

**Broken Mechanism: Architectural Competitions for Administrative
Buildings in Interwar Belgrade**

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Abstract

The majority of competitions for administrative buildings in interwar Belgrade gave unsuccessful results, consequently constructed buildings present differences between their shapes and competition projects. In this thesis I analyze factors, which obstructed the work of competitions in the case of administrative buildings. The first part of research is based on the examination of key institutions involved in the architectural process and their influence on the competitive practice. Secondly, I investigate the development of the competitive practice on the whole and problems, which appeared in different stages. On the base of case studies presented in the third chapter this thesis reveals that unsuccessful results of competitions for administrative buildings were connected with the gap between architectural development and stylistic preferences of state institutions. The hypothesis of research is that the character of problems in the competitions changed during the growth of the divergence between directions of architectural searches and demands of state institutions.

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List of Abbreviations

AJ – Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archive of Yugoslavia]

BON – Beogradske Opštinske Novine [Belgrade Municipal Newspaper]

GAMP – Grupa Arhitekata Modernog Pravca [Group of Architects of Modern Direction]

GGB – Godišnjak Grada Beograda [Annual of Belgrade City]

HBTF – Hipotekarna Banka Trgovačkog Fonda [Mortgage Bank of Commercial Fund]

IAB – Istorijski Arhiv Beograda [Historical Archive of Belgrade]

UJIA – Udruženje Jugoslovenskih Inženjera i Arhitekata [Association of Yugoslav Engineers and Architects]

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Introduction

After the First World War Belgrade, the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, became the capital of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The new state had great political ambitions and grandiose projects, which led to significant changes in the status and the image of Belgrade. Continuing pre-war trends to Europeanization and intensive urbanization¹, Belgrade acquired the features of ‘a modern European capital’² in the interwar period. Under the conditions of building boom, emerged in the aftermath of war damages and the population influx, a lot of residential and public buildings were constructed during interwar years, including representative governmental buildings. State institutions demanded the embodiment of such concepts as strength, stability and prosperity into these building. Moreover, the state requested to express Yugoslav identity through architectural means³, which led to the creation of a very specific architectural situation in interwar Belgrade.

On the whole, interwar Belgrade architecture was located at the intersection of the main trends: academism⁴, national-romanticism⁵ and modernism⁶. They co-existed with transitional forms⁷ and secondary tendencies as expressionism⁸ and art deco⁹. The stylistic diversity was supplemented by the diversity of architects’ groups and their backgrounds.

¹ D. Stojanović, *Kaldra i asfalt : urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda: 1890-1914*, (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2009).

² L. Blagojević, *Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007), 127.

³ A. Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi: 1904-1941*, (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2007).

⁴ A. Kadijević, *Estetika arhitekture akademizma*, (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2005); G. Polovina, “Arhitektura klasicizma u Srbiji XIX i XX veka,” (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2012).

⁵ A. Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila u srpskoj arhitekturi*, (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1997); V. Putnik, “Folklorizam u arhitekturi Beograda,” *GGB* 57 (2010): 175-210.

⁶ L. Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia: The Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003); Z. Manević, “Pojava moderne arhitekture u Srbiji,” (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 1979); Z. Manević, “Beogradski arhitektonski modernizam,” *GGB* XXVI (1979): 209-226.

⁷ B. Nestorović, “Postakademizam u arhitekturi Beograda,” *GGB* XX (1973): 349-354; G. Polovina, “Tranzitivni oblikovni koncepti na primerima arhitekture Beograda,” *Nasleđe* X (2009): 41-64.

⁸ Đ. I. Alfrević, “Ekspresionizam u arhitekturi XX veka u Srbiji,” (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2008); A. Kadijević, “Ekspresionizam u beogradskoj arhitekturi,” *Nasleđe* 13 (2012): 59-77.

⁹ M. Prosen, “Ar deko u srpskoj arhitekturi,” (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2014); M. Jovanović, “Francuski arhitekt Eksper i 'Ar Deko' u Beogradu,” *Nasleđe* 3 (2001): 67-84; Z. Manević, “Art deco and national tendencies in Serbian architecture,” *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 1 (1994): 85-89.

Besides Serbians, architects from western parts of the state¹⁰ and from other countries including also Russian emigrants¹¹ were engaged in the architectural process of Belgrade. The dynamics of stylistic development in the case of Belgrade was determined by the delayed affirmation of modernism and the stylistic preferences of state institutions, which demanded the creation of Yugoslav architecture. As a result in the interwar period architecture of governmental and administrative buildings was characterized by backwardness and incompatibility with architectural development¹².

Governmental architecture is important for research, because it articulated and translated representations of state institutions. In interwar Belgrade the Ministry of Construction had a monopoly over shape of governmental buildings, controlling all stages of construction¹³. Nevertheless it was common practice to organize competitions for preliminary sketches. Thus competitions were between interests of state institutions and the professional community. Tensions between them led to failures of the competition mechanism. On the whole competitive practice was full of problems, which embraced all stages of competitions: elaboration of a program, work of a jury, decision making and its implementation. As concerns administrative buildings the main problems were connected with ignoring results and changing projects.

Despite the abundance of literature devoted to architectural trends, professional biographies of architects, key buildings in interwar Belgrade, architectural competitions were rarely an object of research. On the one hand, there is a book about the competition for

¹⁰ N. Antešević, "Doprinos hrvatskih arhitekata i zagrebačke škole arhitekture beogradskom gradotvornom nasleđu tokom 20. veka," *Izgradnja* 9-10 (2015): 377–389; A. Kadijević, "Hrvatski arhitekti u izgradnji Beograda u 20. stoljeću," *Prostor* 19 (2011): 467–477.

¹¹ A. Kadijević, "Uloga ruskih emigranata u beogradskoj arhitekturi između dva svetska rata," *GGB XLIX – L* (2002-2003): 131–142; S. Toševa, "Rad ruskih arhitekata u Ministarstvu građevina u periodu između dva svetska rata," *GGB LI* (2004): 169–181; A. Ignjatović, "Razlika u funkciji sličnosti – arhitektura ruskih emigranata u Srbiji između dva svetska rata i konstrukcija srpskog nacionalnog identiteta," *Tokovi istorije* 1 (2011): 63–75.

¹² B. Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika arhitektonske struke u Beogradu*, (Beograd: SANU, 1978), 96.

¹³ S. Toševa, "Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina Kraljevine Jugoslavije i njegov uticaj na razvoj graditeljstva u Srbiji između dva svetska rata," (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2013).

the Master Plan¹⁴ and articles investigating competitions for particular buildings¹⁵. Architectural competitions are also investigated within the framework of building case studies or biographies of architects. Thus there is a gap of research on the competition mechanism itself, its connections with other architectural institutions and its influence on stylistic tendencies in interwar Belgrade.

On the whole in history of architecture, investigations of competitions are on the stage of development. There are a number of collections of case-studies¹⁶ and mainly researches focus on the most significant competitions as for example for the Chicago Tribune Tower¹⁷ or the British Houses of Parliament¹⁸. From the point of view of this thesis, the most useful approaches for competitions are presented in the book of Vadim Bass¹⁹ and the article of Andrew Shanken²⁰. Bass examined relations between competitive practice and stylistic trends on the material of Petersburg neoclassical architecture. Shanken suggested an approach in which competitions are considered as a mechanism, in which professional community, government and corporations interacted.

This thesis investigates unsuccessful competitions for administrative buildings in order to reveal how the gap between architectural development and preferences of state

¹⁴ Z. Vuksanović-Macura, *San o gradu: Međunarodni konkurs za urbanističko uređenje Beograda 1921-1922*, (Beograd: Orion Art, 2015).

¹⁵ A. Iljevski, "Form and Function: Architectural Design Competition for the State Printing House of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 42 (2014): 259-277; S. Toševa, "Konkurs za Beli dvor na Dedinju," *GGB XLV-XLVI* (1998-1999): 133-149; T. Damljanović, "Fighting' the St. Sava: Public Reaction to the Competition for the Largest Belgrade Cathedral," *Centropa* V, no. 2 (2005): 125-135.

¹⁶ H. de Haan and I. Haagsma, *Architects in Competition: International Architectural Competitions: International Architectural Competitions of the Last 200 Years*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988); C. de Jong and E. Mattie, *Architectural Competitions*, 2 vols (Koln: Benedikt Taschen, 1994); J.E. Andersson, G. Bloxham Zettersten and M. Rönn, eds., *Architectural Competition: Histories and Practice*, (Hamburgsund: The Royal Institute of Technology, Rio Kulturkooperativ, 2013); J-P. Chupin, C. Cucuzzella and B. Helal, eds., *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge: An International Inquiry*, Montreal: Potential Architecture Books, 2015.

¹⁷ K. Solomonson, *The Chicago Tribune Tower competition: skyscraper design and cultural change in the 1920s*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁸ W. J. Rorabaugh, "Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1834-1837," *Victorian Studies* 17, no. 2 (1973): 155-175.

¹⁹ V. Bass, *Peterburgskaja neoklassičeskaja arhitektura 1900-1910: gorod v zerkale konkursov*, (Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo EUSPb, 2010).

²⁰ A. Shanken, "Architectural Competitions and Bureaucracy, 1934-1945," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 3 (1999): 43-56.

institutions obstructed the competitive mechanism. The hypothesis of research is that the character of problems in competitions for administrative buildings changed during the growth of the gap between stylistic preferences. While in the 1920s the main problems were connected with the unregulated character of competitions, during the 1930s the competitive mechanism failed to work in the case of administrative buildings because of different logics of selection. The professional jury chose according to the criteria of functional space organization, but state institutions paid more attention to facades and their styles, which led to ignoring the results of competitions or changing the projects.

The methodology of this research is based on the idea to explain architectural characteristics of buildings through the analysis of competitions as a mechanism, in which political and professional influences are bound together. Research procedures included the examination of texts around competitions (among which announcements, jury reports, official correspondence and comments in the press) and the stylistic analysis of competition projects within the framework of political and ideological changes in the state.

The first chapter will lay out specifics of key institutions involved in the architectural process and their interrelations and influence on competitive practice. Besides the institutional context, the diversity of styles and also their political implications will be considered. The second chapter will engage with the competition mechanism itself. It aims to examine the organization of all stages of competitions and their regulations with the main focus to problems occurred in competitive practice. The third chapter will deal with the question how the discrepancy between stylistic preferences of state institutions and new architectural trends influenced competitions for administrative buildings on the basis of case studies.

Chapter One. The Architectural Process in Interwar Belgrade

In order to establish the role of competitions in the architectural process it seems necessary to examine the specifics of key institutions involved in it. Second important point is the stylistic diversity. Various architectural trends were different not only in terms of architectural features, but they also relied on different social interests and implied various strategies for the creation of Yugoslav architecture. Such differences led to divergence of stylistic preferences of institutions, which influenced competition practice. Complex and contradictory interactions of these factors determined specifics of urban transformations of interwar Belgrade.

1.1. Urban Transformations and the Institutional Context of the Architectural Process

Belgrade significantly changed its status and image in the interwar period. The kingdom was driven by a desire “to get involved to progressive course of history”²¹ and Belgrade became the visual representation of it. Moreover architects tried to find architectural expressions of the specific Belgrade modus of life²² and even “materialize Yugoslav spirit”²³ in its architecture.

The yugoslavization of Belgrade were conducted through representative architecture of new administrative centers²⁴. Besides Yugoslav unity, the policy of the new state demanded the embodiment of stability and prosperity into key buildings. The whole process

²¹ Blagojević, *Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam*, 24.

²² B. Kojić, “Arhitektura Beograda,” [Architecture of Belgrade] *Vreme*, 06.01.1929, 25.

²³ A. Mihajlović, “Od srpskog do jugoslovenskog Beograda,” [From Serbian to Yugoslav Belgrade], *BON* 3 (1935): 174.

