

# HERITAGE

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BETWEEN THE SCEPTRE AND  
THE KEY: NATIONAL IDENTITY  
AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE  
IN BELGRADE AND SERBIA, IN THE  
NINETEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF  
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

When the Church of St. George in Smederevo was finished in 1855, it was one of the first indications which course the current Serbian architecture was following (fig. 1). With its five domes, intentionally evoking mediaeval architecture, and its high belfry as a remnant of the architectural model of Central European churches, the Church of St. George comprised all the complexity of the Serbian architectural culture. It was, however, an impressive image of the direction taken by the search for national identity in the majority of European societies of the time: the search for national roots among the whirls of ancient past and the discovery of Golden Age, but it was also the outline of the characteristics and borders of national contemporariness. Despite the request of the authorities in Smederevo that the church community should bring „an experienced builder from the other side of the Sava and the Danube to see the monastery of Manasija, copy the plan and build the new church on that model“,<sup>1</sup> and although such a politics of building were supported by the Minister of Confessions, the church reveals an explicit cultural dichotomy. The nineteenth-century travellers through Smederevo described the church as a combination of „Byzantine“ and „Western“ architectural styles „where the western part [of the church] was a copy of the Belgrade cathedral and eastern, with its five domes, was modelled on the church of the Manasija monastery“;<sup>2</sup> contemporary studies of architecture recognized, described and interpreted the „compilation of architectural features from different epochs“,<sup>3</sup> and „the linking of two architectural worlds“.<sup>4</sup> This union of two worlds – the atavistic world of historic authenticity and the desire to belong to, and participate in, the contemporary European civilization – the substance of this important building and its stylistic hybridity have been used by historiography to indicate the turning point in the transition of Serbian religious architecture. Nevertheless, this seemingly bizarre combination was not only the result of a crisis in architectural models, nor a transitory



Fig. 1. Andreja Damjanov, the Church of St. George, Smederevo, 1850-1855 (author's photograph)

architectural solution that would soon be overcome by different architectural formulations of Orthodox churches for the Serbian communities. The obvious hybridity was in fact a *longue durée* structure within the context of architectural culture in modern Serbia – from the dawning in the eighteenth to the middle of the twentieth century.

The connotations of the „eclectic union of the Baroque front and the 'Manasija-like' domes" in the church in Smederevo are symptomatic not only of the context of „eclectic challenges of the epoch"<sup>5</sup> but also of the long and complicated process of the construction of national identity endured by the Serbian society and the Serbian modern state after its emancipation from the Ottoman Empire. Although such an unusual union of different architectural and stylistic elements in one building was not repeated – after several churches had been built by the same Ottoman architect Andreja Damjanov in Orthodox church communities in the Balkan regions of the Empire<sup>6</sup> – such an impressive duality still survived in the architectural culture of modern Serbia.

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The ambivalent architecture of the church in Smederevo is only a material evidence of a complex constructive process of the Serbian national identity, begun simultaneously with the political mechanisms of national emancipation in the late eighteenth century and which, in a certain sense, continued far into the twentieth century. On the one hand, the process was marked by the phenomenon of „Europeanization“ in the constitution of the modern Serbian state and society. At the same time, its other part comprised the culture of national authenticity – through narratives of an original Serbian, specific and unique identity totally different from the character of West European civilization. Paradoxically, this duality – characteristic of the process of modernization in almost all the Balkan countries – also implied references to a particular historic and ethnographic tradition and the progress that supplemented and abolished that tradition.<sup>7</sup> The process of modernization encompassed an expressive insistence on various national genealogies and institutional procedures, while supporting the ideals of historicism and progress. These ideals were complementary, and represented – like the front and the reverse – two sides of the same coin of a modern nation and its identity.<sup>8</sup>

The relationship between tradition and modernism in Serbia was complex and had different ideological outlooks.<sup>9</sup> One assumed a comparative and evolutionary nature of that relationship, the other a conservative and extremely exclusive quality, and the third a complementary nature of the relationship. In the first, the Europeanization and modernization were interpreted as a specific return to historic traditions of the Serbian people, the second and the third reflected a major determinism in this differentiation of „authentic“ Serbian and „European“ identities.<sup>10</sup> Their simultaneity in the context of the structuring of the Serbian national identity is very indicative and points to a complex, not linear nature of the discourse of modernity.

This seemingly ambivalent nature of discourse essentially defined the constructive process of Serbian national identity in architecture. Although it was recognized as „a lasting and most important characteristic of the Serbian religious architecture“,<sup>11</sup> historiography interpreted it superficially and concisely, with an almost obligatory application of the model of „conflict“, as in: „a conflict between tradition expressed by the typical, and innovation expressed by the atypical“,<sup>12</sup> or as „a conflict between two opposing ideals – the ideal of appropriating the international styles of Western and Central Europe and the ideal of reviving the original heritage of national architecture founded on the Byzantine tradition“<sup>13</sup>.

In architectural culture of the nineteenth and twentieth century Serbia, Europeanization was supported on several levels – beginning with de-Ottomanization,<sup>14</sup> a clear and

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unambiguous distancing from the historic culture of Serbia under the Porte, through a long and dynamic process of the removal of all traces of that unpleasant but so recent past, through the suppression and destruction of some, and the discovery of other, historical traditions.<sup>15</sup> Demolition of mosques and the erection of public buildings on their sites, such as the administrative complex in the centre of Belgrade on the site of the former Batal Mosque. Also a systematic de-Ottomanization of urban structure by means of town-planning projects aimed at the „elimination of all traces of centuries long Turkish presence“,<sup>16</sup> as so vividly expressed by a historian of architecture. In Serbian architecture, the adoption of architectural types, forms and styles from the West – from Neo-Classicism in early the nineteenth century to modernism in the first half of the twentieth century – followed a planned building and reconstruction of towns, with an unyielding application of Central and West European models and experience.<sup>17</sup> In that sense, the example of Belgrade is very illustrative. The architectural and urban physiognomy of the capital city of Serbia – with only about 60 percent of Christian population in the middle of the nineteenth century<sup>18</sup> – was soon completely transformed. From what the traveller Gustav Rasch described in 1866 as a „chaotic Turkish city with narrow, bumpy streets and dirty houses plastered with mud“,<sup>19</sup> the urban structure of Belgrade was transformed as part of the process of national emancipation, to a reflection of the identity of the society, the state and national culture. Therefore, it should not be surprising that in 1887 Vladimir Karić wrote: „there were seldom any visible traces of the former Turkish town [in Belgrade]“<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, the stigma of backwardness followed Belgrade in the eyes of visiting travellers for many years to come (fig. 2).<sup>21</sup>

An interconnection of politics and ideology stood behind the decision of the elites to show a modern and European looks of Belgrade and Serbia: from the displacement of non-Christian inhabitants in the nineteenth century (and after the Berlin Congress of 1878 it amounted to twenty percent of the total population of the Principedom of Serbia), to extensive planning and building „in European style“. Through the entire historic development of modern Serbia political power was clothed in architecture, accompanied with a simultaneous appropriation of European cultural traditions and the promotion of the progress as a fundamental cultural value. Since the first endeavours of Prince Miloš Obrenović to build in Belgrade a „palace in the style of Europe“,<sup>22</sup> to the seats of social organizations and centres of state administration in New Belgrade after WW II, the architecture of public buildings in Serbia was primarily following the standard typological, formative and stylistic characteristics of Western architecture.



Fig. 2. The view from Dečanska Street in Belgrade, end of the 1920's (picture postcard from 1930)

Understandably, a part of the same mechanism was a gradual but unavoidable Christianization of collective and personal identities as elements of the European Christian community. In the same process of Europeanization, a universal paradigm of Western culture was selectively, but profoundly, appropriated, through the adoption of European institutions, traditions and cultural values as well as political democratization. An integral part of that complex was the „appropriation of a European style imperialism“,<sup>23</sup> a means to fashion the expansionistic goals of the Serbian modern state. This was not just a reflection of the European model of politics and culture, but also a form of national self-confirmation through national missions and country borders – language borders, borderlines of history, territory, culture and race. The role of architecture was crucial – not only because the landscape of Serbia was gradually transformed and the silhouettes of towns and villages were marked by churches and belfries, but because in the last hundred and fifty years buildings have been important symbolical landmarks of all territories which were recognized as national, by the criterion of historic rights or linguistic medium.

As the reverse of the same process of Europeanization, and not as its opposite, there was a firmly set need for an original and authentic Serbian identity. It held an equally important place in the political discourse, public space and architectural culture. The discovery of „national“ history and of cultural evidences of the discovered past were at its centre. From the first concepts of national specificity with the Habsburg Serbs in the middle of the eighteenth century until the Second World War, architecture was an



essential element in the building of that national originality. Architecture helped the forced historic authenticity – as a mechanism of every process of national identification – to acquire its visual and material confirmation. A systematic discovery, study and protection of the monuments from the past, their selection and reinterpretation in contemporary architecture in the last two centuries have played an important role in confirming the historic justification of Serbian national identity and its temporal and spatial scope. Instigated by the culture of nationalism arriving as a global phenomenon from the West, the *nationalization* and *appropriation* of architecture from the past gradually became an essentially important segment of modernization and of the structuring of a national identity. In that sense, architecture determined its spatial circumscription, through narratives about Serbian historic or ethnic territorial rights and its temporal dimension, through defining and specifying the national „Golden Ages“. So, the dominant premise of an ideology of national common origins and common territory, outlined by means of cultural monuments – the old, from the time of the Nemanjids, to the contemporary ones which intentionally evoked those from the mediaeval ages in a broad and foggy range of the „Serbo-Byzantine style“: from the real beginning in the nineteenth century to quite recent examples. As any other historic subject from the early nineteenth century,<sup>24</sup> modern Serbian culture was de-historized at the beginning; the drama of its historization evolved in the following two hundred years, and architecture had a definite role.

However, the fact that modern Serbia developed along the geographical edges of the historical mediaeval Serbia and that political elites constantly, and persistently, endeavoured to realize a state that would encompass all of the „antecedents' territories“, continuously introduced an almost obsessive dimension into the context of otherwise sovereign architectural historicism. Besides, the modern Serbian state did not arise „in the centre of the historic countries of the mediaeval kingdom, but only on one of its more recent edges, particularly in view of its population“.<sup>25</sup> A great number of European nations established their borders and the contents of their national cultures at that time and judging by the entire process of identity construction, this obsessive desire to retrieve the old territories and search for the most exemplary past – which would be the reason for much contention in the domain of architecture in Serbia – was more commonplace than an anomaly. Nevertheless, contrary to the most ethnic groups which encircled their territories in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the political borders of national states, the political ideal of a national state or nation-state, so characteristic for the epoch when the Serbian national identity was formed, remained a traumatic spot in the case of Serbia. This is an unavoidable fact in any study of the creation of Serbian identity.

National culture and ethnicity represent equally important aspects of the discourse of national authenticity. Architecture has played an important role in the overall criteria of national membership, as hypothesis of a common culture developed as forceful differentiation from the others. Similar to the phenomenon of national language codification, a systematic and extensive creation of distinguishing features in comparison to other neighbouring nations – in customs, in material and visual culture, and in architecture – confirmed the aura of an authentic national identity. Architectural heritage, as part of the entire body of ethnographic material, has been systematized and interpreted as „national heritage“ since the pioneer activities of Vuk Karadžić.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, folklorism in Serbian architecture, although on the sidetrack of architectural production, was part of the same complex of references to vernacular culture in the creation of contemporary national identity. This „vernacular mobilization“<sup>27</sup> of architecture has survived as a powerful symbol of the cultural unity of the nation, able to level the great differences of historic-statal traditions in the territories where the Serbs have lived. In other words, vernacular architecture – traditional, and reinterpreted through scholarly studies of the history of national architecture and its „renewed evocation“ in contemporary times – has acquired an important role in the maintenance of the national cohesion which diminishes or abolishes the requirements of other ethnic groups, cultures and nations for the same space or territory.

