played a crucial role in the forging of the new Yugoslav nation, with his design for the "St. Vitus Temple" or "Kosovo Temple" (*Vidovdanski hram* or *Kosovski hram*, 1906–1914).[50]

The decision to install the national hero's tomb at the top of a mount was particularly important as it revealed ideological connotations that the cult of the fallen national warrior were provided in the public space. It is noteworthy that after the Great War, the majority of European nations erected such monuments to commemorate the victims. At the same time, these widely popular endeavors corresponded to an ongoing processes of national cohesion.[51] While most of these memorials were built in or inserted into the historical urban tissue of national capitals (as in Paris, London, Bucharest, Sofia, etc.), the Yugoslav case is different. The natural area around of the Avala Mount,
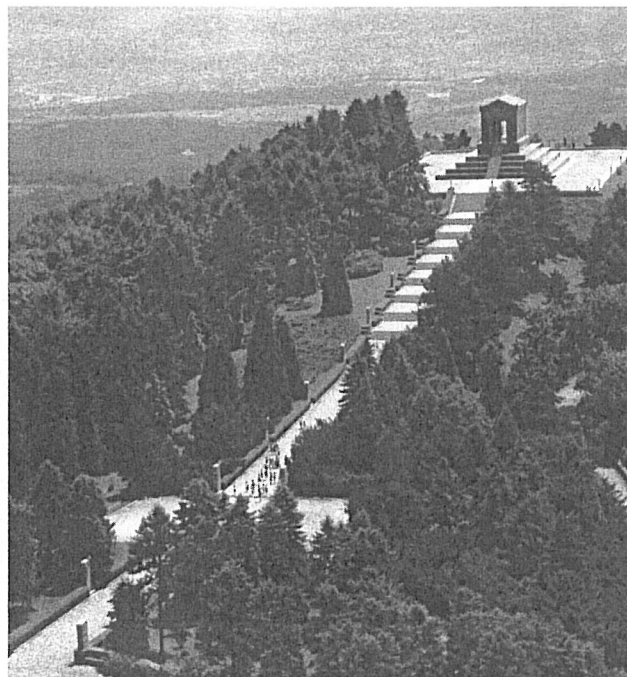
7 View from the west. Monument to the Unknown Yugoslav Hero. Avala near Belgrade. 1934–1938. Ivan Meštrović. (Author's photograph).

detached from the urban environment and the contextual references of the ex-Serbian capital, echoed the same idea as the Dedinje royal mansion had a decade previously. The structure would have to embody primordial Yugoslav identity, stretched again between sublime primitive virility of the original 'Yugoslav times of yore,' and contemporaneous European civilization. Moreover, the chosen site for the monument suggests that Yugoslavs share common cultural values that are deeply rooted in their supposed primeval core, symbolized by the mount, and not in the legacy of historical traditions that the ex-Serbian capital would have evoked. The main task of the sculptor was to re-create the assumed primeval nature of the environment. The main issue in erecting the complex became the reforestation of Avala, as the original wood that had distinguished this site was considered to be a living biological refugium, a witness of the primordial Yugoslav golden age.[52] Thus, the mountain and its flora were transformed into a living arboretum of the nation. As with Dedinje royal mansion, the purposely landscaped environment served as symbol of—in Anthony D. Smith's terms—true Yugoslav "ethnoscape."[53]

The appropriate identity and virtues of a primordial Yugoslav, effectively represented by the fallen national hero, can also be traced in the architectural iconography of
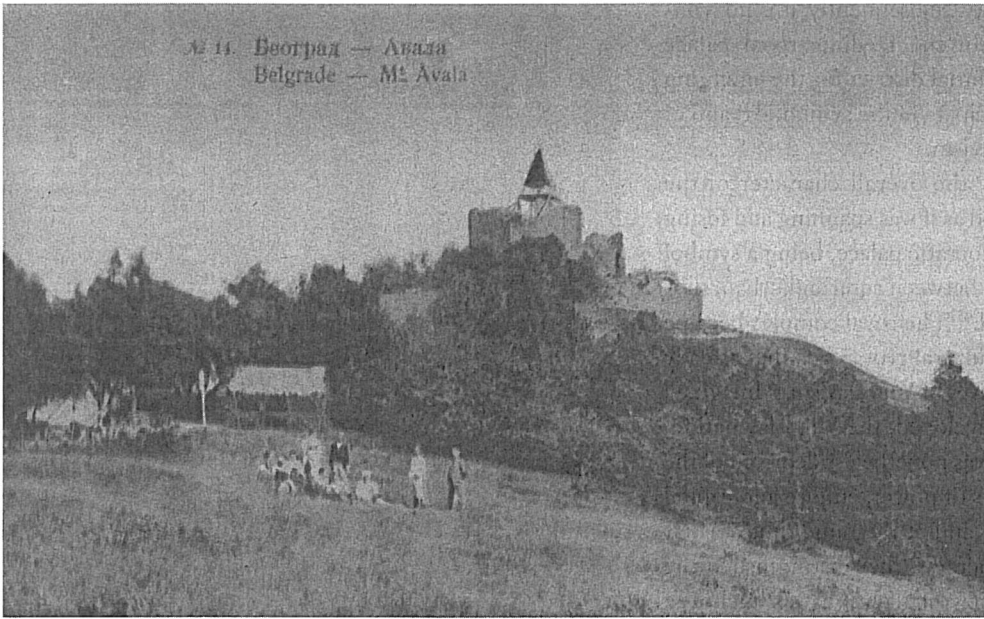
8 View of the ruined medieval town Žrnov. Avala near Belgrade. (Postcard from the 1900s).

the monument. According to the Meštrović's design, the structure, built on the top of the Mount, echoed the form of an ancient mausoleum. From 1904, such historical references were often used in Yugoslav visual repertoire.[54] The strategy suggests an imagined equilibrium between culture and nature, which—contrary to the nations of the West—distinguishes all vital archaic civilizations, in which the same formula of noble primitivism is employed. In numerous historical, ethnographical and anthropological textbooks of the time, an imagined 'Yugoslav civilization' was distinguished as a vital, archaic, primordial and, consequently, structurally equal to such ancient civilizations as those of Egypt and Greece. The resemblance of the ancient-appearing mausoleum that topped the mountain's peak, the monument of unknown Yugoslav hero, confirmed widely disseminated notions of Yugoslavs as a primeval people with a rudimentary political community, and obscured sharp ethnic divisions within Yugoslav society.