²⁴ A. Ignjatović, “Architecture, Urban Development, and the Yugoslavization of Belgrade,” *Centropa* IX, no. 2 (2009): 114.

of designed the proper capital for the new state was under influences of great ambitions²⁵ and necessity to express new political and cultural identity²⁶.

As a center of the new state, Belgrade attracted migrants from all over the country and its population increased. For example, Belgrade had 90 000 inhabitants at 1918 and approximately 320 000 before the Second World War²⁷. The city territory increased approximately fourfold, but the population density remained low and some areas of the city kept the half-agrarian character²⁸. However, a quality of the urban infrastructure increased, for example, plumbing, sewage, the electrical network and the transport system were improved²⁹.

The necessity of reconstruction after war damages, unsatisfactory conditions of buildings, unsuitable allocation of state institutions and population influx led to building boom, which was possible because of the consolidation of investments from private capital and state and municipal institutions³⁰. Loans from the State Mortgage Bank significantly stimulated the construction activity, primarily in the city center³¹. Notwithstanding the city territory was scattered with a lot of empty spaces³². On the whole the construction activity was fluctuating: intense periods rotated with decreases due to economic reasons³³.

²⁵ J. Dubovi, "Budući veliki Beograd," [Future great Belgrade]. *Savremena opština* 6-7 (1927): 1170.

²⁶ M. Roter Blagojević, and M. Vukotić Lazar, "Between East and West – Influences on Belgrade Urban and Architectural Development from the early 19th century to the 1970s," *Limes plus: geopolitički časopis* 1 (2013): 127.

²⁷ D. Vuksanović-Anić, "Urbanistički razvitak Beograda u periodu između dva svetska rata," u *Istorija XX veka* IX, ur. D. Janković (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1968), 500.

²⁸ Gašić, "Problemi teritorijalnog širenja Beograda," 65.

²⁹ T. Dabović i D. Djordjević, "Ideologije i praksa planiranja Beograda 1867-1972: period uspona," *Zbornik radova – Geografski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu* LVIII (2010):159.

³⁰ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika*, 1.

³¹ "Statistika novih građevina za poslednjih deset godina," [Statistics of new buildings for the last ten years], *Vreme*, 14.04.1929, 9; Š. Bajalović, "O izgrađivanju centra Beograda i delimičnoj svojini građevina," [About the construction of the city center], *BON* 5 (1935): 290. About the State Mortgage Bank qv D. Letica, "Državna Hipotekarna Banka," u *Ministarstvo finansija Kraljevine Jugoslavije: 1918-1938*, (Beograd: Izdanje Ministarstva finansija, 1939), 247–251.

³² O. Minić, "Razvoj Beograda i njegove arhitekture između dva svetska rata," *GGB* 1 (1954): 180.

³³ "Koliko je u Beogradu podignuto zgrada posle rata," [How many buildings were constructed in Belgrade after the war], *Politika*, 30.12.1931, 5; S. Genić, "Arhitektonska delatnost," [The architectural activity] *BON* 1-3 (1934): 236.

In order to create a appropriate capital the Ministry of Construction and the Municipality started to work on creation programs and plans for urban development³⁴. The Association of Yugoslav Engineers and Architects (UJIA) suggested organizing an international competition for the Master Plan, which was announced in 1921³⁵.

The jury for the Master Plan competition contained representatives of the Municipality, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Belgrade University and two foreign architects (from Paris and Geneva)³⁶. Twenty three projects were sent to the competition from eight countries³⁷. Most of the participants were prominent architects and urbanists with experience of participating on such competitions and creating master plans³⁸. On the whole, the results of the competition were not satisfactory³⁹. The jury did not award the first prize, but three projects got the second: the French project 'Urbs Magna', the Austrian project 'Singidunum novissima' and the Hungarian 'Santé, beauté, commerce et traffic'⁴⁰. As a result the Municipality decided to create a special commission for the elaboration of the final Master plan on the basis of the competition projects⁴¹. The Russian architect emigrant Georgy Kovalyevsky elaborated the final decision, which was approved as the Master plan by the Ministry of Construction on the July 19, 1924⁴².

The Master plan caused wide public discussions and a critique by experts⁴³. Firstly, as a plan designated to represent prosperity of the new state it was characterized as

³⁴ "Za uređenje Beograda," [For an arrangement of Belgrade] *Politika*, 24. 7. 1920, 3.

³⁵ Vuksanović-Macura, *San o gradu*, 53.

³⁶ "Generalni plan Beograda," [Belgrade Master Plan] *Vreme*, 07.04.1922, 3.

³⁷ Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Switzerland and the Kingdom of SHS (only two projects) Vuksanović-Macura, *San o gradu*: 74.

³⁸ Z. Vuksanović-Macura, "'Prestonica Karađorđevića': Emil Hope i Oto Šental na konkursu za Generalni plan Beograda," *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 9 (2013): 104.

³⁹ For example, the highest mark was 3,4 (in the range from 0 to 6). B. Maksimović, "Vrednosti generalnog plana Beograda od 1923. godine i njihovo poništavanje," *GGB XXVII* (1980): 239.

⁴⁰ Results published in newspapers: "Budući Beograd," [Future Belgrade] *Vreme*, 7.05.1922, 3; "Novi Beograd," [New Belgrade] *Politika*, 7.05.1922, 1. About 'Singidunum novissima': Z. Vuksanović-Macura, "Singidunum Novissima: novo čitanje poznatog konkursnog rada," *Nasleđe* 15 (2014): 115–127.

⁴¹ S. Nedić, "Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda iz 1923. godine," *GGB XXIV* (1977): 306.

⁴² M. Đurđević, "Urbanističko-arhitektonska delatnost Đorđa Pavlovića Kovaljevskog u Srbiji," *GGB XLIX–L* (2002–2003): 170.

⁴³ Dabović and Djordjević, "Ideologije i praksa planiranja Beograda," 161.

megalomaniac and inopportune for given economic conditions⁴⁴. Secondly, the Master plan was criticized because it was not based on complex understanding of urban problems⁴⁵ and left many questions unresolved⁴⁶. Moreover, the Master Plan concentrated on regulation of already developed part and was not flexible, which led to necessity to change it a lot of times in order to adapt it to the city needs⁴⁷. Besides changes, the Municipality often violated the plan and “worked as if there is no Master Plan”⁴⁸.

Under the circumstances of undeveloped legal basis, the insufficient elaboration of phases and priorities of the Master Plan implementation, a lack of control mechanisms and rapid construction in the conditions of emergency needs Belgrade continued to develop spontaneously and unplanned⁴⁹. Rapid population growth led to the appearance of illegally built neighborhoods with unsanitary conditions⁵⁰. Another urban problem was connected with a lack of defined city center and unsuitable regulations of squares⁵¹.

In the early thirties the necessity to develop a new Master plan became obvious⁵². The works began only in 1937, but as a result only a preliminary draft was made, which fixed the results of city development⁵³. In 1939 the Municipality prepared to organize international competition for the new Master plan⁵⁴, however this idea remained unimplemented as plans suggested by architects, including Dragiša Brašovan’s modernist

⁴⁴ J. Dubovy, “Regulace Belehradu,” [Regulation of Belgrade] *Stavba* 12 (1929): 180.

⁴⁵ M. Somborski, “Razvoj Beograda između dva rata,” *Urbanizam-arhitektura* 1–4 (1951): 44.

⁴⁶ Minić, “Razvoj Beograda,” 181.

⁴⁷ Somborski, “Razvoj Beograda između dva rata,” 45. Totally it was changed around 190 times (Minić, “Razvoj Beograda,” 182).

⁴⁸ B. Maksimović, B. *Problemi urbanizma*, (Beograd: G. Kon, 1932), 34.

⁴⁹ Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 32.

⁵⁰ Z. Vuksanović Macura, “Pištolj mala: najzaostališe nehigijensko naselje medjuratnog Beograda,” *GGB* LIX (2012): 130.

⁵¹ “Kakav će izgledati budući veliki Beograd,” [How will look future great Belgrade] *Politika* 27.05.1939, 8. The Municipality organized a number of competitions for the regulation of main squares, but results were unsatisfactory and remained unimplemented.

⁵² Vuksanović Anić, “Urbanistički razvitak Beograda,” 491.

⁵³ Djurdjević, “Urbanističko-arhitektonska delatnost,” 169.

⁵⁴ “Kakav će izgledati budući veliki Beograd,” *Politika* 27.05.1939, 8.

project for the left bank of Sava⁵⁵ or the plan of Milan Pantović, inspired of CIAM ideas and implied radical reconstruction of Belgrade⁵⁶.

The implementation of the Master Plan was obstructed by a lack of urban legislation⁵⁷. During the elaboration and implementation of the Master Plan the obviously outdated Construction law from 1896 was valid⁵⁸. Intensive elaboration of urban legislation occurred in the 1930s (the Construction law (1931)⁵⁹, the Cadastre (1933)⁶⁰, the Construction Rulebook (1935)⁶¹). Besides urban legislation, during the 1930s the legislation about activities of engineers and architects was elaborated⁶². The Act about Authorized Engineers (1937) among other things determined who has right to design buildings and salary issues⁶³. Finally, the Rulebook about architectural competitions were accepted in 1938.

The Ministry of Construction had a key role in the elaboration of such legislation, because one of its functions was supervising engineering activities⁶⁴. Moreover, the Ministry of Construction controlled towns and settlements planning and construction of public buildings⁶⁵. Due to the unstable political situation ministers changed very often: changes occurred 46 times and the position was held by 24 persons⁶⁶. Most of them had no

⁵⁵ “Kako će se širiti i razvijati Novi Beograd,” [How will expand and develop New Belgrade] *Politika*, 23.02.1941

⁵⁶ Dabović and Djordjević, “Ideologije i praksa planiranja Beograda,” 163.

⁵⁷ Maksimović, *Problemi urbanizma*, 35.

⁵⁸ Gašić, “Problemi teritorijalnog širenja Beograda,” 60.

⁵⁹ *Građevinski zakon: od 7. juna 1931.* [The Construction Law from June 7th, 1931] Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, 1931.

⁶⁰ Gašić, “Problemi teritorijalnog širenja Beograda,” 62

⁶¹ *Građevinski pravilnik za grad Beograd.* [The Construction rulebook for Belgrade] Beograd: Geca Kon, 1935

⁶² Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 70.

⁶³ *Zakon o ovlašćenim inženjerima od 1937 god.* [The Act about authorized engineers] Beograd : Grafički umetnički zavod Planeta, 1937. Its supplement, the Rulebook about the division of competences between professions of authorized engineers caused complaints from architects (Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 165).

⁶⁴ S. Toševa, “Organizacija i rad Arhitektonskog odeljenja Ministarstva građevina u periodu između dva svetska rata,” *Nasleđe* 2 (1999): 177.

⁶⁵ Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 43.

⁶⁶ R. Ljušić i dr. *Vlade Srbije: 1805-2005*, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 25.

relation with architecture and held other ministerial posts as well⁶⁷.

The Ministry consisted of several departments: general, economic, hydrotechnical, postal, telephone-telegraph, architectural, road and railway⁶⁸. The Architectural Department was responsible for “design, construction and maintenance of all state buildings (except military buildings and maintenance of the Ministry of Transport buildings) and control over the design and construction of all buildings for public use”⁶⁹. Thus the Architectural department had a monopoly of control over administrative buildings.

On the whole, the state did not have a clearly defined architectural policy because of political instability. King Alexander was characterized as personally involved and interested in all kinds of problems including urban and architectural issues⁷⁰. His personal stylistic preferences included architecture of Russian emigrants architects⁷¹ and the national style inspired by Serbian medieval art⁷².