It is possible to express through architecture as discourse the idea of a „national character“ of the territory claimed by a nation. It is a way to discover the authentic remains of „national“ history under the heavy deposits of many centuries. In that sense, folk or folklorized architecture could be interpreted as an extension of the former national culture, the one that had not been contaminated by the Ottoman or other „foreign“ elements. Although it could be understood as a symbol of populist nationalism, the return to vernacular culture „is a way for the nation to catapult itself from momentary backwardness to the most advanced degree of social development“.<sup>28</sup> In that sense, both vernacular mobilization and historicism in architecture represent inseparable elements of emancipation of the Serbian national identity and the process of modernization and homogenization of the essentially heterogeneous Serbian society in the entire nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

However, in this emancipation of the Serbian society and the structuring of Serbian national identity the most important constituent was the Orthodox faith, with numerous myths simultaneously confirming the historic continuity of the Serbian state and culture, and offering the foundation to build an authentic national character.<sup>29</sup> In that sense, the mentioned example of the church in Smederevo

is paradigmatic since the reference to mediaeval churches as architectural models, and the canonization of the saints which preceded it, hold the key role in the nationalization of history and territories and represent the integrating factor of Serbian national identity in all the places where Serbs live. Although language, national culture and ethnicity have been important as secular criteria of the Serbian nation, religion was the crucial and critical factor in its creation as „the last instance in the forging of national identities when [Balkan] national states nationalized their churches“.<sup>30</sup> With the establishment of a national church in independent Serbia (1879) and particularly the formation of a uniform Serbian Orthodox Church (1920)<sup>31</sup> – events simultaneous with the political processes and therefore symptomatic in their ideological impact – the architecture of Orthodox churches acquired an exceptionally important function in outlining the Serbian national identity.

This process of suppressing and abolishing all the plurality of tradition, which could be understood as a specific „architectural normalization“ (as Foucault interpreted the term) is in fact part of a complex political and cultural matrix to marginalize the discontinuity and diversity of the Serbian ethnic community tradition – never a coherent cultural entity because its elements were exceptionally diversified<sup>32</sup> – by emphasizing a uniform Orthodox faith.<sup>33</sup> In short, religion was the key mechanism in the levelling of cultural differences in the Serbian ethnica in the process of creating a stable, monolithic Serbian nation. Of course, an important part in the realization of such a concept of identity construction was to be credited to architecture. Various building traditions of Orthodox Serbian churches in the Balkans – from the Baroque–Classicistic and almost Oriental shapes, over the revival of the so called *Raška school* of architecture, to the local building idioms from Trieste to Bitola – were soon suppressed. The discovered „authentic“ Serbian tradition was evoked through the „Byzantine style“, known as “Serbo–Byzantine” style since the end of the nineteenth century and soon obligatory in church architecture – despite an absence of a firm syntax or consensus on the origin and nature of the style<sup>34</sup> – and indirectly in the architecture of many other buildings, from private residencies to schools, post offices and sports structures. So, architecture participated in the historization of the Serbian national identity and in the consolidation of the problematic phrase – „national spirit“ – in the same way as the narratives of political and cultural history, music, literature and visual culture.<sup>35</sup> Understandably, in this process architecture cannot be separated from the political discourse. The specific „Byzantinization“ of the topos by building the stylistically uniform churches in all areas populated by members of the Serbian community had, and still has, an important role in the nationalization

of territories – from the early examples of master–builder Andrija Damjanov who built churches, similar to the one in Smederevo, in Sarajevo (1863–1868), Veles (1861) and Niš (1857–1872)<sup>36</sup> to numerous churches in the so called *Neo–Morava* style of architecture built after 1918 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo and Slovenia,<sup>37</sup> and the quite recent edifices such as the „Herzegovinian Gračanica“ in Trebinje (2000).

Although faceted, the image of national authenticity survived as coherent. And in the political sense, this complexity – partially presuming the mobilization of ethnic history, religion, folk cults and mores, the „discovery“ and codification of different languages, from the spoken to the written, from visual to architectural – had the major role in the historic and geographical positioning of the Serbian national identity. This two–way track: the image of its relatedness to the family of European nations and states and the acceptance of universal foundations of the European culture, and a simultaneous distancing from the presumably universalistic outlines through an emphasized national authenticity, represents a view (however necessary) that distorts the „counterpoint perspective“ in perceiving architecture in this long period as the content and borderline of national identity. Each „cultural entity can be disassembled to its constitutive parts, but its numerous areas work together in *counterpoint*“.<sup>38</sup> This means that seemingly discordant aspects of national identity, evident in the Serbian nineteenth– and twentieth–century architecture, represent in fact a constitutive part of a whole, and do not only coexist as integral aspects of the process of modernization, but influence one another, although, at the same time, they resist the narrative of coherence within the traditional disciplines of history and architectural theory.<sup>39</sup> The potential of these apparently discordant aspects of very big and reveals the power and impact of ideology.

It is important to point out that the apparent dichotomy in the Serbian national identity – a dichotomy between the universal and particular, the European and the national, general and authentic, historic and contemporary – cannot be read as a conflict of ideologies or architectural poetics. Moreover, this cannot either be a syndrome of a society in transition from pre–modern to modern. In the core of these seeming contradictions, in fact, lies the need to establish a system of differences as a fundamental mechanism in the construction of identity – and this can be found in the historic culture of all the neighbouring national communities.<sup>40</sup> So the process of Europeanization, which can be followed in the architecture of Serbia and Belgrade from the 1800s to the 1950s, is presented as a system of differences in relation to the national past and the culture of „others“, that is, the margins of the nation, and thus the outer borders of Serbian identity can be outlined within the dominant Hegelean

paradigm of the history of that period. On the other hand, in its need to achieve internal homogenization, the search for authenticity of Serbian national identity establishes borderlines towards the neighbouring national and ethnic communities. A good illustration of this phenomenon is the mentioned ambivalence in the descriptions of foreign travellers in the nineteenth century, all of whom use the typified qualification of Serbia *already* „European“ and *still* „Asian“.<sup>41</sup> However, both aspects of the process of national emancipation are complementary and mutually qualifying.

This confirms the fact that cultural difference is in the core of the structuring of each national identity. Even when the „Turkish“ identity of Serbia had almost entirely vanished, the inherited relationship to „the other“ has remained as a lasting feature of national identification. Not only towards „the other“ as the external outline of identity (that is, towards those who are not under the aegis of the nation), but to one's own historic and ethnographic discourse.<sup>42</sup> The transition from the Ottoman to national identity in Serbia happened suddenly and unevenly; „many traces of the Ottoman past were still present [...] as reminders of the Oriental past only recently left behind and the feeble steps made in transition to a new order“.<sup>43</sup>

The process of identification evolves constantly through the production of images – and the place of architecture in that process is evident and has never been just the confirmation of a given identity.<sup>44</sup> What has survived in the history of modern Serbian architecture – a simultaneity of the contemporary and the historic, of „European“ and „authentically national“, is in fact the basic cultural code of the construction of national identity. A nation is always realized through a dichotomy, „articulated in a tension denoting the people as an *a priori* historical presence, a pedagogical subject; and the people constructed through the performance of a narrative where its proclaimed „now“ is marked with repetition [...]. It performatively intervenes on the sovereignty of national *self-creation* and casts a shadow between the people as 'image' and its signification as a differentiating sign of the Self, different from the Other and the External“.<sup>45</sup> This duality and difference between the historic and the contemporary, between the „pedagogical“ and „performative“ lies in the core of every national identity. The architecture of Belgrade and Serbia in the last two centuries is a dramatic witness of the phenomenon that the constituting and subversive parts of the ideology that observes Serbia as an enlightened, modern and democratic European state represent a permanent displacement of the plural and modern space of the nation „in a signifying archaic and mythical space which paradoxically represents the modern territory of the nation, in a patriotic, atavistic temporality of Traditionalism“.<sup>46</sup> The borders of a nation are constantly confronted with a dual temporality: historic

„sedimentation“ of identity and its loss in the process of the signification of a nation<sup>47</sup> – signification by architecture, visual, material culture, a process that evolves in the present time.

Within the context of Serbian architecture in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century this dual temporality means a simultaneous acceptance of Western models and styles in building – from Neo-Classicism, over historic styles (Neo-Baroque, Neo-Renaissance), *art nouveau*, modernism – and decoration as a particular „otherness“, referring to the discourse of the authentic, original and essentially „national“. This dual position cannot be read as a crisis of identity, as a „conflict of architectural models“,<sup>48</sup> nor as a phenomenon of non-existence of the ideological consensus of the Serbian elites, but as an essential quality in the realization of a national identity. The face of the nation – like the face of Janus – looks into the faraway past, but it also looks into the future; the face of an old man and the face of a young man are segments of the same whole; both the „past“ and the „future“ are constitutive elements of a national present, constantly inscribed in the traces of its culture. Therefore, in interpreting the past it is imperative to view architecture as a constitutive narrative, as an important role in a long, difficult drama of national emancipation and the construction of Serbian identity, and not as the stage where it is performed.

Before marking out some of the directions and setting the focal points of the transformation of architecture in Belgrade and Serbia in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, it is important to turn, at least for a moment, to the hybrid forms of the church in Smederevo. In relation to the narrative of national architectural historiography, the role of that church as the „turning point in Serbian architecture“<sup>49</sup> is quite understandable. This role comprises an ultimate break with the Baroque-Neoclassicist syntax, formerly dominant in the architecture of Serbian Orthodox churches and an intentional evocation of the historic tradition of mediaeval Serbian architecture, admired, as it were, both by „professionals and laymen“, the pride of „Serbia and the Serbs“.<sup>50</sup> Despite such indisputable requests that reflected the flaring historicism in the context of the culture of nationalism from the mid-1800s, the erected church still retained the features of the so called „Western architectural principles“.<sup>51</sup> To observe the building only as a transitory form in the shaping of „national style“ and the relationship to its stylistic hybridity as the embodiment of „mutually confronting ideals“,<sup>52</sup> is more an implementation of essential cultural identities (e.g. East and West) than a revelation of the reasons of their continuous interdependence and interlacing. Such determinism in definitions of Serbian architecture from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through the usual interpretative

dichotomy of international vs. national, classical vs. romantic,<sup>53</sup> reduces the problem of national identity to one dimension only, the one which is related to the issue of national specificity. In reality, both the „national style“ and the so called „international“ architectural vocabulary were equally represented in the development of the concept of the Serbian nation, and referred to different aspects of the same idea. Numerous preserved and destroyed architectural monuments in Belgrade and Serbia from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries served as evidences of the complex nature of the identity they represented – of a simultaneous movement towards the universal European *Zivilisation* and authentic *Kultur*.

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Traces of this complex and dual process are inscribed in the germ of modern Serbia. These traces can be followed in politics and culture, and in architecture. Even the pattern of interpreting the uprising in the Belgrade pashalik at the beginning of the nineteenth century as „national revolution“, a reflection of the influential book by Leopold Von Ranke *Die serbische Revolution* (1829),<sup>54</sup> was finally defined by the global culture of European nationalism where the „revolution of a nation“ was accepted as one of the creation myths. Just like other Christian ethnic communities in the Balkans, the Serbian ethnica was then at the very beginning of its national emancipation. And it presumed not only the need for the community to get anchored into history and territory by relating to the heritage of the chosen past, the language and folk culture, but also that it should win its own place in the family of old European states which were also, in that same period, acquiring firm national contours.<sup>55</sup> This dual process, already noticeable at the time of Karađorđe and Miloš Obrenović, when the germ of modern Serbian identity just formed its spatial and historical scope and culture, has remained a lasting heritage that could be located, with certain assurance, in the architectural topography of modern Serbia and its capital city: from the very beginnings to the 1950s.

The process of national emancipation and the creation of modern Serbian national identity did not only begin with the adoption of the political model of a nation state, as a constantly desired ideal, but it required a large number of cultural mechanisms. At the beginning, these instruments were primarily related to the establishment of a system of differences with regard to historic and Ottoman identities. With the tide of the Habsburg Serbs, flooding the regions south of the Sava and the Danube at the beginning of the nineteenth century, came the first sprouts of the architectural vocabulary which described the borders of the Serbian, Christian identity and set the features which

distinguished it from the Ottoman, Muslim. And so, from the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, the regions previously overwhelmed by the wave of „national revolution“ were gradually conquered by new buildings. Those were, understandably, Orthodox churches – as the first sign of a ramified patronage policy of Prince Miloš and the political elites, but also as hallmarks of national, cultural and political emancipation of a new, growing nation. While the significance of these first edifices that fortified the Serbian national identity was unambiguous – as *locus communis* of every European nationalism – their Central European architectural origins implied the politics of integration of the Serbian ethnica in the Habsburg monarchy, controlled by the procedures of the imperial chancellery „which defined the type and form of these churches“.<sup>56</sup> Despite such a repressive imperial policy, the architectural tradition of Orthodox churches in Austria at the time, characterized by the late Baroque syntax of form with belfries on the western façade and the Neoclassical structure of single nave churches bereft of Baroque complexity,<sup>57</sup> was an impulse of a specific Europeanization and modernization and inspiration for a diverse architectural activity in Serbia.