Avala was historically connected to the Serbian ethnic past, but had no direct Yugoslav connotations. The main task of the designer was to Yugoslavize the site and to eradicate its Serbian legacy, which was distinguished by the remains of the mediaeval stronghold Žrnov that had surmounted the top of the Mountain (Fig. 8).[55] King Aleksandar I himself inaugurated the construction works, ceremonially razing the ruined medieval town, despite a series of protests spruingng mainly from conservative circles of the Serbian elite.[56] The king's ceremonious act mirrored the essence of primordial Yugoslavism: to overcome real history, ethnic traditions and separated identities. The

monarch's act cannot be perceived as stemming from cultural vandalism, but as a paradigmatic model of the sacrifice of an original, historical identity, which replaced the burden of factual Serbian history with a myth that accomodated the Yugoslav nation's new prospects, and was based on primordial ties dated back to a more distant South Slavic history than the devastated remnants of the ancient Žrnov fort had witnessed.

The discursive position of both these architectural examples is very significant. These thoroughly planned and constructed *topoi*, marked by unique architectural landmarks, represented a primordial Yugoslavism. Both the Dedinje mansion and the Avala memorial demonstrate that the ideology of Yugoslavism was heavily dependent on architectural and spatial resources for a re-creation of the environment.

Architectural patterns of Yugoslav syncretism in Belgrade

C. Headquarters of the Yugoslav Ministry of Finance (1924)

Another perspective on Yugoslavism developed in the interwar period: a syncretic concept of Yugoslavism, which, rather than promoting ethnic unity, promoted a synthesis of the differing ethnic and regional traditions of the South Slavs.[57] Such a diffusionist ideology was based on both 'historic' national (i.e. Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian) characteristics and on distinctive regional qualities. Contrary to a process of homogenization, this syncretism was charac-

terized by national diversification. The syncretic focus was distinguished by the idea that existing ethnic traditions should be interwoven and amalgamated into one multifarious, yet coherent national identity. The common and widely popular name of the Yugoslavs—"Tri-tribal Nation" (*troimeni narod*)—was forged to fit exactly this syncretic pattern. In terms of political ideology, syncretism was supported by a range of policies—from realpotitik Yugoslavism to minimal Yugoslavism—that were simultaneously operative in the discourse.[58]

The official representative state symbols were based on syncretic identity pattern, as was the Yugoslav Kingdom coat of arms, composed of the three symbols of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, who were all considered to be "constitutive communities of the Kingdom."[59] Moreover, the Yugoslav national hymn was compiled from the three national anthems: the Serbian "God of Justice" (*Bože pravde*), the Croatian "Our Beautiful Homeland" (*Lijepa naša domovino*), and Slovene "Forward, Flag of Glory" (*Naprej, zastava slave*). Furthermore, the use of both Latin and Cyrillic scripts was obligatory, and the official state language, which was authorized by the 1921 and 1931 constitutions as the "Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Language,"[60] followed the same syncretic pattern. Even the three sons of King Aleksandar Karadjordjević I were christened to symbolize the three Yugoslav 'tribes': the crown prince Peter (Serb), Tomislav (Croat) and Andrej (Slovene). Therefore, it was not uncommon that the architectural culture of the time applied the same identity formula. Since historiography had already nationalized the historic architectural heritage of the region, which was explicated in line with a national 'Serbian' or 'Croatian' style, the task for the architect was to merge these traditions and to create a unified, synthetic Yugoslav architecture.

Such an architectural formula was commonly applied by combining diverse elements of historical architectural traditions—Neo-Byzantine and Neo-Romanesque styles, which were considered to be both Eastern and Western in character, according to the standardized concept of Serbian and Croatian cultural background. These architectural styles, commonly fused in representative architecture of the period, symbolized the union of Yugoslav diversity. A remarkable amount of Belgrade representative architecture testified to such an ideological fusion.

Among the variety of architectural solutions, the purest idiom of syncretic Yugoslav architecture was the so-called "Romanesque-Byzantine Style," distinguished by its unorthodox mixture of both historicist styles. One of its earliest examples was the Headquarters of the Yugoslav Ministry of Finance, designed by Dragiša Brašovan in 1924.[61]

In his first-prize competition entry the building was conceived as a hybrid of different historical references, suggesting an intercultural saturation as the conceptual essence of Yugoslav syncretism.[62] Interestingly, the locale for the Ministry was disinguished by the Serbian state as destined for the most significant site:, the building plot had been formerly occupied by the mansion of Miloš Obrenović, the first prince of modern Serbia.[63] As with the case of Avala Memorial, the new structure received a special ideological role: not only to complement, but also to overcome the ideological connotations of the site, by stressing the idea that Yugoslavism had the power to reassign the legacy of Serbian historical identity. Notwithstanding the fact that the Headquarters of the Ministry of Finance has never been built, the whole endeavor vividly illustrates the process of legitimization of ideology through architectural resources.

D. The Headquarters of the Yugoslav Post Office (1927–1929)

Another interesting case is the Yugoslav Post Office Headquarters near the Central Railway Station in Belgrade, which was built by the prolific Yugoslav architect Momir Korunović. The building had an extraordinary place in the symbolic topography of the capital. Arriving from the train, passengers were immediately faced with its multicolored appearance—a kind of urban exoticism at the time (Fig. 9). Subtle subdividing of the façades, characterized by red and yellow details, minute arcades, rose windows and turrets, in details designed to create an overall concept of the building as a specific cultural marker different from the neighboring urban environment. This 'difference' gave Korunović's work the role of a principal example of Yugoslav syncretism. Distinguished as vernacular, original, native and, consequently, as an embodiment of the "purest national spirit,"[64] the building contrasted sharply with neighboring Neoclassical edifices. The building of the Yugoslav Post Office Headquarters played a distinctive role in the semiotics of the city's topography, demonstrating the new meaning of Belgrade as the capital of large, multi-ethnic state. These ideological roles were continually performed in the public space for the square in front of the building was the key point within ceremonial processions of the Yugoslav nationalist movement "Sokol." Developed from the pre-war organization of the same name, and concerned with the idea of Slavic national liberation, the Yugoslav Sokol was associated with cultivation of the national body, and the moral renewal and rejuvenation of national spirit, and in this role complemented the ideals that the building embodied.[65]
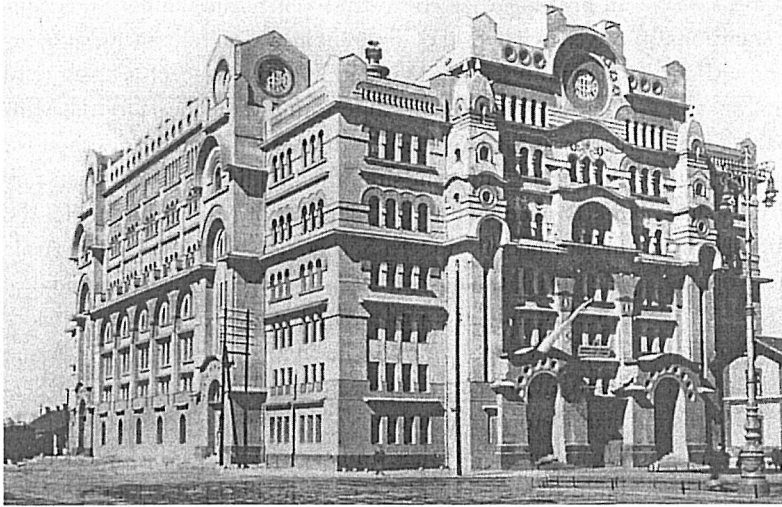
D. The Bridge on the Sava River (1929–1934)