The same preferences determined the specifics of architectural education in the interwar period. Before the First World War foreign education was a common practice for Serbian architects⁷³. In the interwar period the quality of domestic architectural education increased, so the Architectural Department of the Faculty of Engineering in the University of Belgrade became the main educational center for Serbian architects⁷⁴. Usually after graduation architects worked on probation in foreign architectural bureaus⁷⁵. Teaching on the Architectural Department was conservative and characterized by ignoring importance of

⁶⁷ Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 58.

⁶⁸ “Zakon o ustroju Ministarstva građevina i njegove spoljne službe,” [The Law on organization of the Ministry of Construction and its external services] *Tehnički list* 3 (1930): 44–48.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 45.

⁷⁰ A. Krstić, “Visoko staranje kralja Aleksandra za urbanističko podizanje Beograda,” [High efforts of King Alexander for urban development of Belgrade] *BON* 11 (1934): 761-764.

⁷¹ M. Jovanović, “Kralj Aleksandar i ruski umetnici,” u *Ruska emigracija u srpskoj kulturi XX veka*. T. 1., ur. M. Sibinović (Beograd: ČIP Štampa, 1994), 96.

⁷² P.J. Popović, “Kralj Aleksandar prvi kao ljubitelj arhitekture, umetnosti i tehnike,” [King Alexander First as devotee of architecture, art and technique] *Tehnički list* 11-12 (1935): 153–154.

⁷³ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 6.

⁷⁴ B. Nestorović i dr. *Visokoškolska nastava arhitekture u Srbiji*, (Beograd: Plato, 1996), 68.

⁷⁵ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 6.

modernism and question of industrial architecture and social housing⁷⁶. The focus was on monumental symbolic building, academic stylizations and Byzantine studies⁷⁷. Such approach led to the fact, that majority of semester and diploma works had features of the romanticized Serbo-Byzantine style⁷⁸.

After graduation and an internship architects had to pass state technical exam to the commission from the Ministry of Construction in order to get the right to private practice⁷⁹. For future professional development architects had two main variants. The first way was employment in different organizations as ministries, municipal authorities or financial institutions⁸⁰. It was more assured and quite work than private practice⁸¹, but architects faced the problem of creative freedom, which was restricted by stylistic preferences of institutions⁸². The second way was a work in private bureaus as an assistant or head. In this case, the main problem was attraction of investors, who often also restricted creative freedom⁸³. Moreover, architects faced obscurity in a situation of strong competition⁸⁴ also with architects employed in the civil service, who doing private projects and with civil engineers⁸⁵. On the whole the issue of the division of competences between engineers and architects was topical for professional interests of architects, as well as the distinction between terms ‘engineer’ and ‘architect’⁸⁶. The protection of professional interests included

⁷⁶ Z. Manević, “Jučerašnje graditeljstvo,” *Urbanizam Beograda* 53-54, prilog 9, 1979: 16.

⁷⁷ A. Kadijević, “Srpska arhitektura u 1926.godini - između kontinuiteta i reforme,” *Zbornik Seminara za studije moderne umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu* 12 (2016): 103.

⁷⁸ Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila*, 212.

⁷⁹ Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 75-76.

⁸⁰ Kadijević, “Srpska arhitektura u 1926.godini,” 102.

⁸¹ B. Stojanović, “Arhitekta Dragiša Brašovan,” *Urbanizam Beograda* 50 (1979): 19.

⁸² A. Kadijević, “Državni arhitekta - stvaralac ili poslušnik?” *Zbornik Seminara za studije moderne umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu* 10 (2014): 73.

⁸³ M. Borisavljević, “Arhitekt i poslodavac,” [An architect and an employer] *Pravda*, 10.03.1939, 5.

⁸⁴ Stojanović, “Arhitekta Dragiša Brašovan,” 19.

⁸⁵ Z. Manević, “Srpska arhitektura 20. veka,” u *Arhitektura XX vijeka*, ur. Z. Manević i dr. (Beograd: Prosveta, 1986), 22.

⁸⁶ Such distinction caused a discussion in the newspapers between two architects, Branislav Kojić and Milutin Borisavljević. Borisavljević claimed that Kojić’s education did not give him a right to call himself an architect (M. Borisavljević, “Arhitekt ili inženjer?” [An architect or an engineer?] *Pravda*, 29.05.1928, 5; “Predavanje jednog inženjera o arhitekturi,” [The lecture by an engineer about architecture] *Pravda*, 31.12.1929, 14; “Šta je to Ecole Centrale?” [What is Ecole Centrale?] *Pravda*, 11.01.1930, 8 i 12.01.1930, 5; “Jeste ili nije? G.

also issues of salary, the status of an architect as an artist and legal protection of the right to design⁸⁷.

In order to protect professional interests, architects united into professional organizations. The most significant was the UIJA, founded in 1919 by unifying professional organizations from all regions of the new state⁸⁸. Thus Engineers and Architects united in the Yugoslav association among the first⁸⁹ and as mentioned Alexander Ignjatović the idea of national cohesion played an important role in its activities⁹⁰. The UIJA made efforts to improve competitive practice through seeking the adoption the Rules and intervening the process on account of architects' complaints. The UIJA was divided into sections by city, in which the Clubs of Architects operated.

The Belgrade Club of Architects also aimed to protect professional interests; however, a number of participants were not enough for successful impact on the solution of complicated problems, especially in the case of competitions⁹¹. According to B. Kojić's estimates a quarter of Belgrade architects enrolled to the Club, and only 10% regularly participated in its meetings⁹². The activities of the Club included regular meeting, lectures, exhibitions, statements in the press⁹³.

Kojić nije arhitekt," [Yes or not? Mr. Kojić is not the architect] *Pravda*, 22.01.1930,?). Kojić claimed that his education is equal to domestic architectural education and appealed for the Ministry of Construction and the Club of Architects to confirm his right (B. Kojić, "G. dr. Borisavljević – G. Kojić," [Mr. Borisavljević – Mr. Kojić] *Pravda*, 04.01.1930, 10; *Pravda*, 18.01.1930). According to Zoran Manević behind such discussion was different concepts of architecture as a profession: elitist (closed community) and egalitarian (open community) q.v. Manević, "Beogradski arhitektonski modernizam," 218-219. In addition both architects were the key figures in protection of professional interests.

⁸⁷ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 4-5; M. Borisavljević, "O određivanju honorara arhitektima," [On assessment of architect's salary] *Pravda*, 25.11.1928, ?; M. Borisavljević, "Zaštitimo arhitekta od onih koji nekažnjeno zloupotrebljavaju njihova prava" [Let's protect architects from those who abuse their rights with impunity] *Vreme* 04.04.1937, 14.

⁸⁸ "Predradnje za ujedinjenje inženjerskih društava u kraljevstvu SHS u jedinstveno Udruženje," [Preparations for the unification of engineering organizations of the Kingdom of SHS in a single Association] *Tehnički list* 1 (1919): 7-8.

⁸⁹ R. Kušević, ur. *Jugoslavija na tehničkom polju 1919 – 1929*, (Beograd: MST Gajić, 2007), 17.

⁹⁰ A. Ignjatović, "Dom Udruženja jugoslovenskih inženjera i arhitekata u Beogradu." *Nasleđe* 7 (2006): 88-90.

⁹¹ I. Zdravković, "Razvoj savremene arhitekture u Beogradu i Srbije," *Urbanizam Beograda* 42 (1977): 29.

⁹² Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 4. Furthermore the third part of the members was employed in the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 49.

For example, the Club took part in the organization of the First Architectural Salon in 1929⁹⁴, which was a platform for communication between architects, sculptures and painters, who represented different styles and trends. The Salon was held in the Art Pavilion 'Cvijeta Zuzorić', which was a center of artistic life in Belgrade⁹⁵. It also was a permanent place for architectural exhibitions also⁹⁶, for instance, exhibitions of modern architecture in 1931 and 1933⁹⁷. Besides modernist, exhibitions activities included foreign architectural exhibitions, participation of architects in exhibitions of art groups (as for example 'Oblik'⁹⁸, 'Zograf'⁹⁹, the group of Russian artists 'K.R.U.G'¹⁰⁰), student exhibitions, organized by the Club of architecture students¹⁰¹. Moreover, according to the Rulebook for architectural competitions, exhibitions of competition projects were obligatory, in order to provide opportunities for review and critique of results¹⁰².

Exhibitions contributed to exchange of ideas and thus influenced architectural development. For architects exhibitions afforded a ground for recognition in professional circles and attraction of investors, which were important in conditions of strong competition. The press also provided opportunities for public presentation of projects.

On the whole, the publicity of architectural process increased during the 1930s. The discussions of urban problems, news about construction of significant buildings, architects' opinions, announcement and results of competitions appeared in the press. Such materials

⁹⁴ "Otvaranje prvog Salona arhitekture," [The opening of the First architectural salon]. *Politika*, 10.6.1929, 5.

⁹⁵ R. Vučetić-Mladenović, *Evropa na Kalemegdanu: „Cvijeta Zuzorić“ i kulturni život Beograda*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2003).

⁹⁶ A. Ilijevski, "The 'Cvijeta Zuzorić' Art Pavilion as the center for exhibition activities of Belgrade architects 1928-1933," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 41 (2013): 238.

⁹⁷ Z. Manević, "Izložba jugoslovenske savremene arhitekture u Beogradu (1931, 1933)," *Godišnjak grada Beograda XXVII* (1980): 271–277.

⁹⁸ V. Rožić, *Umetnička grupa „Oblik“ 1926-1939*, (Beograd: Cicero 2005).

⁹⁹ Z.M. Jovanović, *Društvo umetnika „Zograf“*, (Beograd : J. M. Vasiljević, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ A. Kadijević, "Izložbe ruskih arhitekata u Beogradu između dva svetska rata," u *Ruska emigracija u srpskoj kulturi XX veka*. T. 1., ur. M. Sibinović (Beograd: ČIP Štampa, 1994): 297-298.

¹⁰¹ Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila*, 212.

¹⁰² Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika*, 247.

were published in professional journals¹⁰³ as well as in unprofessional daily newspapers¹⁰⁴ or journals¹⁰⁵.

1.2. The Stylistic Context of the Architectural Process

Various institutions involved in the architectural process had different stylistic preferences, state institutions remained conservative and preferred revivalist styles. Such conservative tastes led to the fact that on the whole, interwar Belgrade architecture was behind its time and modern trends¹⁰⁶. However, it was characterized by stylistic diversity. The main trends were national-romanticism, academism and modernism. They co-existed with transitional forms and secondary tendencies.

The issue of style was connected with the creation of Yugoslav architecture. Because of the complex and changeable character of Yugoslav identity, this task was difficult for architects and implied several possible strategies: referring to the past, synthesizing different regional traditions, universalizing them or looking to the future.

The universalizing strategy based on academism as a style, which can represent Yugoslav unity and avoid any regional or national connotations¹⁰⁷. Academism dominated during the 1920s, especially in the area of public buildings¹⁰⁸, continuing the trend of the second half of the 19th century in this functional type¹⁰⁹. In interwar Belgrade architecture academic trends implied various eclectic combinations of Baroque, Renaissance, Neo-Classicism and Empire architecture¹¹⁰. The use of European architectural models made academism the appropriate style for governmental buildings, because allowed reaching

¹⁰³ *Tehnički list* (Technical newspaper), *Građevinski Vjesnik* (Construction Journal), *Arhitektura* (Architecture)

¹⁰⁴ *Politika* (Politics), *Vreme* (Time), *Pravda* (Justice).

¹⁰⁵ *Beogradske opštinske novine* (Belgrade municipal newspaper), *Umetnički pregled* (Art review)

¹⁰⁶ K. Strajnić, "Savremena arhitektura Jugoslovena," *Arhitektura* 4 (1933): 108.

¹⁰⁷ Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 428.

¹⁰⁸ Kadijević, *Estetika arhitekture akademizma*, 354.

¹⁰⁹ M. Roter-Blagojević "Arhitektura građevina javnih namena izgrađenih u Beogradu od 1868. do 1900. godine - prvi deo," *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 12-13 (2003): 112.