The architecture of Belgrade Cathedral (1837–1840) is perhaps the most striking example of the dominant form of Orthodox churches of that time; it not only became the symbol of national awareness, but a visual sign of the difference defined by the seat of power and social life of the Serbian political elites, and also of modern national identity of the Christian population at *Varoš-kapija* (City Gate) and *Savska padina* (the Sava slope) in Ottoman Belgrade,<sup>58</sup> as evidenced by the fact that a large sign was mounted on the church towards the end of the works with the following inscription – „Lucky Serbia“.<sup>59</sup> Together with other building in „European spirit“ – the Prince’s Chancellery, the Archbishop’s Palace and the State Printshop – the Baroque–Classicistic Cathedral in Belgrade was built on the site of an older church, after the design by Adam Kverfeld, an architect from Pančevo,<sup>60</sup> embodied the ideal of the Europeanization of the society and culture, more clearly crystallized in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the same spirit and with the same spectre of meaning, numerous churches flooded the towns and villages from where the Muslim population gradually moved away. The Baroque–like belfries of these disciplined church buildings without domes symbolically changed the political landscape of Serbia. In the period between 1820 and 1850 many churches were erected, from the Holy Trinity Church in Kraljevo (1824–1830), the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Šabac (1827–1830), to the Church of Virgin Mary in Valjevo (1836) and the Church of St. George in Užice (1842–1844).

Such an extensive building activity was an expression of tolerant politics towards nationalities of the Porte and the Ecumenical Patriarchy in Constantinople, and formalized the right to autonomy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1832, after many decades of Phanariot influence. So, the Church became not only the framework of a specific „sacralization of national identity“<sup>61</sup> on the basis of Orthodox faith – suppressing other forms of national identification (language, ethnicity, folk culture) but also a powerful political protector of the community, gaining strength alongside an ever more obvious symbiosis with the state, as so manifestly evident in the position of these new church buildings in the cultural landscape of Belgrade and other Serbian towns in the nineteenth century.

After the Sultan's Edict from 1830, autonomous Serbia was „a hastily created borderline society with a primitive state organization“,<sup>62</sup> but still the political context of national identity emancipation was complex and marked with sharp conflicts between the Prince and advocates of constitutionalism, and the semi-vassal Principedom was even more entangled in the labyrinth of international diplomacy.<sup>63</sup> The short life span of the Candlemas Constitution (1835) and the imposition of the so called Turkish constitution enforcing the sovereignty of the Sultan (1839) confirm that the narrow circle of political elite around Prince Miloš was deeply divided. Still this also indicates that the political and social organization in Serbia was simultaneously an issue of Ottoman culture and of a desire to relinquish it.<sup>64</sup> This feature is manifest not only in the fact that, at the beginning, the territorial definition of the Serbian nation was not related to the concept of a uniform national community, but to Ottoman territorial units,<sup>65</sup> in political culture and in architecture as well. Although a man of new visions who opened the road to national and government emancipation and led the society on the course of modernization, Prince Miloš had many characteristics of Ottoman rulers and his mentality was „still the mentality of an unreformed Turkish pasha“. <sup>66</sup> His residence, built at Topčider, near Belgrade, out of the reach of the Ottoman artillery stationed in the fortress of Belgrade (where the imperial flag was fluttering until 1879), exemplifies this transitory identity. Elements of traditional architecture typical for residences of Ottoman elites in the Balkans are dominant features of Prince Miloš's residence (1831–1834). However, there are also influences of Western architecture, particularly in compositional and decorative syntax.<sup>67</sup> The nearby „English type“ spacious park supplemented the rhetoric of this displaced seat of the ruler. Likewise, the Residence of Princess Ljubica (1829–1830) – meant for the seat of the Principedom, but Miloš never moved there – „although built in the traditional spirit of Balkan architecture“ reflected the „European understanding“ of current architectural design.<sup>68</sup>

In this slow transition of the society, the process of Europeanization was more firmly setting in as the dominant cultural model and it persisted for a long time. An element of that model was the architecture of public and residential buildings – after the 1850s it definitely followed the developments in Western architecture.<sup>69</sup> The dominant „European taste“ among the bourgeois class educated in Europe – that axis of national emancipation which gradually, but fundamentally, surpassed the influence of the Habsburg Serbs – supposed the appropriation of Neoclassical architectural forms, such as those perceived in the appearance and concept of the house of Cvetko Rajović, governor of the city of Belgrade (1838–1840, later the building of the Secondary school).<sup>70</sup> The most of the public buildings, erected at the time when the legal regulations on settlement organization were adopted and implemented in order to formalize the already begun de-Ottomanization of urban regions in Serbia, reveal the syntax of European academic architecture. The buildings erected by Prince Miloš between 1835 and 1840 along the Topčider road (later on Kneza Miloša Street), connecting the *Town-in-the-moat* with Topčider – first of all the Government building and his „Palace in European style“ (after 1842 the seat of the State Council and the Ministry of Finance) – document this process clearly. In time, the same part of the city acquired the status of a particular government axis, and in the following one hundred and thirty years it grew into the exclusive space of state and national representation. Despite all these differences in character, style, morphology, historic and artistic value, the architecture of these buildings is totally unison in terms of significance and the ideological-political dimension. Grandiose government buildings – from the Big Barracks opposite the Royal Palace in Savamala (around 1835), the State Council and the Chief Accounting Commission building, built by Dušan Živanović (1889), over numerous ministries of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, erected in the 1920s and 1930s (fig. 3), to the Army Headquarters by Nikola Doborović (1956–1963) – all of them are important constitutive elements in the stabilization process of the universalistic cultural paradigm and identity which would place the Serbian state and nation under the wing of the European political and cultural community.

At the same time, cultural and political needs to historicize the identity and the cult of national authenticity, represented the reverse side of this process. The impulse constantly sent by the Habsburg Serbs from the time of the Toleration Act (1780) and the Assembly in Temišvar (1790), the time of the first unambiguous articulation of the request for a national programme – territorial autonomy and the status of nation<sup>71</sup> – presupposed the concept of nation as a language community. The activities of Dositej Obradović





*Fig. 3. Nikola Krasnov, the Ministry of Finance, Belgrade, photograph from 1928, (ed., K. Kovačić, F. Smodej, S. Kobasica, Dr. F. Stelè, Dj. Vilović, Dr. D. Ikonić, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Belgrade, 1928)*

and Vuk Karadžić on the setting of linguistic and ethical criteria of the nation grew out of that new concept of nation where the linguistic scope corresponded to the political and territorial one, as in Europe, in general, at the same time. And this idea – despite the fact that language as a criterion of national membership would be suppressed by religious adherence in the period that followed – was of crucial importance in defining of the Serbian „conceived community“<sup>72</sup> and the expansionistic politics of Serbian elites. That was the time when the corpus of *Rum millet*, e.g. Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire was beginning to break along the linguistic and ethnic lines and when the Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian ethniae separated from it.

However, in terms of architecture the most important part in the structuring of national identity was the reference to „national“ history of a nation’s antecedents, and in Serbian case it was formalized by the canonization of its national saints from the mediaeval ruling dynasty of the Nemanjids, finalized in the eighteenth century. Historical narratives grew in numbers and with the development of literacy they became ever more popular, but in the political culture and symbolic practice of that time, references to mediaeval Serbia were constantly in the service of historic justification of the young modern Serbian identity. Clear traces of such a discourse were the legalization of the mediaeval Serbian emblem during the reign of Maria-Theresa (1766),<sup>73</sup> the frenetic search of the Serbian elites in the Habsburg monarchy for the heraldic emblems of identity,<sup>74</sup> and a nominal definition of the Balkan territories twice conquered by Austria in the eighteenth century as

„Serbia“. In a coordinated action with the epic tradition of the Balkans that glorifies the mediaeval kingdoms, and with the historicist paradigm of romantic literature,<sup>75</sup> these impulses were crucial in the constitution of national awareness at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The significance of these ideas is confirmed by the fact that even at the time of the First Serbian Uprising (1804) references to „national“ history were essential elements of the ideology born simultaneously with the establishment of the modern Serbian state. Both Karadorđe and Prince Miloš inherited the political agenda of „renewal“, that is of a renewed establishment of the Serbian state, in a rudimentary form, but clearly expressed in symbolic practice such as the old heraldic emblems on flags and stamps<sup>76</sup> and, of course, through the language of architecture. Justified by a renewal of the tradition in the architecture of Orthodox churches of the Habsburg Serbs, such as the request from 1741 that the monastery church in Kovilj should be built „like the church of Manasija“, and in similar examples throughout Vojvodina<sup>77</sup> – the Principdom was gradually imbued with the idea that the architecture of mediaeval Serbia should be reincarnated in line with the ideology of renewal of the state of the Nemanjids and of Dušan’s empire. The church Ss. Peter and Paul, erected by Prince Miloš between 1832 and 1834 in the vicinity of his residence at Topčider, marked the beginning of this slow but fundamental important process. Although built as a characteristic type appropriated from Central Europe, this single-nave church with a Baroque-like belfry on its western side has decorations that evoke the façade ornaments on the monastery church of Vračevšnica

and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century woodcut iconostases.<sup>78</sup> A similar syntax will be repeated in a number of churches, such as the Church of St. Nicholas in Aleksinac (1837), the Church of the Ascension in Mionica (1856), or the church in Gornji Milanovac (1859).

On the other hand, many aspect of high culture in the Principedom indicated that there was a need to legitimize the content and borderlines of the Serbian national identity by a direct reference to history. The study, systematization and evaluation of the national past, architectural heritage and cultural monuments was institutionalized through various scholarly discourses together with the stabilization of ideological processes as elements of the same political discourse of modern Serbian emancipation. In the 1840s and 1850s, under Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, who advocated constitutionalism, the administration was centralized and a firm institutional and legal framework of the state was created; a global transition of the society was continued and the need to create and represent national past as an essential aspect of collective identity was even more obvious. Different political and cultural narratives took part in the outline of the historic and territorial borders. The work *Načertanije* by Ilija Garašanin (1844) was a programme of national politics, a concise resume of that mechanism of essential importance for the ideological and political dimension of architecture: „The new Serbian state, the new Serbian empire, should become, essentially, the continuation of the old [...] The Serbs [are] the true heirs of our great fathers, and they are doing nothing new, but repeating what their grandfathers did. Our present cannot be without a union with the past, but they will be one and interdependent, as one body, and for the Serbs, their nationality and their state stand protected by the holy right of history.“<sup>79</sup>

It is quite understandable that there were also the first concrete moves to protect cultural monuments identified and classified as national. It was then that the foundations of the National Museum and the Academy of Sciences were laid, and researchers of mediaeval architecture travelled through the Ottoman regions to the south and west of the Principedom because, according to some criteria, they were classified as Serbian. The national appropriation of the mediaeval Serbian architectural culture was begun by the scholars who came from the West and by the Serbs from Austria, starting with Franz Mertens (1844) and Dimitrije Avramović (1846–1847), and crowned by the long and thorough work of Dragutin Milutinović and Mihailo Valtrović (1871–1884).<sup>80</sup> Following the tradition set by Janko Šafarik – who was the first to travel through the Serbian territories in order to study antiquities and who defined the monuments of mediaeval architecture as models for contemporary national building<sup>81</sup> – Milutinović and Valtrović completed, under the

patronage of the state,<sup>82</sup> the final nationalization of mediaeval architecture and clearly indicated that the pattern of contemporary building in Serbia should be sought in its ethnic past, more precisely in its historic monuments of church architecture (fig. 4).<sup>83</sup> In that way, architecture became part of the national narrative in the sense defined by the text of Garašanin's work.