As previously demonstrated, the fusion between the ideological connotations of architecture and its urban setting was the determining issue in the process of Yugoslavization of Belgrade. Perhaps the most prominent example of such architectural-topographical quality was the bridge on the Sava River, built to join Belgrade and Zemun (1929–1934), and named the "Bridge of King Aleksandar I the Unifier" because its construction was founded on the concept of national unity that the king incarnated in his noble title: "unity of peoples, territories and cultures into one Yugoslav entity." This huge construction (Figs. 5, 10) connected Belgrade, the ex-Serbian capital, with the ex-Habsburg town of Zemun that was traditionally assumed to be a Croatian possession. Thus it virtually spanned national territories that had been separated for many centuries until they were united in 1918.

The idea of Yugoslav national unity that the bridge embodied, was highlighted in public discourse. Even the very idea to erect a new bridge across the former Ottoman- and Serbian-Austrian border was significant. The bridge connected the "western and eastern territories of the united Yugoslavia," and was then a metaphor for the "joined Yugoslav nation that was separated by intruders who had established [artificial] borders along the Danube and Sava Rivers in the past."[66] Furthermore, the "mission of the bridge" was interpreted as following the policy of Yugoslavism that the Yugoslav political pursued during mid-1930s: "The very act of building the bridge manifests our closeness, representing the unfaltering bonds of the same ethnic descent and the same national ideals."[67]

The visual identity of the bridge, designed by Ivan Meštrović and Nikola Krasnov, was completely subordinated to this ideological agenda. Architectural arrangement, style and iconography confirmed already established narratives of Yugoslav syncretism. Apart from the use of the Romanesque-Byzantine style, the bridge was distinguished by a specific ideological role that complemented the official premises of an integral Yugoslavism. The peripheral piers of the bridge were conceived in the form of massive pillars that were intended to represent foundations or podia for colossal statues of four historic personages (Fig. 11). These were associated with both Serbian and Croatian ethno-history and the Yugoslav identity. Arranged in two pairs, they were planned to appear at each bank of the Sava River. Representations of King Tomislav (the first 'Croatian' king, 910–928) and the emperor Dušan (the most celebrated 'Serbian' king, 1331–1355), were intended to be installed on one side of the bridge, while on the opposite river bank were to be located the statues of Tvrtko I Kotromanić (1353–1391), historical king of Bosnia, and Petar I Karadjordjević, king of Serbia and the first king of Yugoslavia (1904–1921).

The ideological agenda of such an unorthodox arrangement was complex, providing evidence of the prevailing political culture of the time. According to the design, the first Yugoslav king (Petar I Karadjordjević) was related to his historical 'predecessor' (king Tvrtko I Kotromanić, who was commonly considered to be the first 'Yugoslav' king). On the opposite bank, the medieval king of Croatia faced his Serbian counterpart. This arrangement revealed a simultaneous insistence on the two concurrent narratives of Yugoslav identity, concerned with ethnic diversity and national unity. Interestingly, the iconography also supported

10 View of the Bridge of King Aleksandar I the Unifier. Belgrade. 1929–1934. Bank pylons are designed by Nikola Krasnov and Ivan Meštrović. (Postcard from the mid 1930s).

an ideological shift from a primordial to a more synthetic concept of Yugoslavism that arose after the king's assassination in Marseille in October 1934—only a month before the bridge was ceremonially opened, in the midst of national mourning. The succeeding regimes of the prime ministers Bogoljub Jeftić (1934–1935) and Milan Stojadinović (1935–1939),[68] pursued an ideology of Yugoslavism as "the new amalgam" that represented "an apotheosis of the most prominent attitudes of Serbian, Croatian and Slovene identity, and that condemned any negation of the name and honor of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes."[69] In the context of the late 1930s, the bridge retained its ideological place, continually manifesting the idea of Yugoslav synthesis.

The bridge, with a elaborate iconography and architectural style, along with a prominent position in the symbolic topography of Belgrade, embodied a compromising ideological formula that reconciled the two diverse concepts of Yugoslavism—primordialism and syncretism.[70] Implicitly, however, the iconography attached to the bridge suggested the officially proscribed political ideals of Croatian and Serbian historical states rights. The words of Ivan Meštrović—he was becoming as more skeptical of Yugoslavism as new political winds began to blow during the 1930s—illustrate the underlying ideological agenda of the bridge:

As the bridge was designed to join territories of our two principal provinces, Serbia and Croatia,[71] the piles installed at the Belgrade and Zemun banks have to be decorated by the four great characters from national
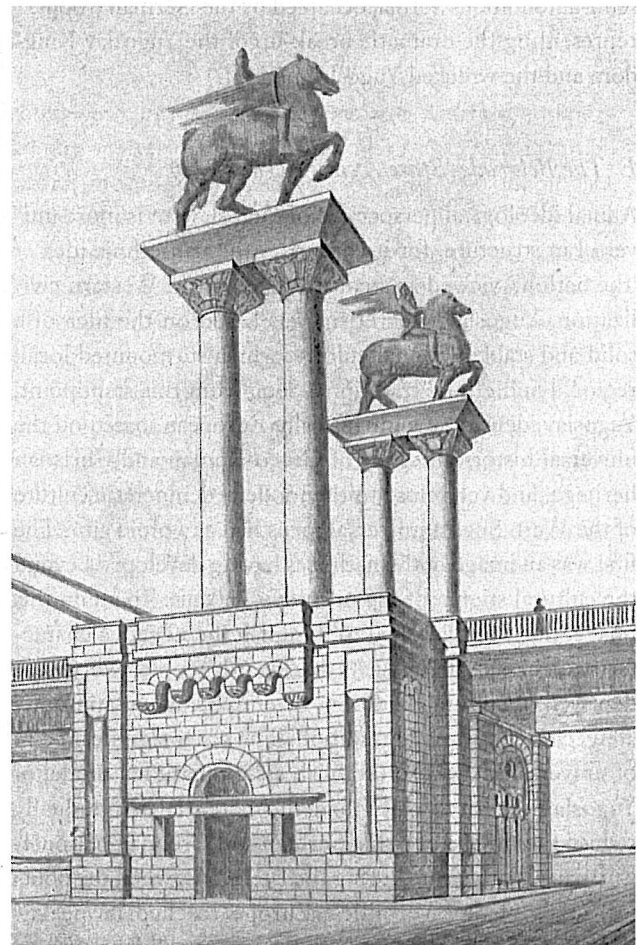
11 Drawing of sculptures representing two historical characters. Bridge of King Aleksandar the Unifier. 1929–1934. Nikola Krasnov and Ivan Meštrović (from: Ivan Meštrović. *Meštrović.* 1933)