¹¹⁰ M. Popović, *Heraldčki simboli na beogradskim javnim zdanjima*, (Beograd: BMG, 1997), 88.

symbolically the level of “developed progressive civilized countries of Western Europe”¹¹¹ and moreover can embody the stability and prosperity of the state. Meanwhile academism affirmed also in residential architecture, because customers from the middle and upper classes required architecture that clearly showed their social status¹¹². Despite its relevance, academism passed a period of crisis in 1928-1935, caused by the affirmation of modernism, but in the late 1930s academism in modernized forms spread again¹¹³ under the influence of tendencies for monumentalization¹¹⁴.

Another style implied the use of architectural past was the Serbo-Byzantine style¹¹⁵. In the middle of the nineteenth century among other revivalist architectural styles Neo-Byzantine style was widespread in Europe¹¹⁶. Serbian architects tried to use not only a common Byzantine stylistic paradigm, but also to refer to authentic Serbian regional architectural traditions¹¹⁷. Thus this style allowed to incarnate national values and the specific mode of traditional life¹¹⁸. For sacred architecture it became the dominant paradigm, but also was used for some public buildings¹¹⁹. In the interwar period the Serbo-Byzantine style kept its significance for sacred architecture. However, the use for public buildings was complicated by its national connotations. Despite attempts to express the Yugoslav identity through using neo-Byzantine elements¹²⁰, such imposition of the Serbian national style as the Yugoslav one and thus the ignoring of architectural traditions of other

¹¹¹ Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 428.

¹¹² L. Blagojević, *Moderna kuća u Beogradu (1920-1941)*, (Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2000), 24.

¹¹³ Kadijević, *Estetika arhitekture akademizma*, 354.

¹¹⁴ F. Borsi, *The Monumental Era: European Architecture and Design 1929-1939* (New York : Rizzoli, 1987).

¹¹⁵ Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila*, 183.

¹¹⁶ J. B. Bullen, *Byzantium rediscovered: the Byzantine revival in Europe and America*, (Phaidon, 2003).

¹¹⁷ A. Ignjatović, “Između žezla i ključa - nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u XIX i prvoj polovini XX veka,” *Nasleđe* 9 (2008): 61.

¹¹⁸ 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* 56, no. 1 (1997): 18.

¹¹⁹ Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila*, 141-144.

¹²⁰ M. Prosen, “Neovizantijski elementi u stvaralaštvu arhitekta Grigorija Samojlova,” *Zbornik međunarodnog naučnog skupa Niš i Vizantija IV* (2006): 443.

regions led to critique of this style¹²¹.

Thus combining particular historical architectural features of different regions appeared in the interwar period as the synthesizing strategy of creation the Yugoslav architecture. Such strategy met the requirements to represent the Yugoslav identity as synthesis of particular traditions¹²². The projects implied combining features of Byzantine and Romanesque architecture took a significant place in designing practice, but most of them remained unimplemented. From an architectural point of view they were difficult for realization. Moreover, so complicated reminiscences were not always trapped and it was interpreted simply as the Serbo-Byzantine style¹²³.

Another strategy to create Yugoslav architecture through referring to the past implied the search for the common past and thus the use of traditions of vernacular architecture. This idea was the basis for such architectural direction as folklorism¹²⁴. Vernacular architecture was considered as the most common for all territories¹²⁵ and moreover, as less foreign influenced, unchangeable and therefore the most authentic¹²⁶. However, folklorism was unsuitable for representative purposes because of the lack of monumental elements, thus it mainly was widespread in residential architecture¹²⁷ and was used rarely in public buildings¹²⁸.

¹²¹ A. Kadijević, "Rad Nikolaja Krasnova u Ministarstvu građevina Kraljevine SHS / Jugoslavije u Beogradu od 1922. do 1939. godine," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* XLIV (1997): 232.

¹²² Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 311.

¹²³ For example, the project of brother Krstić won the competition for the pavilion on the Philadelphian International Exposition in 1926. Their project was based on a combination of Byzantine and Romanesque architecture. According to the memoirs of Branko Krstić, artist Tomislav Krizman, officially appointed as an organizer of preparations for the exhibition, considered this project as unnecessarily Byzantine. (qv Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 332). Contemporary art historical interpretations of this project also may contain such considerations (Peter Krečić mentioned that the project was made "in form of Byzantine temple" qv P. Krečić, "Architecture in Former Yugoslavia: From the Avant-garde to the Postmodern" in *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, eds. D. Djurić and M. Šuvaković (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006): 349).

¹²⁴ Putnik, "Folklorizam u arhitekturi Beograda (1918-1950)," 176.

¹²⁵ Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 187.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹²⁷ Putnik, "Folklorizam u arhitekturi Beograda," 194.

¹²⁸ One of the main area of application was Sokol houses and stadiums, V. Putnik "Sokolski domovi i stadioni u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 14 (2013): 69–82.

In the course of their practice, architects noticed that basic principles of vernacular and modern architecture are similar. On the first stage they tried to modernize vernacular national architecture¹²⁹, on the second stage, to nationalize International style¹³⁰ through the detection of structural and conceptual similarities¹³¹. On the ideological level these architectural parallels served for the representation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as “young progressive state, but ancient vital nation”¹³².

On the whole, modernism appeared in Belgrade architecture relatively late, because of stylistic preferences of private investors and state institutions, a lack of understanding of new trends, conservative architectural education and outdated construction technologies¹³³. The development of modernism was under influence of different international trends¹³⁴, but architects seek for creation own variant of modernism¹³⁵.

The key actor of Belgrade modernism was the Group of Architects of Modern Direction (GAMP), founded by Branislav Kojić, Milan Zloković, Dušan Babić and Jan Dubovi in 1928¹³⁶. The main goal of the group was promotion of the principles of modern architecture¹³⁷ for such purpose they organized public lectures and exhibitions, cooperate with other professional organizations and published articles in the newspapers¹³⁸. Their

¹²⁹ Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia*, 154.

¹³⁰ The adaptation of modernism to the needs of national representation through use of vernacular practice spread in the interwar period, for example in Turkey (B. Sibel, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)), Italy (M. Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and theory Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)).

¹³¹ For example, Kojić in his article “Balkan vernacular architecture” indicated among this similarities: a rejection of ornamentation, rationality and functionality of composition, penetration of internal and external space and some technical aspects. B. Kojić, “Balkanska profana arhitektura,” *Srpski književni glasnik* XL, br. 4 (16.10.1933): 273.

¹³² Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 240.

¹³³ V. Kamilić, “Osvrt na delatnost Grupe arhitekata modernog pravca,” *Godišnjak grada Beograda* LV-LVI (2008-2009): 261.

¹³⁴ Z. Manević in his dissertation about the appearance of modern architecture in Serbia mentioned rationalism, Czech functionalism, Adolf Loos and Bauhaus (Maneviće, “Pojava moderne arhitekture u Srbiji,” 47).

¹³⁵ B. Kojić, “Arhitektura Beograda,” *Vreme*, 06.01.1929, 25.

¹³⁶ B. Kojić, “Grupa arhitekata modernog pravca,” *Politika*, 20.12.1928, 5. The group was active until 1934. Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 196.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 173-176.

writings rarely concerned aesthetic criticism and architectural theory¹³⁹. Despite occasional attempts to pay attention to social issues¹⁴⁰, their social engagement was negligible in comparison with modernists in general. Blagojevic explained such little attention to socio-political themes with desire to avoid leftist connotations, which can be problematic for the group's activity under a dictatorship¹⁴¹. Thus the GAMP concentrated its activities on the issue of a style, however demonstrated a gap between proclamations and actions¹⁴², because modernist architects continued to use other styles in their work under the demands of investors¹⁴³.

The affirmation of modernism took place in the period from 1929 to 1934, which not accidentally corresponded with the period of the 6 January Dictatorship¹⁴⁴. Within the framework of dictatorship a break with the past was proclaimed and search for new methods became a basis of the cultural policy¹⁴⁵. The ideological basis was "Integral Yugoslavism" which presupposed a denial of differences between "tribes" (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) and total integration into the single nation¹⁴⁶. Despite the private preferences of King Alexander in academism and national style, changes that occurred in the political climate facilitated the affirmation of modernism¹⁴⁷. The ideas of overcoming the past and the integration into the new Yugoslav community were consistent with modernist directions in architecture. Modernist architects enthusiastically started to create architectural expressions

¹³⁹M. Milinković, "Arhitektonska kritička praksa: teorijski modeli," (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2012), 94.

¹⁴⁰Kojić, "Stremljenja moderne arhitekture," 218.

¹⁴¹Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia*, 60.

¹⁴²Đurđević, "60 godina od osnivanja grupe," 87.

¹⁴³Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia*, 61.

¹⁴⁴Manević, "Novija srpska arhitektura," 22.

¹⁴⁵L.D. Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941*. T.1. (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1996), 248-249.

¹⁴⁶D. Djokić, "(Dis)integrating Yugoslavia: King Alexander and Interwar Yugoslavism," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. D. Djokić (London: Hurst&Company, 2003), 149-150.

¹⁴⁷V. Panić, "Milan Zloković: afirmacija modernizma," (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta, 2011), 17.

for Yugoslav identity as extremely modernized¹⁴⁸, which also helped to go beyond national patterns¹⁴⁹. On the whole the new program was expressed by Milan Zloković in his lecture “Purposes of modern architecture”: “We ourselves created our national existence [...] we can create also our architecture without support of our or foreign past”¹⁵⁰. Important role for the affirmation of modernism had also an economical factor. Under the circumstances of world economic crisis, the faster and cheaper construction of undecorated highly functional modernist buildings attracted investors¹⁵¹.

In the second half of the 1930s, the transitional forms were developed through combining modernist and neoclassical elements in the monumentalized way¹⁵². Another transitional form was Art Deco¹⁵³. Both of them were under strong foreign influences: German¹⁵⁴ in the case of modernized academism and French for Art Deco¹⁵⁵.

In general France had a strong influence on cultural and political life, especially during the 1920s. The main channel of French architectural influences was education. France was one of main centers in the pre-war period and kept its significance after war¹⁵⁶. Serbian architects mainly assimilated the ideas of French academist architects or moderate modernists¹⁵⁷. As concerns radical modernist, for example, Le Corbusier and the CIAM, they were more influential among Croatian architects¹⁵⁸ with rare exceptions among Serbs (Branko Maksimović, Milan Pantović)¹⁵⁹.

¹⁴⁸ For example, Yugoslav pavilions for international exhibitions in Barcelona (1929) and Milan (1931) were designed by D. Brašovan in the spirit of modernism (Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia*, 95-104). On the whole, the use of modernism for the needs of national representation was common practice among new established or re-organized states in the interwar period (Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 239).

¹⁴⁹ B. Maksimović, “Težnje savremene aehitekture,” *BON* 15 (1930): 849.

¹⁵⁰ “Čiljecvi moderne arhitekture. Predavanje arh. g. Milana Zlokovica,” *Vreme*, 20.2.1930, 7.

¹⁵¹ Blagojević, *Moderna kuća u Beogradu*, 24.

¹⁵² Polovina, “Tranzitivni oblikovni koncepti,” 43.

¹⁵³ Prosen, “Ar deko u srpskoj arhitekturi.”

¹⁵⁴ A. Kadijević, “Odjeci arhitekture totalitarizma u Srbiji.” *DaNS* 51 (2005): 46.

¹⁵⁵ Jovanović, “Francuski arhitekt Eksper,” 68.

¹⁵⁶ M. Bogdanović, “Francuski arhitektonski uticaj i palata Francuske ambasade u Beogradu,” *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja. Istorija umetnosti* 19/2 (2010): 583.

¹⁵⁷ Kadijević, “Pogled na francusko-srpske veze,” 169.