Considering their character, methods and goals, these moves could be classified as typical examples of the structuring of high national culture. Milutinović should be merited for adding the subjects of „Byzantine style“ and „Byzantine architecture“ to the university curriculum in Serbia<sup>84</sup> – in accord with the concept that the „origin“ of Serbian art was in Byzantine art<sup>85</sup> and the perception of Byzantium as a historic model of Orthodox imperial culture<sup>86</sup> where religion is mobilized as the essence of the Serbian national identity. The nationalization of the past through architecture and the composition of the image of the nation in contemporary times through created tradition gradually became more and more important aspects of the Serbian national identity. Moreover, „Byzantine style“ was regulated by the law and obligatory in church building in Serbia since 1862.<sup>87</sup> Soon the term „Serbo-Byzantine“ was coined and, despite an absence of firm rules in architectural grammar and vocabulary of the style, it eliminated all other architectural forms in the building of Orthodox churches and was popularized in secular building of the first half of the twentieth century. The ideological agenda of national elites was legitimized both through interpretations of architectural heritage and the contemporary architectural practice.

With this nationalization of architectural heritage and within the narrative of the „Serbo-Byzantine style“ the „most authentic“ Serbian architectural tradition was located already in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was the architecture from the time of Prince Lazar and despot Stefan. At the beginning of the twentieth century Svetozar Stojanović will call it „Serbian, from the time of Rade Borović“,<sup>88</sup> and Gabriel Millet will definitely name it *École de la Morava*<sup>89</sup> – *moravska škola* or *Morava School*. Despite the irony that calls for the renewal of the mediaeval Nemanjid empire were supported by the architecture from the time when that mediaeval Serbian state was on its decline and burdened with internal political conflicts,<sup>90</sup> the style of the *Morava* school has remained the generative pattern of national culture in modern Serbia.

The political context of the found original of national authenticity was marked by an accelerated continuation of the process of national emancipation, a „tense peace“ and conflicts with the Ottoman authorities on whom the Principedom of Serbia was still dependent, but also by the final status of independence (1878). Despite the changes

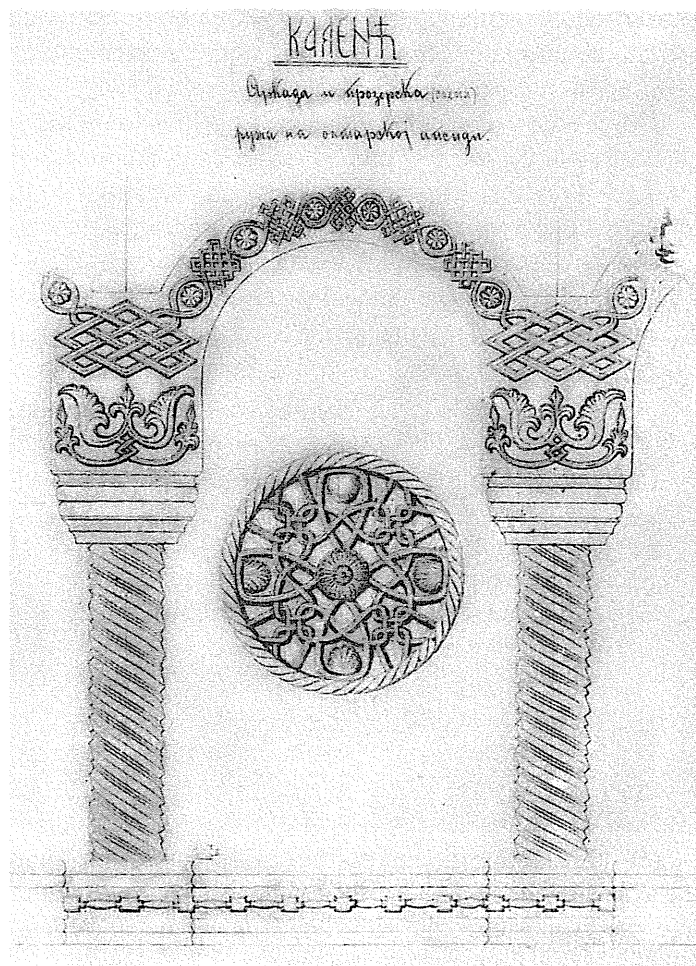


Fig. 4. Dragutin Milutinović, Mihailo Valtrović, *Technical representation of Kalenić, the arcade and the rosette on the apse, 1884*, (*Views of the Serbian Learned Society. Studies in Serbian Medieval Art, 1871-1884 vol. 34, Belgrade, 1978*)

in ruling dynasties, in 1869 and 1903, the national policy of Serbia remained essentially expansionistic and was realized through usurpations of the historic-administrative and ethnic-natural law treasure troves. Of course, the role of architecture maintained its importance in the whole process. Until the final independence, the Serbian elites were turned towards the western parts of the Balkans, first of all in 1876 and 1877 to Bosnia and Herzegovina – where they sent military troops since branch sections of Serbian population had to be liberated and adjoined to the mainland.<sup>91</sup> However, the opening of the so called Eastern Question and the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (in accordance with the decisions of the Berlin Congress) by Austro-Hungarian monarchy to which the Principedom of Serbia (Kingdom, after 1882) was in a vassal relationship – national activities were redirected „southwards and eastwards, to the Ottoman regions“ considered Serbian.<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless, with political changes and the vassalage of Serbia towards Austria, there was a further influence of Central European tradition in architecture, particularly the tradition of Orthodox church building. It was a way to make a distance to the directions of the search for national authenticity traced by the researchers of antiquities. Besides, it was a way to make a distance from the architectural practice of evoking the Morava School style, begun already with the mentioned church of St. George in Smederevo (1850–1855) or the Church of the Ascension in Belgrade (1861–1863),<sup>93</sup> which clearly, although not precisely enough evoked the forms of mediaeval architecture of the Morava School. One of the main features of the culture of the „dual monarchy“ was the fact that ethnic and religious margins (Orthodox, Uniate, Jewish, etc) were stigmatized through the language of architecture. It was a tradition that non-Catholic communities should conceive their buildings in one of the „Oriental“ or „ancient“ styles and not refer to the architectural heritage of the West embodied in the Classicistic, Baroque or Renaissance forms.<sup>94</sup> Hungarian architects of Serbian nationality, educated in Vienna, built numerous edifices for the Serbian ethnic community in one of the „Oriental“ idioms, not only in Vojvodina, the region of their origin, but in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth their main architectural designs were made for the „fatherland“<sup>95</sup> – for Serbia. Svetozar Ivačković built over forty churches in the style he himself named „Byzantine, but modernized“,<sup>96</sup> and the expression of that style was a typical example of „invented traditions“. Their basis was the ideological platform of cultural stigmatization: the cross-like structure, alteration of colours, picturesque and unusual details came from the Byzantine and Islamic architecture from different geographic regions and historic cultures. This is also clearly visible on the churches designed by Dušan Živanović and a series of buildings of other architects who applied the forms of the so called Hansean Neo-Byzantine architecture,<sup>97</sup> simultaneously participating in the economy of the authentication of Serbian national identity and its stigmatization as „Oriental“.

A similar content of identity representation, but with different formal characteristics, was present in the architecture of Serbia as an element of the political culture of national emancipation, and was brought over by foreign architects who found commissions in the Principedom lacking adequate members of its own educated people. Jan Nevole built the so called *Kapetan Mišina zdanje* (*Captain Miša's edifice*, presently the seat of Belgrade University) 1860–1863, for a long time not only the largest building in Belgrade, but also the seat of the highest educational, cultural and scientific institutions; the First Town Hospital in Belgrade (1865–1868) was the work of Josif Francel, the

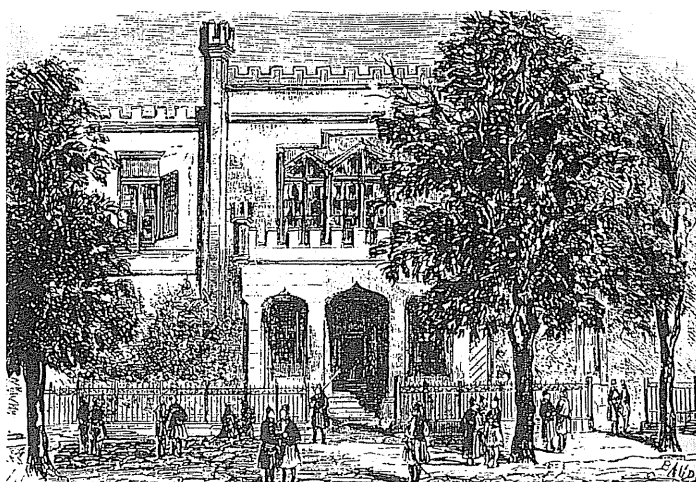


Fig. 5. Felix Kanitz, the Court at the time of the Crown Prince Mihailo by architect Kosta Šrepolović, about 1860–69. (demolished in 1911), (F. Kanic, „Srbija: zemlja i stanovništvo – od rimskog doba do kraja XIX veka“, Beograd, 1985))

Old Mansion in Arandelovac (1865–1872) was designed by Kosta Šrepolović. These are all important examples of that architecture which is not only a rigid reflection of the romantic tradition of *l'architecture parlante*, but a standard Central European form of „Oriental“ character representation. Šrepolović's Palace for the Crown Prince Mihailo in Belgrade (1860–1869) was the last regression to this romantic tradition (fig. 5).<sup>98</sup> The Prince never moved to this modest palace and for decades, until it was pulled down in 1911 in order to make place for the New Court Palace designed by architect Stojan Titelbah, it was the seat of the Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs. The picturesque appearance of this orientalized house with indented attic, bulb-like Saracen vaults and leaning octagonal crowned little turrets, suggested in its architectural language the need to express national authenticity and stood as evidence of „the roots of Oriental spirit in Serbia“,<sup>99</sup> revealing a hidden, but still obvious stigma imposed on marginal ethnic, national or cultural communities within the broader Central European context of positivist attitude to culture. The Palace resembled in many ways the buildings representing non-Catholic collective identity throughout Central Europe.

Despite great differences, this Central European architectural tradition of Neo-Byzantine architecture and the preceding orientalized architecture of Serbian Romanticism that preceded it, could be observed as parts of the same meaningful whole elements of the cultural arsenal permanently applied, under the ideological pressure to historicize and represent cultural differences, during the emancipation of the Serbian community as nation – the

nation which defined itself through symbiotic practice as unique, in relation to the neighbouring nations, and as different, in relation to its own recent historic identity.

However, the greater pressure of positive knowledge concentrated in science around mediaeval architectural monuments and the historic tradition of the Morava School, totally different from the picturesque Byzantine „Hanseatics“ (believed to be bereft of „specific Serbian characteristics“<sup>100</sup>), brought about a gradual change in the design paradigm. Nevertheless, the change did not mean that the search for national authenticity would be abandoned. The ever more obvious request for renewed evocation of „original forms“ as reflections of a true national identity coincided with a gradual, but decisive distancing from Austria. The forceful interchange of ruling dynasties in Serbia in 1903 finally brought a turn in the political discourse supported by an ideological redirection of the elites and by the cultural practice. In the whole of South Eastern Europe there was a revival of Yugoslav ambitions and of the South Slavic issue. The turn towards the western „branches of the Serbs“, believed to have been illegally occupied by the troops of the black-yellow monarchy, was in the focus again. In the wake of this revival, some patriotic organizations were founded, such as „National Defence“ (1909) and „Union or Death“ (1911); the foreign politics of Serbia changed and the Yugoslav ideology flourished. Its most vital representative was Ivan Meštrović. His *Temple to Vidovdan* (around 1904–1913) was conceived as a temple of Yugoslavism – a secular religion that was supposed to reconcile ethnic, confessional and cultural differences of the South Slavs, united in one national community.<sup>101</sup>

At the same time, and in accordance with this, the new political culture further developed the ideological potential of the structuring of identity by references to national history. Every change of the historic paradigm presumed a new articulation of identity and its borders. On the level of architectural practice, the conclusions of Milutinović and Valtrović on the „old church architecture“ became the foundation of the development of the design idiom of the Neo-Morava style. In a fusion with the architecture of the monastery church in Gračanica as aesthetic ideal<sup>102</sup> and a specific ideological model, it remained sacred in the field of church architecture for the following hundred years.<sup>103</sup> Considering the significance of religion in constituting the image of national community, the „Serbo-Byzantine style“ of Orthodox churches became the key iconographic content of that image, particularly in the period when Serbia formally entered the Yugoslav community, surrounded by competing identities.