histories, conceived as equestrian statues (Emperor Dušan, King Tomislav, King Tvrtko, and King Peter).[72]

Meštrović's interpretation undeniably suggested a kind of symbiosis of Yugoslavism with the particular nationalisms of the competing ethnic groups. This resurrected the political mythology of a 'Greater Serbia' (*Velika Srbija*) and the 'Tripartite Croatian Kingdom' (*Trojednica*).[73] In this way, the decorative scheme of the bridge revealed the complex ideology of the time, stressing a syncretic vision of Yugoslavism that was shaded by the rising clouds of Serbian and Croatian nationalism. Rather than representing a visual symbol of national harmony, the iconography of the bridge became a symbol of national discord. In the wake of World War II, when the Banate of Croatia (Banovina Hrvatska) was installed in the late summer of 1939,[74] the Sava River again became the border between the Croats and Serbs. Since the early days of April 1941, the heavily damaged bridge has separated the Independent State of Croatia and semi-autonomous Serbia, occupied by the German troops,[75] representing the dramatic break-up of the Yugoslav Kingdom and the wrecked Yugoslav nation.

E. The Belgrade 'State Axis' (1918–1941)

A final ideological perspective of Yugoslavism is more universal in structure, for it comprises the pan-ethnic idea of 'the nation,' viewed as a constitutive part of Western civilization. Yugoslav syncretism was based on the idea of a solid and stable national culture, which surmounted local, regional and ethnic traditions. Seen from this standpoint, Yugoslav identity was intrinsically European, based on the universal historical legacy of Greco-Roman and Christian heritage, and very close to the modern democratic culture of the West. Such a universal focus had a twofold aim. The first was an image of the nation as having developed beyond the cultural stigma of the primitive Balkans. To attain this image, the Yugoslavs had to diminish the negative characteristics of its citizens as a backward people, who were deprived of cultural tradition, by employing an 'appropriately' chosen historical tradition. The other significant aim of universalism was to establish a supranational model of Yugoslav identity, which had the potential to gradually reduce the threats of rising Serbian and Croatian nationalism, particularly acute during the late 1930s, when the political crisis of the 'Versailles' Europe reached its peak.[76] Yugoslav political elite of the time, governed by the authority of the regent prince Pavle Kradjordjević, believed that an ideological re-orientation of the nation would ultimately solve Yugoslav national question and stabilize the state,

which was threatened by political disorder in the approaching war.

Opposite to primordial and syncretic standpoints, the epistemology of Yugoslav universalism was based mainly on interpretations of the past concerned with the concept of history as cumulative legacy. Accordingly, the Yugoslav elite insisted on the idea that the national culture was rooted in a major historical strata of the 'Yugoslav' soil—beginning with Greek and Roman antiquity, and ending with the contemporaneous culture of European avant-gardism. Such a complexity of the Yugoslav cultural heritage provided profoundly important ideological mechanisms of national identity, similar to those of other national culture amongst the so-called 'European latecomers.'[77]

In the public discourse the process was put on a firm basis with a representative architectural culture, defined by the master narratives of positivism, progressivism and evolutionism.[78] In the architectural and urban topography of Belgrade in particular, the ideological agenda of Yugoslav universalism was mobilized with a series of rhetorical figures that were monumentalized in the historical axis of the Kneza Miloša Street (Figs. 5, 12). This urban prospect had gradually developed throughout 19th-century Serbian national emancipation. It constituted a strict urban framework that connected the outpost of the Serbian princely court in Topčider and the Ottoman town center.[79] Over the course of the first half of the 20th century, it represented a symbol of patriotism and a de-Ottomanization program, complemented with an agenda of Europeanization, that was consolidated in 1918. Simultaneously representing a symbol of modern 19th-century Serbia and 20th-century Yugoslavia, this prospect played significant role in the architectural culture of the interwar period.

The profound, albeit underlying, ideological agenda of this grand avenue, which connected the major governmental headquarters of the Yugoslav Kingdom, was further developed and officially reinforced by the two major urban plans of Belgrade: the Master Plan of 1923 (by Grigory Pavlovich Kovalyevsky), the General Plan of 1927 (by Jovan Obradović), and the General Plan of 1938 (by Milica Krstić).[80] These urban large-scale projects underlined the implicit ideological program of the 'state axis.' Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, this axis was a gathering line for numerous governmental palaces—beginning with the National Assembly House (architect Jovan Ilkić, 1906–1936), and ending with the National Mint (architect Josif Najman, 1926–1927) and the National Printing House (architect Dragiša Brašovan, 1933–1939). Along the Kneza Miloša Street, huge government seats gradually transformed the Belgrade cityscape into the wishful image of a 'European' capital, fortified by the
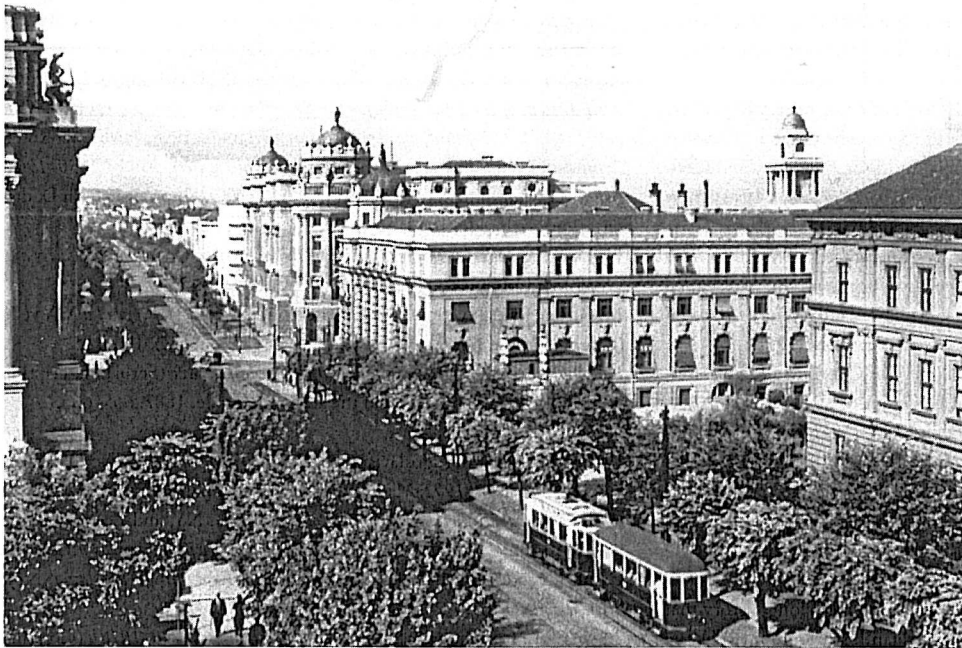
12 View of the Kneza Miloša Street. Before 1938. (Postcard from the late 1930s).