¹⁵⁸ T. Premerl, “CIAM i naša međuratna arhitektura,” *Arhitektura* 189-195 (1984-1985): 50-52.

¹⁵⁹ Blagojevic, *Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam*, 30.

British architectural influence was relatively weak and only a small number of architects studied there¹⁶⁰. However, the British town-planning concept of the garden city was influential and the most of residential colonies in interwar Belgrade followed such model¹⁶¹.

Czechoslovakia had a significant influence on modern architecture in Belgrade. Generally Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had strong political relations (as members of The Little Entente) and cultural contacts (under influence of Panslavist ideas)¹⁶². The Exhibition of Czech Modern Architecture held in 1928 influenced the assimilation of modernist ideas, as well as Czech art groups became an example for the GAMP¹⁶³. The direct contacts were also intensive through a work of Czech engineers and construction firms in Belgrade¹⁶⁴ and education of Serbs architects in Prague¹⁶⁵.

In the second half of the 1930s the foreign policy orientation was changed, that also intensified cultural contacts with Germany¹⁶⁶. In the field of architecture German (and Italian) influence affected the development of monumentalized modernist and academic forms in the spirit of totalitarian architecture¹⁶⁷.

1.3. Architects as Participants of the Architectural Process

The stylistic diversity was also related with co-existence of various groups of architects with different educations, backgrounds and experience. After the First World War Belgrade provided a wide field of works for architects, because of war damages and

¹⁶⁰ S. Toševa, *Srbija i Britanija: kulturni dodiri početkom XX veka*, (Beograd: Alta Nova, 2007), 63-64.

¹⁶¹ D. Ćorović, *Vrtni grad u Beogradu*, (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2009).

¹⁶² T. Damljanović, *Češko-srpske arhitektonske veze: 1918-1941*, (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 2004), 44-45.

¹⁶³ D.P. Milašinović-Marić, *Arhitekta Jan Dubovi*, (Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2001), 45.

¹⁶⁴ For example, one of founders of the GAMP was Czech architect Jan Dubovi.

¹⁶⁵ Damljanović, *Češko-srpske arhitektonske veze*, 51.

¹⁶⁶ R. Gašić, "Nemački kulturni uticaji u Beogradu tridesetih godina 20. veka," *Istorija 20. veka* 1 (2003): 32.

¹⁶⁷ Kadijević, "Odjeci arhitekture totalitarizma u Srbiji"; Z. Manević, "Arhitektura i politika (1937–1941)," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 20 (1984): 293–306.

ambitions of the state to create a proper capital. The war influenced also a lack of relevant specialists in all spheres of society¹⁶⁸, including architecture¹⁶⁹. Thus the architects from western parts of the state, from other countries including Russian emigrants were engaged.

In the interwar period Serbian architects were divided by generations, which led to collisions between architects because of differences in their backgrounds and ideas¹⁷⁰. The first generation mainly continued their work in revivalist styles and was not ready to admit modernist trends¹⁷¹. They faced difficulties with adapting to the new conditions¹⁷² and despite keeping high positions in the Ministry of Construction and the University, they participated rarely in the activities of professional organizations¹⁷³. The second generation was characterized by stylistic wavering between academism, national styles and modernism¹⁷⁴.

Belgrade as a capital of the Kingdom was open to the architects from other parts¹⁷⁵. The idea of creation a new representative Yugoslav capital caused suggestions to engage the most competent Yugoslav architects¹⁷⁶, especially Croatian and Slovenian. They were more progressive than Serbian, because of differences in their backgrounds: the formation of national traditions¹⁷⁷, the specifics of education and traineeships¹⁷⁸ and the orientation to

¹⁶⁸ M. Ž. Čalić, *Socijalna istorija Srbije 1815-1941*, (Beograd: CLIO, 2004), 201.

¹⁶⁹ Kojić, "Arhitektura između dva svetska rata," 186.

¹⁷⁰ B. Nestrović, "Graditelji Beograda 1919–1941," u *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 3, ur. V. Čubrilović (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974), 189.

¹⁷¹ S. Toševa, "Organizacija i rad Arhitektonskog odeljenja Ministarstva građevina u periodu između dva svetska rata," *Nasleđe* 2 (199): 179.

¹⁷² Manević, "Srpska arhitektura 20 veka," 22.

¹⁷³ Manević, "Pojava moderne arhitekture u Srbiji," 32.

¹⁷⁴ Nestrović, "Graditelji Beograda 1919–1941," 190.

¹⁷⁵ Manević, "Zagreb – Beograd 1912-1941," *Čovjek i prostor* 10 (1988): 30.

¹⁷⁶ K. Strajnić, "Savremena arhitektura Jugoslovena," 108.

¹⁷⁷ While in the Serbian case national style appeared through the appeal to the medieval heritage, Croatian and Slovenian - through modernization. Against the background of dominance of revival styles imported from Vienna the modernist tendencies were considered to be a national alternative in architecture (T. Damljanovic Conley, "Conceptualizing National Architectures: Architectural Histories and National Ideologies Among the South Slavs" in *Nationalism and Architecture*, eds. Raymond Quek, Darren Deane and Sarah Butler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 100).

¹⁷⁸ Croatians chose for traineeships studios of founders of modern European architecture: for example Adolf Loos, Hans Poelzig, Le Corbusier (T Premerl, *Hrvatska moderna arhitektura između dva rata - nova tradicija*. (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1990), 37).

modern trends¹⁷⁹. As a result modernism was more developed in Croatian interwar architecture and works of Croatian architects became examples for Serbian architects¹⁸⁰.

The involvement of Croatian architects in Belgrade was active, including long- and short-forms of cooperation¹⁸¹. For example, they participated in the Exhibition of Modern architecture in 1931¹⁸². However, later they often refused to participate on exhibitions in Belgrade, because of the problems which they faced during participation on competitions or their work there¹⁸³. For example, Croatian architects got significant results on competitions during the 1930s¹⁸⁴, but these project were not implemented because of financial and ideological reasons¹⁸⁵.

Another influential group was Russian emigrant architects. According to Kadijević's estimates around seventy Russian emigrant architects worked in the Kingdom¹⁸⁶. As persons without citizenship, Russian architects could not open private architectural bureaus (therefore they worked as assistants) or get a permanent job (but could be employed by contracts)¹⁸⁷. Thus a lot of architects were employed in the Technical direction of Belgrade Municipality, Administration of the Royal Court and the Ministry of Construction¹⁸⁸. On such civil service they occupied a privileged position¹⁸⁹, often received the most important orders directly, without competitions¹⁹⁰. Moreover, Russian architects enjoyed the support of King Alexander¹⁹¹.

¹⁷⁹ Antešević, "Doprinos hrvatskih arhitekata," 378.

¹⁸⁰ Manević, "Zagreb-Beograd 1912-1941," 31.

¹⁸¹ Kadijević, "Hrvatski arhitekti," 469.

¹⁸² Manević, "Izložba jugoslovenske savremene arhitekture," 271.

¹⁸³ Antešević, "Doprinos hrvatskih arhitekata," 382.

¹⁸⁴ M. Bajlon, "Javni arhitektonski natječaji u Beogradu između dva rata," *Čovjek i prostor* 5 (1975): 30–31.

¹⁸⁵ Antešević, "Doprinos hrvatskih arhitekata," 380.

¹⁸⁶ Kadijević, "Uloga ruskih emigranata," 131.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 133-134.

¹⁸⁸ Toševa, "Rad ruskih arhitekata," 170.

¹⁸⁹ Manević, "Jučerašnje graditeljstvo," 6.

¹⁹⁰ A. Kadijević, "Doprinos ruskih neimara - emigranata srpskoj arhitekturi između dva svetska rata," u *Rusi bez Rusije. Srpski Rusi*, ur. Z. Branković (Beograd: Efekt, 1994), 247.

¹⁹¹ Jovanović, "Kralj Aleksandar i ruski umetnici," 97.

Their dominating position was based on their education¹⁹², experience and stylistic orientations. They contributed to the Serbo-Byzantine style¹⁹³ because of traditions of Neo-Byzantine revivalism in Russian architecture¹⁹⁴. Also Russian architects had substantial experience in academic architecture¹⁹⁵. Reminiscences of the Russian Empire and Classicism styles made academic projects of Russian architects relevant for governmental buildings, because contributed to the representation of the Kingdom “as a sort of empire with unified center of power”¹⁹⁶.

Despite the role of Russian architects, architectural and professional development occurred without their influence¹⁹⁷. Russian architects did not enroll in Yugoslav professional organizations¹⁹⁸, rare participated in exhibitions, organized by Serbian architects¹⁹⁹. On the whole, Serbian architects were dissatisfied with favoring and the privileged position of Russian architects, especially during the economic crisis²⁰⁰. Architects criticized their architecture for ‘clumsiness of forms’²⁰¹ or ‘shortage of true stylistic feelings’²⁰². After the death of King Alexander in 1934, Russian architects lost the state

¹⁹² T. Damljanović Conley, “Belgrade,” in *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, edited by E. Gunzburger Makas and T. Damljanovic Conley, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 58.

¹⁹³ Prosen, “Neovizantijski elementi u stvaralaštvu,” 444.

¹⁹⁴ J.R. Saveljev, “*Vizantijski stil*” v *arhitekture Rossii: vtoraja polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka*, (Sankt-Peterburg: Liki Rossiji, 2005).

¹⁹⁵ Nestorović, “Postakademizam u arhitekturi Beograda,” 340.

¹⁹⁶ Ignjatović, “Razlika u funkciji sličnosti,” 70.

¹⁹⁷ Manevic, “Srpska arhitektura 20 veka,” 22.

¹⁹⁸ For example, there are no Russian architects in the list of members of the Club of architects, published by Branislav Kojić (qv Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 80). Mainly they acted within own organizations as “The Union of Russian engineers and technicians”. T. Milenković, *Ruski inženjeri u Jugoslaviji: 1919-1941*, (Beograd: Savez inženjera i tehničara Srbije, 1997), 64.

¹⁹⁹ In general only a quarter of Russian architects participated in exhibitions and mainly in exhibitions organized by the group of Russian artists ‘K.R.U.G’. Kadijević, “Izložbe ruskih arhitekata,” 299.

²⁰⁰ Kadijević, “Uloga ruskih emigranata,” 139.

²⁰¹ Borisavljević, “Arhitekt ili inženjer?” *Pravda*, 29. 5 1928, 5.

²⁰² B. Popović, “O savremenoj arhitekturi u Beogradu,” [About modern architecture in Belgrade] *BON* 12 (1932): 761.

support²⁰³ and young generation of Serbian architect removed them from the architectural scene²⁰⁴.

Under the circumstances of the economic crisis Serbian architects also protested against the engagement of foreign architects²⁰⁵, although their invitation was rare practice²⁰⁶. Suspicion and mistrust characterized relations of Serbian architects also to each other because of a strong competition. Their rivalries for attracting investors explained their adherence to the idea of competitions as a proper mechanism for finding best solutions. Thus professional community made efforts to improve competitive practice and supervise the course of competitions.

Chapter Two. Competitive Practice in Interwar Belgrade architecture

Architectural competitions in interwar Belgrade were connected with different problems. The unregulated character and difficulties in development of competitive practice already caused problems. Moreover, competitions involved different institutions which had their own interests, concepts and preferences. Discrepancies between them deepened problems and even obstructed competitive practice.

2.1. Making and Development of Competitive Practice

Architectural competitions appeared in the Serbian architectural process on the turn of 19th and 20th centuries and were organized for significant buildings²⁰⁷. The affirmation of competitive practice was accompanied by a number of problems, including indefinite procedure, irregular evaluation criteria, close professional contacts of participants and the

²⁰³ Kadijević, "Uloga ruskih emigranata," 140.