The departure point of this new tradition, characterized by a direct reference to the mediaeval architecture in Serbia from the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries,



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*Fig. 6. Vasilije Androsov,  
the Church of St. George,  
Belgrade, 1928-32,  
(author's photograph)*

was the church in Trstenik (1900) designed by architect Dušan Živanović. Its three-choncal plan and decorative system became the model for a large number of buildings in the Neo-Morava style erected in the decades that followed – from modest churches designed by Milorad Ruvidić<sup>104</sup>, over typified churches of Momir Korunović<sup>105</sup> and Vasilije Androsov, to pompous buildings such as Živanović's Trinity Church in Banjaluka (1925–1929).<sup>106</sup> From 1918 onwards, numerous churches were designed in that style by the Department of Architecture in the Ministry of Public Works<sup>107</sup> and built in Belgrade, the capital of the new South Slavic state. The most monumental among them are the churches designed by Vasilije Androsov (St. Aleksandar Nevski, 1927–1930, initially designed by Jelisaveta Načić; St. George at Banovo Brdo, 1928–1932; (fig. 6), the Church of St. Lazar at Bulbulder (1935–1936) by Momir Korunović and Grigorije Samojlov's Church of Archangel Gabriel (1937–1939). Apart from these, churches in the same, Neo-Morava style were built in the most of suburban villages around Belgrade – Kumodraž (Trinity Church, 1924, architects Pera Popović and Žarko Tadić), Žarkovo (Church of the Ascension, 1936–1938, architect Viktor Lukomski), Rakovica (Church of St. Bartholomew and Barbara, 1937–1939, architect Mihailo Radovanović), and so on.<sup>108</sup> Although informally, this stylistic idiom

became the architectural expression of the Serbian national tradition, a symbolic sign of the Serbian national identity and an important tool in the creation and maintenance of the so called liberation culture in the whole of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

At the same time, restoration and reconstruction of mediaeval monuments fortified the importance of the fact that the mediaeval Morava School and the national Serbian architecture should be regarded as identical. For example, this was evident in the interest the press showed in the restoration of the Lazarica Church in Kruševac (1904–1908). Architect Pera Popović called it „our most precious gem, although disfigured by the Baroque“.<sup>109</sup> Popović added a belfry to the church with a dome on top and a built-in clock, symbolically heralding the new age of the nation. A wooden model of the church was exhibited in many public spaces and played the role of a specific national reliquary. It was an important evidence of the progress made in the historization of modern Serbian identity. This whole undertaking could be read as a metaphor of modern nation presenting itself on the foundations of selected and appropriately reinterpreted past, establishing the concept of time as the main topos of national identity. Of course, similar moves are commonplace in the culture of nationalism from the late nineteenth century, as confirmed



by the reconstruction of „national“ churches throughout Central Europe – from Cologne to Prague, Budapest and Zagreb – which were as much „authentic“ as the Lazarica church in Kruševac.

Gradually, a vital and very impressive ideological aura informed around the picturesque forms of the Morava style architecture, so that other traditions, including the secular, vernacular architecture, could not compete for the status of rightful heirs to, and source of, the most authentic „Serbian“ architecture. „The architecture from the time of Lazar“ was perceived as unique and autochthonous because it could not be found in a similar form in the heritage of those ethnic groups bordering along the „Serbian national“ space in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The selection of only some cultural signifiers from the many different historic traditions in the same geographic region could have been inspired by the setting of a system of differences of the Serbian to other nations. The selection of another „national“ tradition for the foundation of the „national style“ – for example the Raška school – would situate the Serbian identity within a much broader cultural framework with more permeable ethnic borders. In architecture, as in language, script or material culture, the borders to „others“ are always constructed with the help of arbitrarily selected idioms and indicators, and not by the totality of a culture. The understanding that „only some cultural features are proclaimed crucial for the outline of borders“ is explained by the fact that in the structuring of an identity „only [those aspects] of culture and history are chosen and reinterpreted that can legitimize a certain constellation of power“. <sup>110</sup> This fact is very obvious in the construction of national identity by means of the fixed rhetorical arsenal of the „Serbo-Byzantine style“.

In a similar way, traces of the historization process of Serbian national identity can be followed in secular architecture. One of the first example of a conscious reference to historic heritage as the foundation of national activities, was the St. Sava Association building in Belgrade (1889-1890), designed by Jovan Ilkić. <sup>111</sup> This exceptional monument to the culture of nationalism used the architectural and visual language that evoked – as was the goal of the Society – “the cultural task of the Serbian people standing on the crossroads between the East and the West”. <sup>112</sup> National propaganda in “those not yet liberated regions”, the essential task of this Society founded in 1886, despite its opposition to the current Austrofile politics of the state which, nevertheless, opened the following year the Department of Schools and Churches outside Serbia in its Ministry of Education, acquired a striking visual hallmark in the centre of the capital. The impressive heraldic emblems on the façade – representing “Serbian lands” (Macedonia, Old Serbia, Hum, Dalmatia, Albania, Šumadija, Iliricum,

Croatia, Sirmium, Slavonia, Bosnia)<sup>113</sup> – (fig. 7) are an explicit expression of an ideology that remained a cryptic, but lasting heritage of the “Serbo-Byzantine style” even after 1918 when Serbian Orthodox churches in the recognizable Neo-Morava architectural pattern literally flooded the whole territory of Yugoslavia. <sup>114</sup>

Numerous other buildings prove this “national task” as a connotation of the “Serbo-Byzantine style” – beginning with the ephemeral Pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia erected for the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris, an astonishing building of architects Milan Kapetanović and Milorad Ruvidić that evoked the forms of Byzantine churches. <sup>115</sup> Another important example with a similar spectre of meaning is the building of the former Russian Consulate in Belgrade whose façade was “nationalized” by Branko Tanazević in order to house in it the institution in charge of the development of “national spirit”, the Ministry of Education (today it is the building of Vuk Karadžić’s Endowment). <sup>116</sup> Identical Neo-Morava style polychromy and syntax are perceived on other “national spirit” institutions that signified a direct relationship between the abstraction of the state and its realization in everyday life: from small post office buildings in Serbia and, later, in Yugoslavia, to big administrative edifices. The first in the series of these was the County Administration building in Vranje (1908), designed by Pera Popović. Its associative architecture, currently on the borderline of the state territory, had the same role in the climax of the events that happened four years later. The term historians used about the picturesque architecture of Popović – “an endeavour to study the very [...] *spirit of the nation*” <sup>117</sup> became a commonplace interpretative pattern in historiography. <sup>118</sup>

Similar patterns of reference to national tradition turned into habitual practice in the following period: from Tanazević’s Telephone Exchange in Belgrade (1908), <sup>119</sup> to the building of the Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone (1926-1930) and Post Office 2 (1927-1929) in the vicinity of the Main Railway Station, designed by Momir Korunović, <sup>120</sup> the most ardent promoter of the “Serbo-Byzantine style” in Serbian architecture of the first half of the twentieth century. As author of several tens of churches and *Sokol* sports’ halls throughout Yugoslavia, Korunović set the rhetoric of the “Serbian national style” by simultaneous reference to mediaeval and vernacular architecture. Through a fusion of formally different but ideologically complementary means, his architecture represented in the appropriate environment of the centralized Kingdom of Yugoslavia, real monuments of mythologized folklore and the „Morava School style“ – „the creation of the artistic genius of the *Serbs* as rural people“, <sup>121</sup> thus outlining the borderlines of national identity that encompassed both the historic and ethnographic paradigm.

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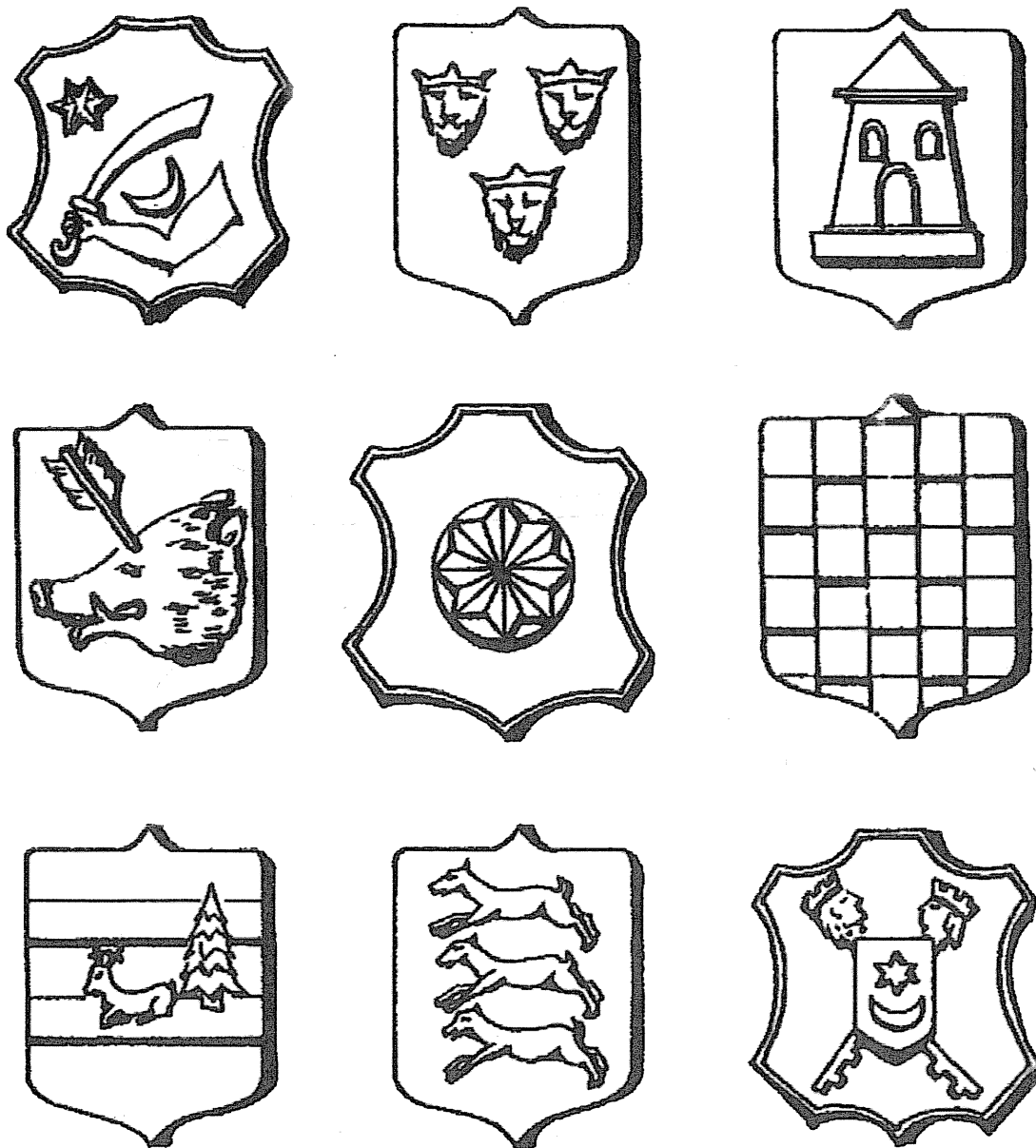


Fig. 7. Heraldic symbols on "St. Sava Association Building" (M. Popović, *Heraldički simboli na beogradskim javnim zdanjima, Beograd, 1997, 63*)

The followers of Korunović, and also those who had the same ideological standpoint, built in Belgrade many interesting testimonies of such a concept of identity: from Jezdimir Denić and his disciplined and stiff High School of Commerce (1925)<sup>122</sup> to Milica Krstić and exceptionally picturesque Second Girls' Highschool (1931-1933),<sup>123</sup> and Russian immigrant architects, who should be credited for the creation of numerous non-Morava style churches in Belgrade and Serbia.<sup>124</sup> It could be said that the architecture of all of these buildings merged into a unison narrative of the nation.