pompous architectural rhetoric of the numerous ministerial headquarters.[81] All these grand and monumental edifices were placed on this single spatial axis, which now connected downtown to the royal mansion in Dedinje. The axis performed a central role in the Yugoslav triumph of 1918, simultaneously representing and clouding the rigid, central policy of the Yugoslav regime that was symbolically represented by the neo-historical styles, that distinguished majority of these monumental buildings.[82] Notwithstanding the particular architectural style of each, these buildings coalesced in the same value system that placed Yugoslavia within the orbit of civilized European nations. The architecture of historicism—and also of the late 1930s Modernism—was appropriate for these objectives, widely shared by the Yugoslav elite, irrespective of their political and ethnic background. It is noteworthy that very similar identity-construction processes were effective in other political outcomes of the Treaty of Versailles: in Czechoslovakia,[83] Poland,[84] Lithuania[85] and Estonia.[86]

* * *

Since the mid-19th century, Belgrade—the capital of Serbia and, from 1918, of Yugoslavia, was in a constant state of change. Representative architecture of the city rapidly transformed, and there were fundamental changes in the structure of the population. These changes, however, do not represent the aftermath of the social, economic and political modernization that the city undoubtedly witnessed, but

can be viewed as constitutive elements within the nation-building processes. Alterations of the city's urban and architectural morphology resulted from different ideological perspectives, based on a culture of discontinuity, rather than on the cohabitation of histories, traditions and cultures. This general feature distinguishes the diverse, competing and complementary ideologies of both Serbian national emancipation and of Yugoslavism.

The architectural culture of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia indicates that its diverse ideologies were far from being abstract political language. On the contrary, these were systematically introduced in Belgrade architecture and cityscape, confirming the substantially material constitution of this ideological system,[87] but it also signifies that architecture was more important as resource for ideology, than as a background for public performance. The fact that Yugoslavism has brought tremendous changes to the social and political structure of interwar Yugoslav society is indicative of a perspective on architecture that has shifted from issues of style and aesthetics to questions of ideology. From such a standpoint, architecture is fundamentally concerned with representation and the imposition of an imagined reality. It also appears that neither political ideology, nor architectural styles are concerned with fixed and permanent meanings. Instead, within the process of a discursive construction of national identity, both political ideologies and architectural styles are supplied with constantly changing connotations, that are mutually interwoven into the discourse.

Notes:

1. Miroslav Krleža. "Teze za jednu diskusiju iz godine 1935" (Theses of a discussion from 1935), *Deset krvavih godina* (Ten years of blood). Zagreb. 1957.

2. That is the Althusserian concept: ideologies cannot exist solely in the form of abstract notions, or their conscious representations, but are rather governed by material practices. See: Louis Althusser. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays* [1971]. New York. 2001. 121–176.

3. Michel Foucault. "Two Lectures," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews* (ed: Gordon Colin). New York. 1980. See also: Jorge Larrain. *Ideology and Cultural Identity*. Cambridge. 1994; Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace. *A Focault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject*. New York. 1997.

4. *Istorija Beograda* (History of Belgrade). (ed: Vasa Čubrilović). 3 vols. Belgrade. 1974; *Istorija Beograda* (History of Belgrade). (ed: Nikola Tasić). Belgrade. 1995; Pedja Marković. *Beograd i Evropa 1918–1941: evropski uticaji na proces modernizacije Beograda* (Belgrade and Europe 1918–1941: European influences on modernization of Belgrade). Belgrade. 1992; Vladímir Ćorović. *Kratka historija Beograda* (Brief history of Belgrade). Belgrade. 1927; Milan Đ. Milićević. *Stare slike srpske prestonice* (Old images of the Serbian capital). Belgrade. 1902.

5. Interpretative stereotype of the "Oriental town" has a long history that was developed from nineteenth-century Serbian historiography. For the most suggesting narrative see: Divna Djurić Zamolo. *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima 1521–1867* (Belgrade as the oriental town under the Turkish rule 1521–1867). Belgrade. 1977.

6. Amongst similar narratives these listed below are worth reviewing: Divna Djurić Zamolo. *Izgradnja i urbanistički razvoj, Beograd u XIX veku* (Growth and urban development of Belgrade in the nineteenth century). Belgrade. 1967; Branko Maksimović. *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda 1830–1941* (Urbanism of Belgrade between plans and reality 1830–1941). Belgrade. 1983; Branko Maksimović. *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Conecptual development of Serbian urbanism: reconstruction of cities until 1941). Belgrade. 1978; Branko Maksimović. *Urbanistički razvitak Beograda od 1815–1941* (Urban development of Belgrade 1815–1941). Belgrade. 1970; Branko Maksimbvić. *Razvoj Beograda van građevinskog rejona krajem XIX veka* (Growth of Belgrade beyond the entrenched city area at the end of the nineteenth century). Belgrade. 1968.

7. Diana Mishkova. "The Uses of Tradition and National Identity in the Balkans," *Nation and Memory*. (ed: Maria Todorova). London. 2004. 269–293.

8. See: *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka. Uloga elita* (Serbia within process of modernization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the Elite). (ed: Latinka Perović). Belgrade. 2003.