²⁰⁴ M. Đurđević, "Zbirka projekata ruskih arhitekata u Muzeju nauke i tehnike i njihov značaj za istoriju arhitekture u Srbiji," *Flogiston* 13 (2005): 88.

²⁰⁵ N. Armanda, "Protiv uposlenja stranih inženjera," [Against the employment of foreign engineers] *Pravda*, 26. 2.1934, 5.

²⁰⁶ Blagojević, *Moderna kuća u Beogradu*, 23.

²⁰⁷ D. T. Leko, *Naše prilike: povodom VIII kongresa arhitekata*, (Beograd: Štamparija R. Radenkovića, 1909), 93.

jury, which even led to conclusions that the Serbian architectural community was not able to hold competitions²⁰⁸.

For example, one of the most significant competitions occurred in 1902 for the National Assembly building. The task of the competition required the adaptation of the previously designed project of Konstantin Jovanović to the needs of the bicameral parliament²⁰⁹. The project of Jovan Ilkić won the competition²¹⁰, but the project itself and the whole course of the competition dissatisfied the professional community²¹¹. Thus the competition caused the elaboration of the Rulebook of competitions in 1904²¹², which regulated a composition of a jury, types of competitions, program of competitions, work of a jury and evaluation criteria²¹³. However as the initiative of the professional community, it did not have adequate effect.

Another important case for establishment of competitive practice was the building nowadays known as Hotel Moscow. In 1905 the Russian insurance company “Russia” announced a competition, in which all Yugoslav architects had right to participate. The first prize went to the Croatian architect Victor Kovačić. However, the administration of the company disagreed with the choice of the jury and the building was constructed according the project of Jovan Ilkić, which got the second prize²¹⁴. Such situation became a typical problem for competitions in Belgrade.

The competition for the Administration of State Monopoles in 1908 led to debates about styles and competition procedures. The jury members were three Serbian architects A. Stevanović, D. Živanović, D. Maslač, Russian architect V. Pokrovsky, Czech

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 99.

²⁰⁹ M. Popović, “Zgrada Narodne skupštine – pravci istraživanja i principi obnove,” *Nasleđe* 4 (2002): 11.

²¹⁰ B. Nestrović, “Jovan Ilkić, beogradski arhitekta,” *GGB XIX* (1972): 263.

²¹¹ E. Ibragimova, “Voploshhennaya vlast: zdanie narodnoj skupshhiny v Belgrade i politicheskie trendy v Korolevstve Serbiya – Korolevstve Yugoslaviya,” *Sociologiya vlasti* 2 (2014): 131.

²¹² M. Pavlović, “Život i delo arhitekta Nikole Nestorovića,” (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2014), 108.

²¹³ “Pravila za organizovanje konkursa,” [The rules for organization of competitions] *Srpski Tehnički List* 1 (1904): 75-77.

²¹⁴ Nestrović, “Jovan Ilkić, beogradski arhitekta,” 268.

architect V. Polivka and represents of the Administration²¹⁵. The competition was Pan-Slavic and architects from all Slavic countries got a right to participate²¹⁶.

Among the eleven submitted projects the jury reviewed six and awarded four²¹⁷. The project of Russian architects Nikolay Vasiljev and Stepan Krichinsky in the national-romanticism style got the first prize²¹⁸. The second prize was awarded to the project of Serbian architects Dragutin Đorđević and Nikola Nestrović in the spirit of academism²¹⁹. The third prize project by Vladimir Popović was the most close to the traditions of the Serbo-Byzantine style²²⁰. Czech architect working in Bosnia and Herzegovina, František Blažek got the fourth prize with a project in the Neo-Gothic style²²¹. (Figure A.1). Despite the results of the competition, the Administration decided to chose for elaboration the second prize project as made by Serbian authors who know better local conditions²²². Such decision as well as the results on the whole were criticized because of the problem of close professional contacts of participants and the jury, which was unavailable in the conditions of relatively small size of the professional community. Architect and critic Dmitrije T. Leko²²³ noticed that Nestrović and the jury member Andra Stevanovic were partners and worked together²²⁴, and moreover, Nestrović had a chance to know competitions conditions before

²¹⁵ "Stečaj za izradu skica za novu zgradu Uprave Državnih Monopola," [The competition for creating sketches for the new building of the Administration of State Monopoly] *Srpske novine*, 24.05. 1908, 2.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ "Rezultati konkursa za zgradu Uprave Monopola," [Results of the competition for the the Administration of State Monopoly] *Srpski Tehnički List* 44 (1908), 389.

²¹⁸ D. Maslač, "Skice za zgradu Monopolske uprave," [Projects for the building of the Monopoly Administration] *Srpski Tehnički List* 14 (1909): 195–197.

²¹⁹ D. Maslač, "Skice za zgradu Monopolske uprave," *Srpski Tehnički List* 15 (1909): 113–114; Pavlović, "Život i delo arhitekta Nikole Nestorovića," 228–238.

²²⁰ D. Maslač, "Skice za zgradu Monopolske uprave," *Srpski Tehnički List* 16 (1909): 121–123; M. Jovanović, "Arhitekt Vladimir Popović (1876–1947)," *Saopštenja XXIV* (1994): 276–277.

²²¹ D. Maslač, "Skice za zgradu Monopolske uprave," 123.

²²² D. T. Leko, *Naše prilike*, 107.

²²³ about his activities q.v. M. Ivanović, "Arhitekt Dimitrije T. Leko," *GGB LI* (2004): 119–142.

²²⁴ about their cooperation q.v. B. Nestorović, "Beogradski arhitekti Andra Stevanović i Nikola Nestorović," *GGB XXIII* (1975): 173–180.

announcement²²⁵. Finally, the idea to construct this building remained unimplemented because of political circumstances²²⁶.

On the whole, problems in competitive practice remained the same after the First World War, but competitions became common and regular practice²²⁷ and their number increased (around 15 competitions in the 1920s and around 40 in the 1930s). Main functional areas for competition practice were town-planning, buildings for professional associations and financial institutions, administrative and governmental buildings. Competitions were used rare for sacral²²⁸ and industrial buildings²²⁹.

From the professional point of view a competition was a mechanism of searching for the best solutions²³⁰. Moreover, competitive practice served for progress of architecture, being ‘a platform of developing new ideas’ and a way of discovering young talents²³¹. For architects it was an instrument of professional affirmation and attracting investors (because competitive projects were exhibited and published). For investors competitions contributed for receiving a large number of different ideas and having an opportunity to choose. However, in the case of a competition an investor was less bound by obligations, which was a problem for architects.

Thus the professional community made efforts for the recognition and implementation of competitions results. For example, the UJIA intervened in a course of a competition on account of architects’ complaints²³². The main step of the UJIA on the regulation of competitive practice was the adoption of “The Rules for competitions in the field of

²²⁵ D. T. Leko, *Naše prilike*, 97.

²²⁶ A. Jahontov, i M. Prosen, “Stvaralaštvo arhitekta Nikolaja Vasiljeviča Vasiljeva i njegov beogradski opus (maj 1921 - februar 1923),” *Nasleđe* 14 (2013): 118.

²²⁷ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 199.

²²⁸ For example, St. Sava’s Church, St. Mark’s Church, the Patriarchal building, the cathedral of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese.

²²⁹ A. Kadijević, “Industrijska arhitektura Beograda i Srbije: problemi istraživanja i tumačenja,” *GGB* LIX (2012): 18.

²³⁰ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 52.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

²³² Kojić, “Arhitektura između dva svetska rata,” 186.

architecture and engineering”²³³ in 1921. As in the prewar case the acceptance by a professional association made the Rules ineffective. Thus the UJIA in cooperation with the Engineering Chamber sought an adoption of such Rulebook from the side of the Ministry of Construction, which was gained only in 1938²³⁴.

Both Rulebooks contained instructions about procedures, stages, obligatory program content and requirements to announce competition and its results in newspapers and to organize an exhibitions²³⁵. The important part was regulation a composition of a jury. The UJIA's Rulebook implied that at least two-thirds should be professionals²³⁶, the Rulebook of 1938 suggested that just the majority of professionals is enough, but one member should be representative from the Engineering Chamber²³⁷.

Unlike the UJIA's Rulebook, under the influence of negative experience in competitions the Rulebook of 1938 contained restrictions for participants, which excluded everybody who took part in a preparation of a competition and jury members, as well as persons who have family or close professional relations with them²³⁸. Also because of numerous scandals with appointments and final choice, the Rulebook of 1938 included exact prescriptions that an investor should delegate the elaboration of the detailed plan to the author of the first awarded project, with exceptions for state institutions which had technical bureaus (but state institutions paid to the author the value of copyright according to the Rulebook of the awards for authorized engineers)²³⁹. If an investor appointed another

²³³ “Pravila za raspisivanje natečaja (utakmica) u oblasti arhitekture i inženjerstva,” *Tehnički list* 6 (1921): 65–67; *Tehnički list* 7 (1921): 78–81.

²³⁴ “Pravilnik o obavljanju konkursa za izradu idejnih skica za javne građevine i o pravima učesnika,” u Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 239–251.

²³⁵ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 239–251.

²³⁶ “Pravila za raspisivanje natečaja,” 66.

²³⁷ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 241.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 240.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 244.

architect for elaboration of first awarded project or chose another project for elaboration, investor should pay double the amount of copyright²⁴⁰.

Both Rulebooks implied different types of competitions on the basis of the right to participate. Common competitions could be International, Slavic or Yugoslav²⁴¹. 'Narrow' competitions implied participation of architects by invitation and with particular professional qualifications²⁴². Such competitions were organized mainly by private investors. According to the Rulebook of 1938, 'narrow' competitions were possible only as a second stage after the common one²⁴³.

The most intensive debates raised around international competitions. Generally such competitions were recognized as necessary for significant tasks, especially for town-planning purposes. Nevertheless town-planning competitions were among unsuccessful and their results were unimplemented. Thus it led to criticism of international competitions, because their participants were not familiar with the specifics of the city²⁴⁴. Under the circumstances of strong competition, architects opposed the idea of engagement of foreign specialists in general and especially regular holding of international competitions²⁴⁵.

An especially important was the case of the State Opera House. As a first project of such cultural significance it attracted attention of the professional community and authorities. The Ministry of Construction in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Belgrade Municipality held special conferences about public buildings. On the second special conference they decided to organize an international competition for the State Opera

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 240. All Yugoslav citizens and Russian emigrants got a right to participate in Yugoslav competitions.

²⁴² "Pravila za raspisivanje natečaja," 66.

²⁴³ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 241.

²⁴⁴ Maksimović, *Problemi urbanisma*, 34.

²⁴⁵ V. Potočnjak, "O arhitektonskim natječajima kod nas," [About architectural competitions at our country] *Građevinski vjesnik* 7 (1938): 33. According to architects, frequency of international competitions in Belgrade were higher than in other countries (qv M. Ivacić, "Rešavanje problema zgrade za Operu pored skupom arhitekata. Zašto pozivamo strance-stručnjake da rešavaju naše arhitektonske probleme," [Solving the problem of the Opera House building on the meeting of architects. Why do we invite foreign experts to solve our architectural problems] *Pravda*, 6.3.1939, 12).

House in order to 'use newest experience in architecture for this type of buildings'²⁴⁶. However, the UJIA insisted on Yugoslav competition²⁴⁷, pointing that Yugoslav architect should be engaged for such significant task in the field of culture²⁴⁸.

Finally, the international competition was held²⁴⁹. As many other competitions of this period, it gave unsuccessful results with no first or second awards. The two third prizes were divided between the Italian team (M. Pasquale, L. Orestan, T. Dante et al) and the Croatian (V. Turina and H. Gotvald). (Figure A.2). Also among awarded were the German, Belgian and American teams and Belgrade architect Ivan Savković²⁵⁰. The jury's decision provoked critical debates. Critiques pointed that the jury gave awards to representatives of different countries and awards had distributive character²⁵¹, although worthy projects of Yugoslav architects remained without awards²⁵².