At the same time, architecture also set the other track of the road to national emancipation. Despite a slow transition, it was not possible to halt the wave of modernization after the 1880s and 1890s, and this process involved the state and

the society and developed simultaneously with a growing nationalism. In architectural culture it was manifest not only as a more acute awareness of the need to define historic roots but also as the implementation or representation of the identity within an ideology of progressivism, universalism and the political pressure of Europeanization. Serbian elites were constantly presenting themselves and the state as parts of the developed West, as part of Europe, thus modelling the politico-administrative apparatus and the mechanism of culture on the experiences of European democracies, experiencing themselves at the same time as authentic subjects on the European stage.

This representational system was supported by architectural narratives, based on the rhetoric of historic styles, *art nouveau* and modernism which arrived in the

first decades of the twentieth century as European “modern” styles and were respected as appropriate formulations of the identities of Serbian elites – just as was done by the picturesque forms of the academic architecture of historicism.<sup>125</sup> The ideals of these architectural traditions which acquired specific meanings in Serbia – despite their mutual formal and stylistic differences – were a perfectly adequate system for the representation of political and cultural aspirations of the Serbian elites, both in the sphere of private and public building.

From the first buildings erected in the Princedom to those built just before the beginning of the Second World War, there is continuity in the politics of national identity creation – continuity evident in the appropriation of the universalistic paradigm of culture. Let us mention only a few most striking examples from the body of architectural heritage in Belgrade. The National Theatre (1868-1869), ordered by Prince Mihailo and built by Aleksandar Bugarski as a Neo-Classical edifice with Neo-Renaissance decoration. Erected on the site of the former Stambol Gate, this building is a specific “temple of patriotic religion”<sup>126</sup> and a symbol of national emancipation. Other important buildings in the capital city were also vested in the same historic styles of Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Baroque, and produced a rhetoric of recognizable aims and uncompromising ideology: from the Ministry of Justice by Svetozar Ivačković and Jovan Subotić (1882-1883),<sup>127</sup> the Railway Station by Dragutin Milutinović (1884),<sup>128</sup> National Bank by Konstantin Jovanović (1888-1889),<sup>129</sup> the Funds Authority by Andra Nikolić and Nikola Nestorović,<sup>130</sup> to the National Assembly building begun in 1907 by Jovan Ilkić and finished in 1936 by his son Pavle.<sup>131</sup> This tendency continued in the architecture of administrative and government buildings outside of Belgrade, as well, such as regional administrations, legal courts, and so on.<sup>132</sup>

After WWI it were not just the government buildings of the Kingdom Yugoslavia, the mentioned seats of ministries along the “axis” of Belgrade that acquired monumental, European appearance, but the same happened to other important state institutions such as the University Library building (1919-1926) designed by Nikola Nestorović and Dragutin Đorđević, the State Archives (1925-1928) by Nikola Krasnov,<sup>133</sup> the monumental building of the Technical Faculty (1926-1930) by Nikola Nestorović and Branko Tanazević.<sup>134</sup> In the late 1930s the visual paradigm in the architecture of public institution was changed. However, the new architecture of monumental modernism retained the same rhetoric and, of course, the ideological potential of universalistic and progressive styles. The architecture of the State Print shop in Belgrade (1933-1940)<sup>135</sup> and the Danube County Administration building in Novi Sad (1934-

1939)<sup>136</sup> designed by Dragiša Brašovan, and their place in the political and social milieu are striking evidences of that ideological continuity.

The architecture of private houses went along the same track. From the point of view of the ideological construction of identity, this fact should not be surprising. In every process of national identification, the „private“ and the „public“, the „past“ and the „future“ are mutually permeated spheres. They are „linked by an ‘intermediate’ temporality which measures the stay at home while creating an image of the world of history“.<sup>137</sup> The phenomenon of this „intermediate“ is embodied in the concept of the community which prevents any sharp distinction between the private and public spheres. The concept of community, in fact, “originates in the spaces of the objectively constructed, contractually regulated structure of civil society, class relationships and national identities”.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, it could be stated that the architecture of private houses and buildings in the same way participated in the ideological process of modernization and national emancipation as monumental public buildings. This phenomenon is clearly recognized in the architectural heritage of Belgrade – from residencies of the Serbian ruling dynasties, through private houses of the political and financial elites to bourgeois endowment edifices and residential-business buildings built for rent. The Old Court of the Obrenović dynasty (1881-1884), designed by Aleksandar Bugarski,<sup>139</sup> was the first example of this tradition in residential architecture. This tradition was followed by the New Court of the Karađorđević dynasty – as its ideological and spatial complement and match – and later on an infinite series of private houses of political, military, economic and cultural elites: from the houses of trading magnates Krsmanovića (at Terazije, 1885, the work of Jovan Ilkić, and at Kosančićev venac, 1898-1899, the work of Milorad Ruvidić), Ilkić’s house built for the diplomat and politician Jovan Ristić (1891), then residences of ministers Jevrem Grujić (1891), Milan Kapetanović,<sup>140</sup> or Đorđe Genčić (1929)<sup>141</sup> designed by Dragiša Brašovan and the White Palace at Dedinje, the residence of Prince Regent Pavle Karađorđević, built after the designs of Aleksandar Đorđević (1934-1936).<sup>142</sup>

On the other hand, the architecture of *art nouveau*, *art deco* and modernism of the first half of the twentieth century, although competing with the set and inert practice of building in historic styles, was in an ideological joint action with it. Despite the “stylistic inconsistency” and numerous hybrid variations, *art nouveau* architecture of residential houses in Serbia reflected the aura of clear modernity and in that way participated in the creation of the Serbian cultural and national identity during the first decades of the twentieth century. Later on, after 1930, the

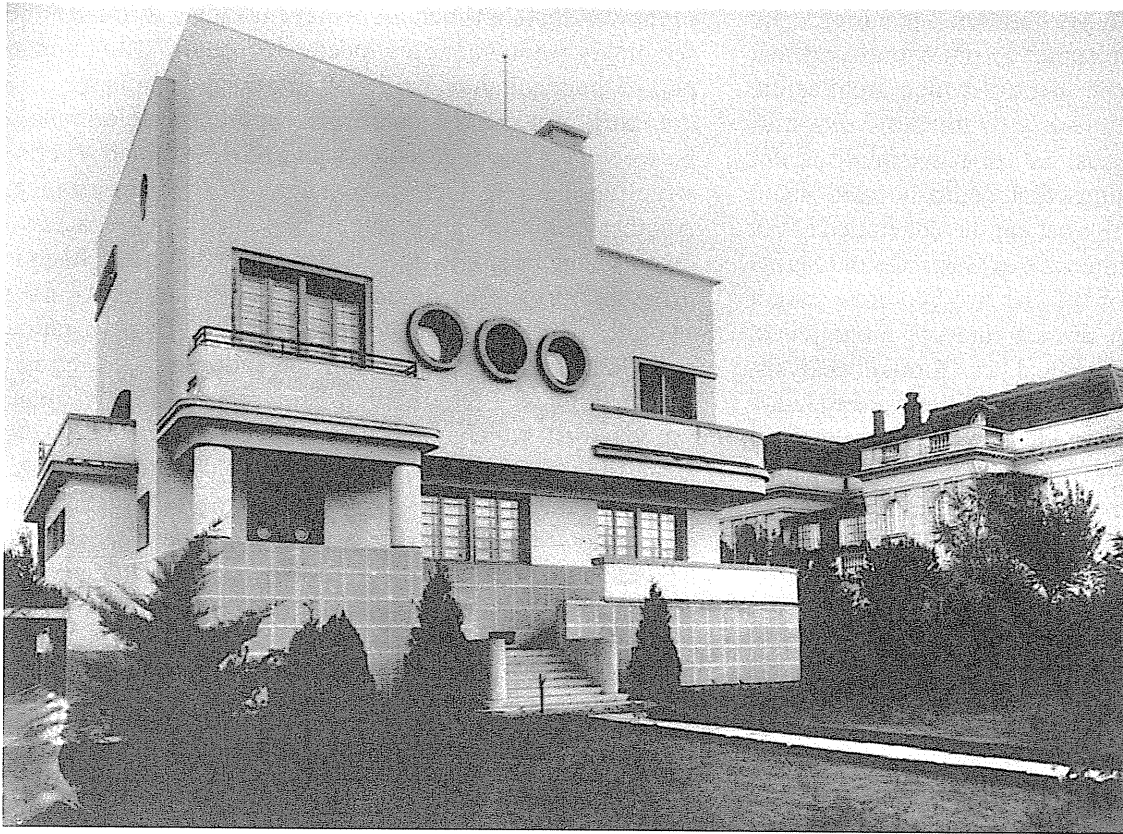


Fig. 8. Dragiša Brašovan, the house of merchant Dušan Lazić, Belgrade, 1932 (photograph from private collection)

syntax of architectural modernism acquired an even more complex role – not only in the presentation of modernity and placing of identity within the European framework, but also in the presentation of cultural and national homogenization (fig. 8).<sup>143</sup> And so the ideological construction of identity was verified and legitimized both in the private and public sphere, notwithstanding the differences related to formal and stylistic aspects of architecture.

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The path of modern Serbia's national emancipation and the process of the creation of Serbian national identity were constantly supported by a complex ideological system based on the mechanisms of cultural representation. Architecture was an element of their integral aspect as a seemingly autonomous world of functions, types, artistic forms and styles, alternated in the last two centuries. When architecture is not perceived as a closed system of forms, types and visual expressions, when it is interpreted outside the set interpretative tradition, obsessively clinging to an imaginary essential autonomous reality of architecture – and if it is still observed not only *within* the ideological and political context but as a *generative aspect* of that context then numerous conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the identity it promotes. Architecture, as a scholarly

and socially sanctioned form of knowledge production is only seemingly outside the sphere of identity and political power. It is an instrument in the production of meaning, everyday life and the construction of identity, hidden, as in every procedural focus of knowledge, behind the autonomy of the discipline.

The most of the buildings erected between the beginning of 1800s and the 1950s in Belgrade and Serbia reveal the fact that their architectural narratives comprise elements from the visual treasury of history. A whole past world is presented in that „autonomous architecture“, just like on the pages of a novel or on canvases of historical and bourgeois paintings. Actually, architecture was introduced into the politics of articulation and the production of identity based on a continuous design of everyday life through a merging of the historic and „pedagogical“ (nation as an *a priori* subject) and the temporal, „performative“ (nation in the process of continuous realization and representation). Despite that, there are not many evidences of this powerful role of building in Belgrade and Serbia in the historic narrative and theory of architecture. As an „anonymous“ system with unchallenged values, the discipline of the history of architecture in Serbia is mostly engaged in its own subject matter, a cluster of methods, the body of true propositions, rules and definitions; it resists and opposes the

questioning of its borders. What traditional historiography of architecture in Serbia presumes is not a meaning that should be discovered nor the identity which architecture produces, but only what is *prescribed* for the creation of new discourses. However, just as „one discipline is not the sum of all the true things that could be said about something“, nor „the sum of what can be concluded about a given thing“,<sup>144</sup> so the architecture of Belgrade and Serbia from the turbulent history of the last two centuries cannot be dealt with only through the set rules of biographical narration, stylistic, morphological or formal analysis, typology, appreciation of aesthetic qualities, specification of „witty“ messages, etc. Those who strictly adhere to these rules, creating a discourse of „autonomy“ and attacking every endeavour of a different interpretation, participate in fact in the general economy of hiding the material quality of ideology and politics.

There is a need today to perceive the huge and complex architectural heritage of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Belgrade and Serbia outside the disciplinary obsession with stylistic taxonomies and outside the theoretical focus which imposes categories such as the classical and romantic ideals, the typical and atypical, international or national style, etc. In fact, such disciplinary pressures are essentially ideological – the pressures of the discipline which refutes all that cannot fit into its petrified order and which in the best positivist tradition of the nineteenth century requires “exact evidence” of the fact that architecture can speak of „extra-artistic contents“. Either intentionally or accidentally, these pressures cloud the rich and stimulating possibility to discover the economy

of power that lies behind the picturesque forms of the seemingly autonomous architecture constituting an integral part of the ideological model of distancing from past.