9. Justin McCarthy. *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821–1922*. Princeton. 1995.

10. Rašid-bej. *Istorija čudnovatih dogadjaja u Beogradu i Srbiji* (History of marvelous events in Belgrade and Serbia). Belgrade. 1894; Abdulah Tulundžić. "Batal-džamija u Beogradu" (The Batal Mosque in Belgrade). *Most*. Vol. XXIX. no. 181 (2004).

11. Aleksandar Kadijević. "U traganju za uzorima Doma Narodne skupštine" (In search of models for the House of National Assembly). *Nasledje*. VI (2005). 45–54.

12. Emilijan Josimović. *Objasnenje predloga za regulisanje onoga dela varoši Beograda, što leži u Šancu: sa jednim litografisanim planom u razmeri 1/3000* (Explanation of the reconstruction proposal for the entrenched part of the city of Belgrade, with a lithographic plan in the scale: 1/3000). Belgrade. 1997 (originally published in 1867).

13. Stevan Zarić. *Plan Beograda 1:4000* (Plan of Belgrade in the scale 1:4000). Belgrade. 178.

14. Branko Maksimović. *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Conceptual development of Serbian urbanism: reconstruction of cities until 1941). Belgrade. 1978. 19 ff; Miloš R. Perović (ed.). *Lessons of the Past: Study for the Reconstruction of the Central Part of the New Belgrade and of the Sava Amphitheatre*. Belgrade. 1985. 7; Mirjana Roter. *Arhitektura građevina javnih namena izgrađenih u Beogradu od 1830–1900. godine* (Civic architecture in Belgrade, 1830–1900) (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). Belgrade. 1994. 46–47.

15. David A. Norris. *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity*. London and New York. 1999. 100.

16. Gustav Raš. "'Svetionik istoka" (Beacon of the East), *Beograd u XIX veku* (Belgrade in the Nineteenth century) (ed: Nada Andrić). 1968. 65.

17. Vladimir Karić. *Srbija. Opis zemlje, naroda i države* (Serbia: description of the country, the peoples and the state). Belgrade. 1887. 665–666.

18. Ibid.. 664.

19. On the interwar Yugoslavism see: Dejan Djokic. *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918–1992*. Madison, WI. 2003; Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca, NY, and London. 1988. 98–102; John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country*. Cambridge. 2000. 71–194; John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia*. New York, 2000. 13–63.

20. Milorad Ekmečić. *Stvaranje Jugoslavije: 1780–1918* (Creating Yugoslavia: 1780–1918). 2 vols. Belgrade. 1989.

21. Between 1918 and 1929, the country was named the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; in 1929, the new name of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was officially inaugurated.

22. Andrew B. Wachtel. *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia*. Palo Alto, CA. 1998. 67–127; Aleksandar Ignjatović. *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904–1941* (Yugoslavism in architecture, 1904–1941). Belgrade. 2007.

23. Jovo Bakić. *Ideologije jugoslovenstva izmedju srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma 1918–1941. Sociološko-istorijska studija* (Ideologies of Yugoslavism between Serbian and Croatian nationalism, 1918–1941. A socio-historical study). Zrenjanin. 2004.

24. Ljubodrag Dimić. *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941* (Cultural policy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1918–1941). 3 vols. Belgrade. 1996. I. 38–43; Marković. Work cited in note 4. 117–151.

25. Marković. Work cited in note 4. 50. The most comprehended scholarly account of the interwar architecture of Belgrade suggests that "[i]n the short interwar period of just twenty years Belgrade was transformed from a provincial Balkan center into what could be seen as a modern European capital of the 1930s." Ljiljana Blagojević. *Modernism in Serbia: the Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture 1919–1941*. Cambridge, MA. 2003. 127.

26. Slobodan Vidaković. "Rezultat popisa stasnovništva Beograda" (Listings of the Belgrade population census), *Beogradske opštinske novine*, VII (1929). 3–10.

27. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva* (Definitive listing of the [1931] Census). Sarajevo. 1932.

28. As the aftermath of the Communist Revolution and the Civil War in Russia, a tidal wave of refugees flooded European countries. Around 30,000 of them have settled in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. See: Dimić, work cited in note 24. III. 135–136; Miroslav Jovanović. *Ruska emigracija na Balkanu 1920–1940* (Russian emigrants in Serbian and other Slavic cultures). Belgrade. 2006; *Ruska emigracija u srpskoj i drugim slovenskim kulturama. Teze referata na Međunarodnom naučnom simpozijumu* (Russian emigrants in Serbian and other Slavic cultures. Proceedings of the international conference). (ed: Miodrag Sibinović). Belgrade. 1997.

29. Marković, work cited in note 4. 154.

30. Ibid. 117–124; Blagojević. work cited in note 25. 125–174.

31. Blagojević, work cited in note 25. 128.

32. Slobodan Vidaković. "Arhitektura Beograda i komunalna politika" (Architecture of Belgrade and communal policy), *Beogradske opštinske novine.* XII (1932). 787 ff.

33. See, for instance: Viktor Novak. *Antologija jugoslovenske misli i narodnog jedinstva (1390–1930)* (Anthology of Yugoslav idea and national unity, 1390–1930). Belgrade. 1930.

34. The problem of competing narratives of Yugoslavism is elaborated in: Aleksandar Ignjatović. *Jugoslovenski identitet u arhitekturi izmedju 1904. i 1941. godine* (Yugoslav identity and architecture, 1904–1941). (Ph.D. dissertation). Belgrade. 2005. 17–103. For political dimensions of Yugoslavism see: Bakić, work cited in note 23.

35. See: Banac, work cited in note 19. 98–109; Dimić, work cited in note 24. Vol. I. 285 ff; Ljubodrag Dimić. *Srbi i Jugoslavija: prostor, društvo, politika* (Serbs and Yugoslavia: extent, society, politics). Belgrade. 1998. 119–120; Nikola Žutić. "Ideologija jugoslovenstva i njeno raspadanje (1929–1939)" (Ideology of Yugoslavism and its break-up, 1929–1939), *Istorijski glasnik.* Vols. I–II (1988). 63–90; Branislav Gligorijević. "Jugoslovenstvo izmedju dva rata: protivrečnosti nacionalne politike" (Interwar Yugoslavism: contradictions of national policy), *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis.* Vol. XXI. Nos. 1–4 (1986). 96 ff; Dragoslav Janković. "Jugoslovenstvo u Srbiji 1903–1912" (Yugoslavism in Serbia, 1903–1912), *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu.* Vols. V–VI (1969). 523–533; Bakić, work cited in note 23.