The engagement of foreign architects aggravated the problem of appointments without competitions. For example, state authorities invited German architect Werner March²⁵³ to designed the Olympic Stadium in Belgrade²⁵⁴. The presentation of his projects for the Stadium near the Belgrade Fortress caused the critique by the professional

²⁴⁶ Zapisnik konferencije (br. 863 od 23.3.1938), fasc. 3, fond 81, AJ.

²⁴⁷ "Vesti iz udruženja," *Tehnički list* 5-6 (1939): 76.

²⁴⁸ B. Maksimović, "Dva urbanistička problema: pitanje Olimpijskog stadiona i Državne opere u Beogradu," [Two urban problems: the issues of the Olympic Stadium and the State Opera in Belgrade] *Politika*, 15.07.1939, 8.

²⁴⁹ Works from Italy, Germany, Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, France, Denmark, England, USA, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Belgium (qv document № 8906 from 27.3.1940, fasc. 3269, fond 66, AJ).

²⁵⁰ "Kakva će izgledati nova državna opera u Beogradu," [How will look the new State Opera in Belgrade] *Politika* 29.03.1940, 14.

²⁵¹ Representatives of different countries received awards, that can be explained by the complicated political situation in wartime (qv I. Zdravković, "Ishod konkursa za Beogradsku operu," [The results of the competitions for the Belgrade Opera] *Umetnički pregled* 4-5 (1940): 144).

²⁵² "Beogradski arhitekti oštro kritikuju odlike donete na međunarodnom konkursu za novu Beogradsku Operu," [Belgrade architects harshly criticize the results of the international competition for the new Belgrade Opera] *Politika* 06.04.1940, 6.

²⁵³ Werner March was famous for his participation in designing objects for the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 (qv T. Schmidt, *Werner March, Architekt des Olympia-Stadions: 1894–1976*. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1992).

²⁵⁴ The construction of the Olympic Stadium was a part of project to host the XIV Olympics games in Belgrade (qv D. Zec, "Proposed Olympic Complex in Belgrade – Project by Hitler's Architect Werner March," CD Proceedings / International Conference Architecture and Ideology (September 28-29, 2012), edited by Vladimir Mako, Mirjana Roter Blagojević, Marta Vukotić Lazar, (Belgrade: Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade, 2012), 960).

community²⁵⁵. Besides criticism of architectural and urban details of his project, architects opposed the procedure of the appointment itself²⁵⁶. The UJIA suggested using the March's drafts as the basis for the future competition²⁵⁷. For architects the absence of a competition demonstrated the disbelief in their abilities²⁵⁸. Moreover, as in the case of the State Opera house they insisted that such significant task as the construction of the first national stadium can not be delegated to foreigners²⁵⁹.

The importance and mandatory character of competitions was among the main topics in debates around the Zemun Bridge over Sava (later named after King Alexander)²⁶⁰. This bridge was significant in terms of urban planning and furthermore on the symbolical level as a connection of "old Serbia with the new Yugoslavia"²⁶¹. The state authorities announced a competition for engineering works²⁶², but its result was criticized because of foreign companies domination²⁶³. The project for pylons was requested to Nikolay Krasnov without competition²⁶⁴, as well as the sculptural decoration was ordered to Ivan Meštrović²⁶⁵. Besides the fact that appointments for such significant task was without competition²⁶⁶, the whole project was criticized because of its urban and architectural shortcomings. As a result

²⁵⁵ I.R. Marković, "Provokacija nove estetike: dva projekta arhitekta Vernera Marha u Beogradu," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 41 (2013): 167.

²⁵⁶ "Beogradski inženjeri i arhitekti protiv toga da se poslovi poveravaju inostranim stručnjacima, bez konsultacija naših ljudi," [Belgrade engineers and architects are against the fact that the tasks entrusted to foreign experts without consulting our people] *Politika*, 20.8.1940, 12.

²⁵⁷ "Vesti iz udruženja," *Tehnički list* 5-6 (1939): 76.

²⁵⁸ Maksimović, "Dva urbanistička problema," *Politika*, 15.07.1939, 8.

²⁵⁹ "Arhitekta protiv podizanja stadiona u Donjem gradu," [Architects are against the construction of the stadium in the Donji Grad] *Pravda*, 16.12.1940, 10.

²⁶⁰ A. Ilijevski, "Prilog proučavanju arhitekture i ideologije mosta viteškog kralja Aleksandra Prvog Ujedinitelja u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 14 (2013): 217.

²⁶¹ Krstić, "Visoko staranje kralja Aleksandra," 762. The left bank of Sava was a territory belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

²⁶² "Konkurs za projekat novog mosta Beograd – Zemun," [The competition for a project of the new bridge Belgrade-Zemun] *Vreme*, 19.5.1929, 5.

²⁶³ Armanda, "Protiv uposlenja stranih inženjera," *Pravda*, 26. 2.1934, 5.

²⁶⁴ A. Kadijević, "Istorija i arhitektura Zemunskog mosta kralja Aleksandra I Karađorđevića," *PINUS IV* (1996): 13.

²⁶⁵ U. Rajević, "Konjanici za most kralja Aleksandra I u Beogradu," *GGB XXXIV* (1987): 210. The initial project with lions statues implied holding a competition organised by the contractor, but corruption problems caused the first wave of protests from the Association of Yugoslav Fine Artists with demand to organize state competition (qv "Prestavka udruženje likovnih umetnika," *Politika* 10.3.1933, 5).

²⁶⁶ "Meštrovićeve „Konjanici" pred forumom," [Meštrović's Horsesmen in front of Forum] *Pravda*, 10.3.1934, 6.

the professional community suggested organizing the new complex competition in order to engage the best Yugoslav engineers, architects and sculptors²⁶⁷.

2.2. Problems in Competitive Practice

The cases of the Olympic Stadium and the Zemun Bridge demonstrated architects' commitment to competitive practice, although an abundance of problems might undermine their faith in its effectiveness. The problems embraced all stages of competitions: elaboration of a program, work of a jury, decision making and its implementation. Unsuccessful results of competitions led to intensive debates, critique and even disappointing conclusions that competitions abandoned the idea of searching for the best solutions²⁶⁸. Architects apprehended that competitions could turn into formal practice with results which are known at the beginning²⁶⁹. Despite the high level of corruption in the Kingdom²⁷⁰, competitions for architectural projects seem to be quite free of corruption influences, because did not involve a money question as much as auctions in which technical bureaus competed for engineering works and construction of the building. Architects were paid for the detailed elaboration of the whole project around 5-10% of the total costs of a building²⁷¹.

Although the selection of a winning project was not so related with embezzlement of funds, the procedure was complicated by prejudgment, favoritism and close relations between jury members and participants. As in the prewar practice collegial relations were unavoidable because of close professional contacts between architects. Although the regulation of competitions aimed to provide anonymity of projects (which were presented

²⁶⁷ "Rezolucija Udruženja Jugoslovenskih likovnih umetnika," [The Resolution of Association of Yugoslav Fine Artists] *Vreme*, 17.3.1934, 5.

²⁶⁸ D. Jurišić, "O faktorima konkursa," [About factors of competitions] *Tehnički List* 3-4 (1936): 46-47.

²⁶⁹ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 96.

²⁷⁰ U. Šuvaković, "Korupcija i političke stranke u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca," *Nauka, bezbednost, policija* 16, no. 1 (2011): 57-68.

²⁷¹ Such payment was assured by the Rulebook of awards for authorized engineers, however practically payments were much less (qv Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 8).

by motto), the possibility that architects could inform colleagues in a jury about mottos of their projects can not be excluded. However, on the one hand, the juxtaposition between lists of the authors of the awarded projects and the jury members did not reveal essential professional connections between them. On the other hand, a jury should publish a report with comments about each project. Under the circumstances of high competition and even rivalry between architects supplemented by high publicity of architectural process any doubts of other participants in the impartiality of jury would be obvious and discussed in the press²⁷². However, besides close professional contacts, more problematic were family ties or commercial connections.

The biggest scandal occurred in the case of a competition for the Ministry of Finance buildings then the fact that the Jury Chairman was a father of an employee of a winning bureau was discovered²⁷³. Subsequent reactions of the professional community influenced the development of competitive practice and discussed in the next chapter.

Another case was the competition for the Belgrade Fairground, which was an important project for development of the left bank of Sava²⁷⁴. The competition was organized by Municipality and right to participate had only architects from Belgrade²⁷⁵. The project of architect Ignjat Popović, employee of Technical Directorate of the Belgrade Municipality, got the first prize²⁷⁶. Later accusations that the jury chairman Milan Nešić participated in the creation of the winning project appeared in newspapers²⁷⁷, as well as a

²⁷² For example, as in the case of Belgrade Fairground

²⁷³ Anonim. „Razne vesti—, Tehnički list, br. 19, (01.10. 1924), 248.

²⁷⁴ R. Gašić, „Planovi za izgradnju Beograda na levoj obali Save u međuratnom periodu,” u *Prostorno planiranje u jugoistočnoj Evropi do Drugog svetskog rata*, ur. B.Miljković-Katić (Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2011), 389-390.

²⁷⁵ M. Vukotić-Lazar, „Staro beogradsko sajmište: Osnivanje i izgradnja,” *GGB LI* (2004): 150.

²⁷⁶ M. Zloković (second), M. Manojlović and I. Azriel (trird) qv D.S., “Beogradsko sajmište – prema idejnoj skici g. Ignjata Popovića koji je dobio prvu nagradu,” [Belgrade Fairgrounds - according to the project of Ignjat Popović who won the first prize] *Vreme*, 18.4.1936, 10.

²⁷⁷ “Afera sa beogradskim sajmištem: Pretsednik žirija inženjer Milan Nešić dodeljuje prvu nagradu svome projektu,” [The affair with the Belgrade fairgrounds: The Jury Chairman Milan Nešić awarded the first prize to his project] *Slobodna reč*, 1.06.1936, 5.

critique of this project as the weakest and imperfect²⁷⁸. However, the UJIA denied such accusations and claimed that made no doubt to the decision and the quality of the jury²⁷⁹. Finally the job was entrusted to architects of the Technical Directorate of the Belgrade Municipality²⁸⁰.

Another problem with jury work had more fundamental character: the issue of composition of jury and its professional qualifications. Despite that the Rulebook of 1938 regulated that majority should be professionals, architects proposed more restrictive suggestions as at least two-thirds should be engineers and architects²⁸¹ or even with only architects²⁸². In practice a jury always contained representatives of an investor, even if architects doubt their abilities to evaluate architectural projects²⁸³. A jury mainly included also representatives from professional organizations²⁸⁴, the Ministry of Construction, the Technical Faculty of the University. Gradually, a group of architects who specialized on being a jury member appeared²⁸⁵. However, despite efforts of the professional community and adoption of the Rulebook, problems with jury remained.

In the case of the State Opera House, architect Ivan Zdravković claimed that one of the reasons of the competition failure was the jury²⁸⁶. The jury members were architects from universities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, two representatives of the Ministry of Construction, three from the Ministry of Education and also directors of National theaters

²⁷⁸ "Da li g.g. inž. Nešić i Popović imaju toliko morala da odgovore," [Do Nešić and Popović have morale to answer] *Slobodna reč*, 17.06.1936, 6.

²⁷⁹ "Konkurs za Beogradsko sajmište," [The competition for the Belgrade Fairgrounds] *Vreme*, 19.07.1936, 9.

²⁸⁰ M. Tričković, Đ. Lukić, R. Tatić (qv Vukotić-Lazar, "Staro beogradsko sajmište," 145).

²⁸¹ D.P., "O raspisu natječaja i njihovom uspjehu," [About organization of competitions and their success] *Građevinski vjesnik* 4 (1932): 65.