Still, not every critical approach to the relationship between architecture, identity and power is *a priori* constructive, neither does it contribute to new cognizance. Another reading of architectural heritage from the last two centuries in Belgrade and Serbia can induce conclusions different from those expounded in this treatise – concerning two directions of national emancipation. The permeation and simultaneity of the search for authentic identity and the continuous need to fit it into broader civilizational frameworks, which challenge it and question it at the same time, represent just one aspect in the process of the construction of national identity, the process which is not a specific feature in the history of Serbian society only. The same dichotomy can be followed in the architecture of other national communities in Central and South-Eastern Europe. However, because of the fact that contrary to the majority of nations in this region, the modern ideal of nation-state – where the political and ethnic borderlines are identical – has never been attained, the search for Serbian national identity is particularly striking and complex. This is so eloquently represented in the architectural heritage of Belgrade and Serbia and the long tradition of its interpretation in historiography. As in architecture, the dichotomy between the authentic and the universal, between the imagined, realizable and realized, is present in all other aspects of culture. Therefore, it is mandatory that all future interpretations of architectural heritage and historic culture of Belgrade and Serbia should be exhaustive and serious.



BETWEEN THE SCEPTRE AND THE KEY: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE  
IN BELGRADE AND SERBIA, IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1] Quoted in: Д. Медаковић, *Историзам у српској уметности XIX века*, Прилози КЈИФ XXXIII, 3–4 (1967), 201.
- 2] *Путонис Вилијама Дентона*, quoted in: М. Јовановић, *Српско црквено градитељство и сликарство новијег доба*, Београд и Крагујевац, Каленић, 1987, 99.
- 3] М. Јовановић, *l. c.*
- 4] М. Јовановић, *Градитељство и обнова националног стила*, у: Међу јавом и мед сном: српско сликарство 1830–1870, Београд, 1992, 208.
- 5] *Ibid.*, 209.
- 6] Cf.: А. Kadijević, *Echoes of Medieval Architecture in the Work of the Master Builder Andreja Damjanov*, Зограф, 27 (1998–1999), 167–175; idem, Један век тражења националног стила у архитектури, Београд, 1997, 14 ff.
- 7] D. Mishkova, *The Uses of Tradition and National Identity in the Balkans*, in: *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, Maria Todorova, ed., London, 2004, 269–293; R. Sh. Peckham, *Internal Colonialism: Nation and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Greece*, in: *ibid.*, 53 ff.
- 8] J.-F. Lyotard, *Raskol*, Sremski Karlovci i Novi Sad, 1991; J. Habermas, *Filozofski diskurs moderne*, Zagreb, 1988; M. Foucault, *Istorija seksualnosti: Volja za znanjem*, Београд, 1978; C. Lefort, *History, Ideology and the Social Imaginary. Outline of the Genesis of Ideology in Modern Societies*, in: *The Political Forms of Modern Society*, J. B. Thomason, ed., Cambridge, 1978, 181–236.
- 9] See: L. Perović, ur., *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. I 20. veka. Uloga elita*, knj. 3, Београд, 2003.
- 10] D. Mishkova, *op. cit.*
- 11] З. Маневић, *Сукоб између типичног и атипичног у српском црквеном градитељству новијег доба*, in: *Традиција и савремено српско црквено градитељство*, Б. Стојков, З. Маневић, ur., Београд, 1995, 137.
- 12] *Ibid.*, 136 (italics, A.I.).
- 13] А. Кадијевић, *Евокације и парафразе византијског градитељства у српској архитектури од 1918. до 1941. године*, in: *Ниш и Византија*, Ниш, 2004, 382 (italics, A. I.).
- 14] J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821–1922*, Princeton, 1995.
- 15] D. A. Norris, *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity*, London, 1999.
- 16] M. Roter, *Arhitektura građevina javnih namena izgrađenih u Beogradu 1830–1900. godine*, MA thesis manuscript, Београд, 1994, 16.
- 17] Б. Максимовић, *Идејни развој српског урбанизма: период реконструкције градова до 1914*, Београд, 1978.
- 18] In 1846. Belgrade had 14 386 inhabitants, out of which 8 651 Serbs; sixteen years later Belgrade had 1.241 Christian households, 1.118 Turkish and 268 Jewish. М. Радовановић, *Демографски односи 1815–1914*, in: *Историја Београда*, том 2, Београд, 1974, 271–274.
- 19] Г. Раш, *Светионик истока*, у: Београд у XIX веку: из дела страних путника, прир. Б. Ђ., ur. О. Периф, Београд, 1967, 65.
- 20] В. Карић, *Србија: опис земље, народа и државе*, Београд, 1887, 666.
- 21] H. De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, London, 1907, 109–110.
- 22] АС, Кнежева канцеларија, 1934, VI-357. Published in М. Коларић, *Класицизам код Срба 1790–1848*, vol. 1, Београд, 1965, 228.
- 23] С. К. Павловић, *Србија: историја иза имена*, Београд, 2004, 102.
- 24] M. Foucault, *Riječi i stvari: arheologija humanističkih nauka*, Београд, 1971, 407.
- 25] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 51.
- 26] Н. Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеја у XIX веку: систем европске и српске визуелне културе у служби нације*, Београд, 2006, 66–70.
- 27] A. Smith, *Nacionalni identitet*, Београд, 1998, 27.
- 28] J. Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, London, 1987, 19.
- 29] See: Ch. Mylonas, *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: the Quest for an Eternal Identity*, Budapest and New York, 2003; M. B. Petrovich, *Religion and Ethnicity in Eastern Europe*, in: *Nationalism: Critical Concept in Political Science*, vol. IV, J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith, eds., London, 2000, 1356–1381.
- 30] P. Kitromilides, *Orthodoxy and Nationalism*, in: *Ethnicity*, A. D. Smith and J. Hutchinson, eds., Oxford and New York, 1996, 202–208.
- 31] R. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice*, vol. I, Београд, 2002, 20–22.
- 32] About nationalization of different cultural, territorial and historical aspects of community, which the nationalistic discourse takes as an indivisible unity, see: G. W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in South Eastern Europe*, New York and Oxford, 2000, 33–38.
- 33] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 6, 143.
- 34] It is obvious that the interpretation of the „Serbo-Byzantine“ style has to be approached from the perspective of the balance of power, ideology and the needs for establishing national and cultural identity. The initial researches of Serbian religious architecture raised a number of important questions which the researchers, tied by the rules of the discipline that insisted on the essentially autonomous nature of the architecture, have not yet solved: „If, for example, the Morava model enjoys a wide support, why then the two major Serbian temples built during the twentieth century, the churches of St. Marc and of St. Sava, do not adhere to that model?“. З. Маневић, *Сукоб између типичног и атипичног у српском црквеном градитељству новијег доба*, 139. A possible answer can be found in: T. Damljanović, „Fighting“ the St. Sava: *Public Reaction to the Competition for the largest Cathedral in Belgrade*, Centropa, vol. V, no. 2, 2005, 125–135.
- 35] Н. Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеја у XIX веку: систем европске и српске визуелне културе у служби нације*, Београд, 2006.
- 36] А. Кадијевић, *О архитектури нишке Саборне цркве Силаска Светог духа на апостоле*, у: *Ниш и византија*. Symposium, Ниш 2003, 125–139.
- 37] А. Ignjatović, *Vizija identiteta i model kulture: Srpske pravoslavne crkve izvan granica Srbije 1918–1941*, in: *Kultura sjećanja: povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti*, T. Cipek, O. Milosavljević, ur., Zagreb, 2007, 167–191.
- 38] E. Said, *Kultura i imperijalizam*, Београд, 2000, 352.
- 39] There is a thet „the overall revival of the ‘mediaevalism’ in architecture (in Serbia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) was impeded by the general modernization of the society, as reflected

- in secularism, rejection of patriarchal standards, belief in the progress of science and technology, increased social mobility, etc.": А. Кадиевић, *Евокације и парафразе византијског градитељства у српској архитектури од 1918. до 1941. године*, 382.
- 40] See: P. Kolstø, *Introduction to: Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, London, 2005, 1–34.
- 41] Ј. Неруда, *Слике из туђине*, in: Београд у деветнаестом веку, 3–54.
- 42] By comparison that could be treated as the „uneasiness with the primitive” in the Victorian society of the XIX century. Н. White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore, 1978.
- 43] D. A. Norris, *op. cit.*, 100.
- 44] See: Н. Bhabha, *Smeštanje kulture*, Београд, 2004, 91 ff.
- 45] *Ibid.*, 272–273.
- 46] *Ibid.*, 274–275.
- 47] J. Kristeva, *The Kristeva Reader*, Т. Moi, ed., Oxford, 1986, 187–213.
- 48] See endnote 11.
- 49] Ж. Шкаламера, *Обнова 'српског стила' у архитектури*, Зборник за ликовне уметности Матице Српске, књ. 5, 1969, 194.
- 50] *Србске новине*, 22. август 1850. Quoted after: З. Маневић, *Романтична архитектура: Коруновић, Митровић, Ђокић*, Београд, 1990, 5.
- 51] А. Кадиевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 18.
- 52] З. Маневић, *op. cit.*, 5.
- 53] There is a wide choice of literature based on this interpretation approach with a tradition of more than three decades: Z. Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970*, katalog izložbe, Београд, 1972, *passim*, до: М. R. Perović, *Srpska arhitektura XX veka: od istoricizma do drugog modernizma*, Београд, 2003, 17 ff.
- 54] L. von Ranke, *Die serbische Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen*, Hamburg, 1929. Cf.: Ј. Ранке, *Српска револуција*, Београд, 1991.
- 55] See: A. Gerolymatos, *The Balkan Wars: Conquest, Revolution and Retribution from the Ottoman Era to the 20th Century and Beyond*, New York, 2002; M. Dogo and G. Franzinetti, eds., *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-Building in the Balkans*, Ravenna, 2002; P. M. Kitromilidis, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture of Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe*, Aldershot, 1994.
- 56] М. Јовановић, *Српско црквено градитељство и сликарство новијег доба*, 14.
- 57] See: Д. Медаковић, *Српска уметност у XVIII веку*, Београд, 1980; М. Јовановић, *op. cit.*, 1–66.
- 58] On Belgrade cathedral, see: Б. Вујовић, *Саборна црква у Београду: прилог историји изградње и украшавања главног београдског храма*, Београд, 1984.
- 59] „Србија“, *Новине Србске*, 32 (1928), 250. Quoted after: Н. Макуљевић, *op. cit.*, 53.
- 60] В. Вујовић, *op. cit.*, 87–111.
- 61] Ch. Mylonas, *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: the Quest for an Eternal Identity*.
- 62] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 47.
- 63] See: M. Gleny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers 1804–1999*, New York, 2000.
- 64] See: L. Carl Brown, ed., *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, New York, 1996.
- 65] G. White, *Nationalism and Territory*, 184–185.
- 66] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 47.
- 67] Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије: 1791–1848*, Београд, 1986, 140–141.
- 68] *Ibid.*, 139–141; idem, *Београд у прошлости и садашњости*, Београд, 1994, 178–180.
- 69] М. Ротер, *op. cit.*; М. Ротер-Благојевић, *Стамбена архитектура Београда у 19. и почетком 20. века*, Београд, 2007.
- 70] М. Ротер-Благојевић, *op. cit.*, 254–257.
- 71] See: Д. Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Војводини: од Темишварског сабора 1790. до Благовештенског сабора 1861*, Нови Сад, 1990; М. Екмечић, *Стварање Југославије 1790–1918*, књ. I, Београд, 1989, 42–74.
- 72] В. Anderson, *Nacija: zamišljena zajednica. Razmatranja o porijeklu i širenju nacionalizma*, Zagreb, 1991.
- 73] I. Banac, *National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics*, Ithaca and London, 1988, 74 ff; М. Екмечић, *op. cit.*, 104.
- 74] М. Тимотијевић, Рађање модерне приватности: приватни живот Срба у Хабзбуршкој монархији од краја 17. до почетка 19. века, Београд, 2006, 516.
- 75] А. В. Lord, *Nationalism and the Muses in Balkan Slavic Literature in the Modern Period*, in: *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on Development of Balkan Life and Politics Since the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. and B. Jelavich, eds., Hamden, Conn., 1974, 258–295.
- 76] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 43.
- 77] М. Шупут, *Црква Манастира Ресаве као градитељски узор*, у: Манастир Ресаве: историја и уметност, Деспотовац, 1995, 150–159.
- 78] Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 112–115.
- 79] И. Гарашанин, *Начертаније Илије Гарашанина: програм спољашње и националне политике Србије на крају 1844. године*, Београд, 1991.
- 80] Д. Медаковић, *Истраживачи српских старина*, Београд, 1985; Н. Макуљевић, *op. cit.*, 66–70.
- 81] Šafarik wrote the following about Manasija: "The church in Manasija could be used as a model for the churches of Eastern Orthodox Serbs, and Slavic people in general. How to build, decorate and organise them. When the time comes to build cathedrals and new monasteries, Serbs should look for the plans of Manasija, Žiča, Ravanica": Ј. Шафарик, *Извештаје о путовању по Србији 1846. године*, Ј. Дурковић-Јакшић, М. Трипковић, ур., Ваљево, 1993, 40.
- 82] See: С. Богдановић, *Михаило Валтровић и Драгутин Милутиновић као истраживачи српских старина*, у: Излози Српског ученог друштва. Истраживања српске средњовековне уметности 1871–1884, св. бр. 34, Београд, 1978, 7–90; Ј. Мишковић-Прелевић, *Рад Драгутина Милутиновића и Михаила Валтровића на снимању средњовековних споменика у Србији*, у: Излози Српског ученог друштва. Истраживања српске средњовековне уметности 1871–1884, 93–112.
- 83] *Извештај изасланика уметничког одсека г.г. Д. С. Милутиновића и Михаила Валтровића о своме пословању по Србији*, Гласник Српског ученог друштва, књ. XXXVI, 1872.