36. Homi K. Bhabha. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margings of Modern Nation," in: *Nation and Narration.* London. 1990. 291–322.

37. Ignjatović, work cited in note 22. 179–192.

38. See, for example, the most prominent contemporaneous interpretation of Yugoslav vernacular architecture: Branislav Kojić. "Balkanska profana arhitektura" (Vernacular architecture of the Balkans), *Srpski književni glasnik.* XI, no. 4 (1933). 273–281; Branislav Kojić. "O balkanskoj profanoj arhitekturi" (On vernacular architecture of the Balkans), *Tehnički list.* XVII, nos. 1–2 (1935). 1–6. For the traditional interpretation of the same building type as the "Byzantine house,"adopted by Kojić himself, see: Jovan Cvijić. "Kulturni pojasi Balkanskog poluostrva" (Cultural strips of the Balkan Peninsula), *Srpski književni glasnik.* VI, no. 4 (1902). 907–921.

39. Aleksandar Kadijević. *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila u srpskoj arhitekturi (sredina XIX– sredina XX veka)* (A century of quest for the national style in Serbian architecture, 1850–1950). Belgrade. 1997. 164. Interestingly, a similar ideological interpretation of the same building type was simultaneously launched within the architectural culture of Turkey. In order to construct a vivid, contra-Ottoman narrative and to oppose its aristocratic attitudes as unwelcome in the secular state of Kemal Atatürk, the oriental house was distinguished as essentially Turkish, and not Ottoman in character. Sibel Bozdoğan. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic.* Seattle and London. 2001. 36 ff.

40. "Nj. V. Kralj poklonio je Novi dvor za kraljevski muzej umetnosti i arheologije" (His Majesty the King has donated the New Royal Palace to become the royal museum of art and archaeology). *Beogradske opštinske novine.* LII, no. 6 (1934). 469–470.

41. Ignjatović, work cited in note 34. 241–244.

42. Dimić, work cited in note 24. Vol. I. 285–294.

43. Being the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804), Karadjordje Petrović was the founder of the Serbian House of Karadjordjević.

44. Aleksandar Ignjatović. "Od istorijskog sećanja do zamišljanja nacionalne tradicije: Spomenik Neznanom junaku na Avali, 1934–1938" (From historical memory to imagery of national tradition: the Monument of the Unknown Warrior on Avali, 1934–1938), *Istorija i sećanje: studije istorijske svesti* (History and memory: studies of culture of memory) (ed: Olga Mano-

jlović Pintar). Belgrade. 2006. 259–292.

45. Branko Lazarević. "Kojim putem?" (Where to go?). *Srpski književni glasnik.* Vol. IV. No. 4 (1921). 281–291; Miloš Djurić. "Kulturna misija Slovena" (Cultural mission of the Slavs). *Srpski književni glasnik.* XI, no. 7 (1921). 523–530, no. 8 (1921). 605–612; Vladimir Dvorniković. "Psiha jugoslovenske melanholije" (Psyche of Yugoslav melancholy). *Delo.* XXXVII, no. 9–12 (1991). 326 ff.

46. In contemporaneous literature and the arts such stereotyped imagery was based upon distinctive tradition of imagining *ante* historical harmony between nature and civilization that antedated racial, ethnic and national partition of the humanity, based on the two concepts of primitivism—positivist and evolutionist. The Dedinje mansion and its artificially naturalized surrounding were ideologically akin to these notions, representing a symbolical diffusion of them. This tradition of imagining golden ages, distinguished in European philosophical discourse from Hesiod to Jean Jacques Rousseau, represented important epistemological source for the builders of the Yugoslav nation. The new royal complex was not, however, imagined according to extreme, postitivst primitivism of the "Aera sub lege" that imposed noble, original purity of primordial age, nor it was negativist primitivism that believed in the superiority of human progress over the primitive forms of society, regarded as equal to bestiality. On concepts of primitivism see: Arthur O. Lovejoy, George Boas. *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity.* Baltimore. 1997; Frances C. Connelly. *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725–1907.* Penn. State University Press. 1994; Arthur O. Lovejoy. *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas.* Baltimore. 1948.

47. Djurić, work cited in note 45. 527.

48. Ignjatović, work cited in note 44. For primary archival sources see: Archive of Yugoslavia, f. 74–242, op. 365, 369; Ivan Meštrović. *Uspomene na političke ljude i dogadjaje* (Memories of politicians and political events). Zagreb. 1969; Ivan Meštrović. *Meštrović.* Zagreb. 1933.

49. Elizabeth Clegg. *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920.* London. 2006. 177–180; Laurence Schmeckebier. *Ivan Meštrović: Sculptor and Patriot.* Syracuse. NY, 1959.

50. Ignjatović. work cited in note 22. 43–60 et passim.

51. George L. Mosse. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars.* Oxford. 1991. 53–157; Anthony D. Smith. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity.* Oxford and New York. 2003. 218–253.

52. Nada Jovović. *Avala.* Belgrade. 2003. 84.

53. Ethnoscapes are nationalized landscapes "in which landscape and people are merged subjectively over time and each belongs to the other": Smith, work cited in note 51. 136.

54. Ignjatović, work cited in note 22. 40–306.

55. On medieval fortress on Avala see: Djurdje Bošković. "Grad Žrnov" (Town of Žrnov), *Starinar,* XV. 1940. 70–91; Aleksandar Deroko. *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji* (Medieval towns in Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia). Belgrade. 1950. 101–102.

56. A few professional institutions in Belgrade governed the protests: Society of the Connoisseurs, the Museum of Art History, the Institute of Folklore Art, and the Club of Architects. See: Djurdje Bošković. "Ispitivanje i rušenje grada na Avali" (Examination and demolition of the Avala town), *Starinar.* X–XI. 1935–1936. 144–145.

57. See: Ignjatović, work cited in note 22. 307–426; Wachtel, work cited in note 22. 67–127.

58. Dimić, work cited in note 24. Vol. I; Bakić, work cited in note 23.

59. Aleksandar Solovjev. *Istorija srpskog grba* (Serbian coat of arms: a history). Belgrade. 2000. 150–151.

60. Dragoslav Janković and Mirko Mirković. *Državnopravna istorija Jugoslavije* (Juridical history of Yugoslavia). Belgrade. 1984. 311–315; Ferdo

Čulinović. *Državnopravna historija jugoslavenskih zemalja XIX. i XX. vijeka* (Juridical history of Yugoslav countries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). 2 vols. Zagreb. 1956. II. 267–271.

61. See: Aleksandar Ignjatović. *Arhitektonski počeci Dragiše Brašovana 1906–1919*. Belgrade. 2003. 30.

62. For the comprehensive account on formal architectural devices in the poetics of Dragiša Brašovan that were provided a special role in constructing ideology of syncretism see: Ignjatović, work cited in note 61. 57–68; Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Srednjoevropski kontekst u ranom delu Dragiše Brašovana" (Central European context in the formative years of Dragiša Brašovan), *Godišnjak grada Beograda*. XLIV–L (2002–2003). 143–167.

63. Miloš Obrenović was Prince of Serbia from 1815 to 1839, and again from 1858 to 1860. Under his rule, Serbia became semi-autonomous dukedom within the Ottoman Empire. On problematic issues concerned with the site see: Bogdan Nestorović. "Postakademizam u arhitekturi Beograda (1919–1941)" (Late academic architecture of Belgrade, 1919–1941), *Godiš 'njak grada Beograda*. XX (1973). 378. n. 16. For the competition, concerning architecture of the building see: "Konkurs za izradu skica za novu palatu Ministarstva Finansija" (Competition for preliminary sketches for the Ministry of Finance Headquarters), *Tehnički list*. VI, no. 11 (1924). iii. Preliminary actions for the competition were extensive, starting from the Ministry announcement of the architectural competition in late 1923. The competition was launched in June 1924, when 8 entries, amongst 28 arrived, were rewarded, including the Brašovan's winning project. See: "Rezultat stečaja za izradu skica za palatu Ministarstva Finansija u Beogradu" (Competition outcomes for the Ministry of Finance Headquarters), *Tehnički list*. VI, no. 18 (1924). 230; "Izložba skica za novu palatu Ministarstva finansija" (Exhibition of the sketches for the new Ministry of Finance Headquarters), *Politika* (31. 8. 1924).

64. "Not only architectural moldings are folklorist in character, but also the overall appearance [of the building] corresponds to folkloric design of our domestic people": "Tri nove poštanske palate u Beogradu" (Three new postal edifices in Belgrade), *Vreme* (19. 5. 1928).

65. For the Yugoslav Sokol movement see: Dušan Cvetković. *Sokoli i sokolski sletovi 1862–1941* (Sokols and Sokol jamborees, 1862–1941). Belgrade. 1998; Dimić, work cited in note 24. II. 425–455. For general account on the Slavic Sokol movement see: Claire E. Nolte. *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2003.

66. "Most Viteškog Kralja Aleksandra I Ujedinitelja svečano je osvećen i predat saobraćaju" (The Bridge of King Aleksandar I the Unifier is ceremonially consecrated and opened), *Beogradske opštinske novine*. LIII, no. 12 (1934). 862.

67. In the words of Belgrade major Milutin Petrović: "Most Viteškog Kralja Aleksandra I Ujedinitelja svečano je osvećen i predat saobraćaju," from article cited above,. 867.

68. See: Lampe, work cited in note 19. 163–200; Jacob B. Hoptner. *Yugoslavia in Crisis: 1934–1941*. New York. 1963.

69. Dimić, work cited in note 24. Vol. I. 339.

70. For the comprehensive account see: Ignjatović, work cited in note 34. 416–422.

71. It is important to note that until autumn of 1939 neither Serbia nor Croatia were official political entities within interwar Yugoslavia.

72. *Meštrović*. Zagreb. 1933. cxv.

73. A succinct description of these political concepts comprises classical study of Banac, work cited in note 19. 70–114.

74. The Banate of Croatia (1939–1941) was established as a province of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in August of 1939, as an exception amongst the other Banates of Yugoslavia (installed by king Aleksandar I in 1929), which deliberately avoided historical, ethnic or religious boundaries. This ethnic-based province was a result of compromise between the Yugoslav authorities and the Croat political leaders that were continually pursuing the policy of Croatian autonomy over the course of the 1920s and 1930s.

75. Since 1945 Zemun and the province of Srem were integrated in the Republic Of Serbia.

76. Lampe, work cited in note 19. 163–200; Hoptner. Work cited in note 68.

77. See: Eric Hobsbawm. *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991*. New York. 1996. 178–198; Mark Mazower. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York. 2000. 41–75.

78. Ignjatović, work cited in note 34. 479–506.

79. Katarina Mitrović. *Topčider—dvor kneza Miloša* (Topčider—Knez Miloš's court). Belgrade. 2008.

80. Svetlana Nedić. *Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda iz 1923. godine* (Master plan of Belgrade from 1923). Belgrade. 1977; Branko Bojović. "Urbanizam Beograda u XIX i XX veku" (Urban development of Belgrade in the Nineteenth and Twentieth century), *Godišnjak grada Beograda*. XLIX–L (2002–2003). 109–130; Perović. (ed.), work cited in note 14; Maksimović. *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda: 1830–1941* (Urbanism of Belgrade between plans and reality 1830–1941). Belgrade. 1983.

81. Ministry of Finance (Nikola Krasnov, 1924–1928), the Palace of Ministry of Forestry and Mining, and Ministry of Agriculture (Nikola Nestorović and Dragiša Brašovan, redesigned by Nikola Krasnov, 1926–1926), the Yugoslav Army Headquarters (Viljem Baumgarten, 1928), Ministry of Transportation (Svetozar Jovanović, 1927–1931), Ministry of Construction and Public Works (Gojko Todić, 1938–1941), Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health (Dimitrije Leko, 1932–1933). Aleksandar Kadijević. *Estetika arhitekture akademizma (XIX–XX vek)* (Aesthetics of the architecture of academism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). Belgrade. 2005. 346 ff.

82. Ignjatović, wited in note 34. 490–491.

83. Rostislav Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague, 1895–1945*. Cambridge, Mass. and London. 1995; Vladimír Šlapeta, "Competing Ideas in Czechoslovakian Architecture," *East European Modernism: Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland Between the Wars*. London. 1996. 37–55.

84. Olgierd Czerner, "Formal Directions in Polish Architecture," *East European Modernism: Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland Between the Wars*. 181–199.

85. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė, "Between Modernity and Tradition: Lithuanian Architecture and its Decoration between the Two World Wars," *Centropa*, II, no. 3 (2002). 221–229.

86. Mart Kalm, "To National Identity from Invented Historic Architecture: An Aspect of the State Architecture of the Estonian Republic," *Centropa*, II, no. 3, (2002). 213–220.

87. Slavoj Žižek. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London. 1989.