BETWEEN THE SCEPTRE AND THE KEY: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE  
IN BELGRADE AND SERBIA, IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 84] See: M. Ротер-Благојевић, *Настава архитектуре на вишим и високошколским установама у Београду током 19. и почетком 20. века – утицај страних и домаћих градитеља*, Годишњак града Београда, књ. XLIV, 1997, 140 ff.
- 85] „Old Serbian art monuments offer to Serbian artists the needed foundation for their work in architecture, but also in sculpture and fresco painting. And those forms and representations that cannot be found in Serbian art will certainly exist in its source, the Byzantine art.” M. Валтровић, *Колико стара српска уметност може за образац да послужи новој*, Предионица, бр. 6 (п. д.), 90–91.
- 86] See: M. Bakić-Hayden, *Balkanski 'bizantizam' ili šta je to tako vizantijsko na Balkanu*, in: Varijacije na temu „Balkan“, Beograd, 2006, 75–97; B. Pantelić, *Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications*, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. LVI, no. 1, 1997, 16–41.
- 87] In the law on ecclesiastical affairs (1862) it was stipulated that all newly built Orthodox temples had to be in Byzantine style. See: Д. Ђурић-Замоло, *Најранији правни прописи из области архитектуре и урбанизма у Србији XIX века (1835–1865)*, у: Градска култура на Балкану (XV–XIX век), књ. 2, Београд, 1988, 151–173.
- 88] С. Стојановић, *Српски неимар*, Београд, 1912, 9–10. The author had in mind the builder of the Ljubostinja monastery (1388–1403), whose name is carved in the footprint between the narthex and the nave.
- 89] G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe: les églises*, Paris, 1919.
- 90] Cf. T. Damjanović, „Fighting“ the St. Sava: Public Reaction to the Competition for the largest Cathedral in Belgrade, 128. There are other opinions like: “Manasija is a symbol of the political and cultural growth of the Serbian state.”: M. Јовановић, *Српско црквено градитељство и сликарство новијег доба*, 97.
- 91] During the 1870 the expression “to cross the Drina river” became a sort of national slogan present in all public speeches: M. P. Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804–1918*, vol. II, New York, 1976, 315–316.
- 92] С. Павловић, *op. cit.*, 81.
- 93] *Вазнесенска црква у Београду*, М. Радвановић, ур., Београд, 1984, 25–78.
- 94] Видети: E. Clegg, *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920*, New Haven and London, 2006; A. Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1876–1933*, Chicago and London, 2006; Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge, Mass., 1998.
- 95] А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 38.
- 96] С. Ивачковић, *Црква у селу Гунцати*, Српски технички лист, 5, 1893, 110.
- 97] This is derived from Theophile von Hansen, professor at Vienna Fine Arts Academy, who promoted the Neo-Byzantine architecture as an important element in the policy of national representation in the Habsburg monarchy. His students, Serbs from the Habsburg Empire, Jovan Ilkic, Dusan Zivanovic, and Vladimir Nikolic, transferred that building tradition to Serbia. See: M. Јовановић, *Теофил Ханзен, „ханзенатика“ и Ханзенови српски ученици*, Зборник за ликовне уметности Матице српске, 1985, 235–247; idem, *Обнова 'српско-византијског' стила у архитектури*, у: Српско црквено градитељство и сликарство новијег доба, 109–130.
- 98] See: N. Nestorović, *Грађевине и архитекти у Београду прошлог столећа*, Београд, 1972, 39–40; Д. Ђурић-Замоло, *Градитељи Београда 1815–1914*, Београд, 1981, 110; M. Roter, *Архитектура грађевина јавних намена изграђених у Београду од 1830. до 1900. године*, 126, 132, 139–140.
- 99] M. Roter, *op. cit.*, 140.
- 100] А. Стевановић, *Технички снимак Каленића*, Српски технички лист, 1890, 1. Наведено према: А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 65.
- 101] See: A. Ignjatović, *Mlad i drevan narod: dijalektika primordijalnog jugoslovenstva. Vidovdanski hram*, Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904–1941, 43–60.
- 102] The interpretation of Gračanica as „the most beautiful church in the world“ is rather indicative. See: *Да ли ће се на земљишту Цркве св.Марка подићи палата Главне поште или Општински дом?*, Време, 31. мај 1928.
- 103] T. Damjanovic, *The Question of National Architecture in Interwar Yugoslavia: Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana*, Ph.D. thesis manuscript, Ithaca, 2003, 206 ff; idem, „Fighting“ the St. Sava: Public Reaction to the Competition for the largest Cathedral in Belgrade, 129 f.
- 104] Д. Живановић, *Милорад Рувидић: живот и дело*, Београд, 2004, 76–94.
- 105] А. Кадијевић, *Момир Коруновић*, Београд, 1996, *passim*.
- 106] С. Видаковић, *Архитектура јавних објеката у Бањалуци (1918–1941)*, рукопис магистарског рада, Београд, 2005, 21–32.
- 107] С. Тошева, *Организација и рад Архитектонског одељења Министарства грађевина у периоду између два светска рата*, Наслеђе, II, 1999, 171–181.
- 108] Б. Вујовић, *Црквени споменици на подручју града Београда*, II, Саопштења, 13 (1973).
- 109] П. Ј. Поповић, *Рестаурација цркве Цара Лазара у Крушевцу*, Српски технички лист, год. XVIII, бр. 50, 1907, 409. О Поповићевој реконструкцији Лазарице видети: В. Ристић, *Рестаурација Лазарице Пере Ј. Поповића из 1904–1908. године*, Саопштења, XV, 1983, 129–146.
- 110] Th. H. Eriksen, *Etnicitet i nacionalizam*, Beograd, 2004, 203.
- 111] С. В. Недић, *Дом светог Саве*, Годишњак града Београда, књ. XXXVI, 1989, 163–170.
- 112] *Споменица Светосавског дома*, Друштво Св. Саве, књ. 12, Београд, 1891, 135.
- 113] See: М. Поповић, *Грбови на јавним здањима Београда (II део)*, Годишњак града Београда, књ. XLII, 1995, 65–66.
- 114] А. Ignjatović, *Vizija identiteta i model kulture: Srpske pravoslavne crkve izvan granica Srbije 1918–1941*, *passim*.
- 115] Д. Живановић, *op. cit.*, 77; А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 68–71.
- 116] Ж. Шкаламера, *Обнова 'српског стила' у архитектури*, 221–222.
- 117] Z. Manević, *Novija srpska arhitektura*, Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970, 15 (italics A. I.).
- 118] The following statement is typical: “It seems necessary to establish which religious buildings were considered the beacons of national spirit, more by their form than by their content, and which were just implantations of foreign cultures on our soil.”: З. Маневић, *Сукоб између типичног и атипичног у српском црквеном градитељству*

- новијез доба, 140. Similar assessments are frequent in recent histories of Serbian architecture.
- 119] Ж. Шкаламера, *loc. cit.*
- 120] А. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 409–414.
- 121] М. П. Коруновић, *Моравски стил*, у: *Наше село – Naše село*, М. Стојадиновић, ур., Београд, 1929, 148.
- 122] А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 131–132.
- 123] С. Тошева, *Архитект Милица Крстић (1887–1964)*, Годишњак града Београда, XLIV, 1997, 100–103.
- 124] А. Кадијевић, Допринос руских неимара емиграната српској архитектури између два светска рата, у: *Руси без Русије*. Српски Руси, Београд, 1994, 243–254; А. Кадијевић and М. Ђурђевић, *The Russian Emigrant Architects in Yugoslavia (1918–1941)*, *Centropa*, 2, 2002, 139–148; С. Тошева, Рад руских архитеката у Министарству грађевина у периоду између два светска рата, Годишњак града Београда, LI, 2004, 169–180.
- 125] See: M. Facos and Sh. L. Hirsh, *Introduction to: Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Cambridge, 2003, 1–15; E. Clegg, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- 126] М. Тимотијевић, *Народно позориште у Београду – храм патриотске религије*, Наслеђе, VI, 2005, 9–42.
- 127] Т. Борић, *Теразије: урбанистички и архитектонски развој*, Београд, 2004, 129–130.
- 128] И. Клеут, *Историја и архитектура Железничке станице у Београду*, Наслеђе, VII, 2006, 37–50.
- 129] Г. Гордић, *Палата Народне банке*, Наслеђе, II, 1999, 85–94; М. Ščekić, *Архитекта Konstantin Jovanović*, Београд, 1988; Т. Damljanović, *A Semper Student in Belgrade*, *Centropa*, II, 2, 2002, 144–151.
- 130] Б. Вујовић, *Београд у прошлости и садашњости*, 141–142.
- 131] Г. Гордић, М. Поповић, *Дом Народне скупштине*, Наслеђе, III, 2001, 85–88; М. Поповић, *Здање Народне скупштине: правци истраживања и принципи обнове*, Наслеђе, IV, 2002, 9–34.
- 132] See: А. Кадијевић, *Поглед на академизам у српској архитектури (средина XIX–средина XX века)*, in: *Естетика архитектуре академизма (XIX–XX век)*, Београд, 2005, 291–418.
- 133] Ж. Шкаламера, Архитекта Никола Краснов (Москва 1864.–Београд 1939), *Свеске ДИУС*, VII, бр. 14, 1983, 125–126; А. Кадијевић, Рад Николаја Краснова у Министарству грађевина Краљевине СХС/Југославије у Београду од 1922. до 1939. године, Годишњак града Београда, XLIV, 1997, 231–232.
- 134] Б. Ибрајтер-Газибара, *Архитектура зграде Техничког факултета у Београду*, Наслеђе, VII, 2006, 69–86.
- 135] Lj. Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia: The Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture 1919–1941*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2003, 182–184.
- 136] А. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenski identitet u arhitekturi 1904–1941*, 388–391; Д. Станчић и М. Лазовић, *Бановина*, Нови Сад, 1999.
- 137] Н. Bhabha, *op. cit.*, 37.
- 138] *Ibid.*, 415.
- 139] С. В. Недић, *Из историје Старог двора*, Наслеђе, II, 1999, 11–24; С. Марловић, *Трагање за изгубљеном целовитошћу дворског комплекса у Београду*, Годишњак града Београда, LI (2005), 194–248.
- 140] About these buildings, see: М. Ротер-Благојевић, *Стамбена архитектура Београда у 19. и почетком 20. века*.
- 141] А. Кадијевић, Д. Маскарели, *О архитектури Генчићеве куће*, Наслеђе, V, 2004, 135–144.
- 142] С. Тошева, *Конкурс за Бели двор на Дедињу*, Годишњак града Београда, XLV–XLVI, 1998–1999, 133–149.
- 143] See: А. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904–1941*, 231–306; Lj. Blagojević, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- 144] М. Foucault, *Poredak diskursa*, in: *Znanje i moć*, Zagreb, 1994, 115–142, quoted on page. 124.