²⁸² B. Kojić, "Pred pravilnikom za natjecaji," [Before the Rulebook for competitions] *Građevinski vjesnik* 10 (1938): 153.

²⁸³ Ibid., 152.

²⁸⁴ From professional point of view it was obligatory, and finally the Rulebook of 1938 contained a requirement that one member should be representative from the Engineering Chamber (qv Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika*, 240).

²⁸⁵ For example, D.M. Leko, S. Jovanović, P. Bajalović, M. Korunović, D. Maslač, B. Kojić.

²⁸⁶ Zdravković, "Ishod konkursa za Beogradsku operu," 144

from Belgrade and Zagreb²⁸⁷. Since the competition was announced after the adoption of the Rulebook, the Engineering Chamber and the UJIA insisted that composition of the jury should meet the requirements, and moreover include at least one foreign member due to the international character of the competition²⁸⁸. Zdravković in his article pointed out that the jury members was clearly divided into modernists and conservators²⁸⁹, and such division explained why the highest awards got two principally different projects: the Italian monumental neoclassical project and the Croatian modernist project in the International style²⁹⁰ (figure A.2).

In general the split of opinions among the jury members and awarding completely different projects was common practice²⁹¹. Such cases demonstrated the main stylistic confrontations. For instance, on the competition for the Warrior's House in 1929 the academism project of J. Jovanović and Ž. Piperski and the Byzantine-Romanesque project of B. Nestrović and J. Šnajder got the highest awards²⁹² (figure A.3). Later the main confrontation occurred between modernist and academic projects, as in the case of the competition for the Administration of State Monopoles in 1937, which discussed in the next chapter.

The jury professional qualification influenced not only stylistic preferences, but also a quality of program. Architects claimed that unsuccessful results of competitions were caused by low quality of programs, which were made without understanding of architectural

²⁸⁷ Document №14885 from 21.4.1938, fasc. 3, fond 81, AJ.

²⁸⁸ Resolution from the UJIA to the ministires of Construction and Education, №436 from 10.8.1939, fasc. 344, fond 66, AJ.

²⁸⁹ Zdravković, "Ishod konkursa za Beogradsku operu," 145.

²⁹⁰ Manević, Z. "Arhitektura i politika (1937–1941)," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 20 (1984): 298.

²⁹¹ Jurišić, "O faktorima konkursa," 46.

²⁹² M. Borisavljević, "Konkurs za Ratnički dom," [The competition for the Warrior's House] *Pravda*, 24.05.1929, 5. For the history of the Warrior's House qv A. Ignjatović, "Između univerzalnog i autentičnog: o arhitekturi Ratničkog doma u Beogradu," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* LII (2005): 313–332.

and functional features, were often incomplete and rough-and-ready²⁹³ and contained contradictory tasks²⁹⁴.

For example, the competition program for the State Printing House caused the intensive discussions. After the Ministry of Education announced the competition in 1933, architects firstly criticized the location which had no regulation²⁹⁵ and therefore made the elaboration of projects senseless²⁹⁶. Secondly, architect Josif Najman claimed that the program was incomplete, did not contain information about machinery that made the elaboration of projects even impossible²⁹⁷. Under pressure the Ministry made changes, but only for regulation of territory²⁹⁸. Dragiša Brašovan won the first prize, the second went to the Croatian team Korka-Kiverov-Krekić) and Dragan Gudović and Dimitrije M. Leko got the third one²⁹⁹. Finally, Brašovan's project were implemented, but on the other location³⁰⁰.

Besides incomplete programs, architects faced problems with contradictions between conditions in programs and final decisions. For instance, the State Mortgage Bank announced a competitions with requirement to unite a new building with existing one, at that architects could choose a way of combining³⁰¹. After giving awards, the Administration claimed that existing building should be preserved as significant and on this base requested the elaboration of a project for its architect Vojin Petrović³⁰². D.M. Leko insisted that such

²⁹³ Potočnjak, "O arhitektonskim natječajima kod nas," 33.

²⁹⁴ Jurišić, "O faktorima konkursa," 47.

²⁹⁵ P. Gačić, "Utakmica za izradu idejnih skica za novu zgradu Državne štamparije u Beogradu," [The competition for the new building of the State Printing House in Belgrade] *Pravda*, 29.4.1933, 2.

²⁹⁶ P. Gačić, "Utakmica za izradu idejne skice za novu zgradu Državne štamparije," *Pravda*, 9.5.1933, 4.

²⁹⁷ J. Najman, "Utakmica za izradu idejnih skica za novu zgradu Državne štamparije u Beogradu," *Pravda*, 4.5.1933, 4.

²⁹⁸ "Izmena utakmice za izradu idejnih skica za novu zgradu Državne štamparije," *Pravda*, 14.05.1933, 19.

²⁹⁹ "Idejne skice za Državnu štampariju," [Projects for the State Printing House] *Politika*, 12.08.1933, 5.

³⁰⁰ Ilijevski, "Form and Function," 270.

³⁰¹ D.M. Leko, "Konkurs za izradu skice za novu zgradu centrale Državne Hipotekarne Banke u Beogradu," [The competition for the State Mortgage Bank in Belgrade] *Tehnički List* 5 (1930): 65-67.

³⁰² "Rešeno je pitanje palate Državne hipotekarne banke u Beogradu," [The question of the building for the State Mortgage Bank is decided] *Politika* 5.2.1930, 6.

actions were not only unacceptable from the point of view of competitive practice, but also impeached the qualification of architects³⁰³.

Apart from the issue of quality, the content of a program was important for architects, because of probable restrictions. Some competition programs contained requirements to design in the specific style, that architects opposed in order to keep their creative freedom³⁰⁴. In this sense competitions for sacral architecture were particularly problematic.

Among the significant interwar architectural projects was the Church of Saint Sava, which was important for the national identity³⁰⁵. The competition was announced in 1926 with the main requirement to create a project in the Serbo-Byzantine style, based on the traditions of the time of Prince Lazar³⁰⁶. The UJIA opposed such requirements and urged its members not to participate³⁰⁷. Finally, the jury awarded only the second prize to the project of Bogdan Nestorović³⁰⁸. The competition caused intense and long debates³⁰⁹. Besides the issue of the style restrictions, the competition program was also criticized because ignoring urban issues and the specifics of the place³¹⁰. As regards critique of the style demands, on the one hand, architects opposed the idea of using the Serbo-Byzantine style because it did not meet the conditions of time³¹¹ or the idea of Yugoslav architecture³¹². On the other, the fact of presence of restriction was criticized and architects demanded organizing a new competition with full creative freedom³¹³.

³⁰³ Leko, "Konkurs za izradu skice," 66.

³⁰⁴ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 52.

³⁰⁵ L. Milavanović, "Materializing Authority: the Church of Saint Sava in Belgrade and its Architectural Significance," *Serbian Studies* 23/24 (2012): 72.

³⁰⁶ B. Pešić, *Spomen-hram Sv. Save na Vracaru u Beogradu: 1895-1988*, (Beograd : BIGZ, 1988), 39.

³⁰⁷ M. Jovanović, *Hram Svetog Save u Beogradu*, (Beograd: Zadužbina Ilije M. Kolarca, 2007), 31.

³⁰⁸ Pešić, *Spomen-hram Sv. Save*, 41.

³⁰⁹ q.v. Damjanović, "Fighting' the St. Sava," *Centropa* V, no. 2 (2005): 125–135.

³¹⁰ M. Borislavljević, "Urbanistički problem hrama Svetog Save," [The urban problem of the St. Sava's Church] *Pravda*, 16.02.1928, 4.

³¹¹ "Kako treba da izgleda budući monumentalni hram Svetoga Save," [How should look the future monumental church of St Sava] *Vreme*, 24.1.1932, 1.

³¹² "Kako treba da izgleda budući monumentalni hram Svetoga Save," *Vreme*, 27.1.1932, 5.

³¹³ T. Damjanović, "Fighting' the St. Sava," 129.

The same problem occurred in the case of the Church of St. Mark. Initially the program contained the wider style demand as “old Byzantine”³¹⁴, but later the church administration changed the request and set an exact architectural model as Gračanica monastery³¹⁵. The jury contained two ecclesiastics and three architects (two of which were prominent specialist in Serbo-Byzantine style)³¹⁶. The competition was narrow, architects who distinguished in the competition for St. Sava's Church (brothers Krstić, Deroko and B. Nestorović) and some young architects (R. Tatić, Ž. Piperski and A. Vasić) were invited.³¹⁷ However as well as in the previous case architects criticized the competition conditions as restraining and impoverishing³¹⁸. Consequently the results led to intense public debates. Brothers Krstić, who strictly adhered to requirements, got the first prize³¹⁹. Their project was criticized as a caricature, which reduces the structural features of the model to a simple decoration³²⁰. The defender of their project in the press was a jury member Milan Minić³²¹, he pointed out that Krstićs proposed the best decision for such requirements³²².

The negative competition results, then the jury did not awarded the first, or even the second prize, troubled the professional community³²³. Such results appeared sometimes in the competitive practice during the 1920s, but were typical for the majority of competitions in the late 1930s³²⁴. Architects worried because this situation created the negative image of

³¹⁴ A. Kadijević, “Prilog proučavanju arhitekture crkve Svetog Marka na beogradskom Tašmajdanu,” *Nasleđe* 1 (1997): 76.

³¹⁵ “Kako će izgledati novi hram sv. Marka na nekadašnjem Starom groblju,” [How will look the new Church of St. Mark on the former Old Cemetery] *Vreme*, 14.9.1929, 6.

³¹⁶ A. Kadijević, “Beogradski opus arhitekta Milana Minića - 1889-1961,” *GGB* 43(1996): 139.

³¹⁷ M. Đurđević, “Arhitektura crkve Svetog Marka u Beogradu,” *Flogiston* 14 (2006): 39.

³¹⁸ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 254.

³¹⁹ M. Đurđević, *Arhitekti Petar i Branko Krstić*, (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1996), 78.

³²⁰ Đ. Bošković, “Crkva Sv. Marka u Beogradu kao karikatura Gračanice,” [Church of St. Mark in Belgrade as a caricature of Gračanica] *Serpski kniževni Glasnik* XXXVI (1932): 302–304.

³²¹ M. Đurđević, M. “Uloga Milana Minića na konkursu za hram Sv. Marka u Beogradu,” *Mileševski zapisi* 3 (1998): 181.

³²² M.C. Minić, “Nova crkva Svetog Apostala Marka u Beogradu,” *Vreme*, 25.3.1932, 2.

³²³ Potočnjak, “O arhitektonskim natječajima kod nas,” 33.

³²⁴ Bajlon, “Javni arhitektonski natječaj u Beogradu,” 30–31.

architects' abilities³²⁵ and claimed that unsuccessful results appeared as consequence of low quality of programs³²⁶. They suggested that in any case the first prize should be awarded, because one project would be the best in comparison with others³²⁷. Actually such results were profitable for investors, because help to avoid the prescription to elaborate final project on the base of the first prize project³²⁸. For example, on the competition for the Ethnographical Museum in 1938, in the absence of the first prize, the jury awarded two seconds for Mate Bajlon and the Croatian team Korka-Kiverov-Krekić³²⁹. However the Ministry of Education chose for elaboration the third prize project by Dragan Gudović as 'most appropriate'³³⁰. In the absence of the first award, an investor could choose even a not awarded project. For example, as in the case of the State Stamps Printing House in 1936, the jury awarded two seconds prizes for the Croatian team Haberle-Bauer and Serbian architect M. Prljević, the third one went to Croatian architect J. Korka³³¹. Finally the elaboration of project was entrusted to Josif Najman³³².

The main problem of competitive practice for the architects was the situation then the author of first awarded project often did not elaborate the final one. The first variant of this problem implied that the winning project was accepted for realization, but the elaboration was entrusted to another architect. According to the Rulebook, only state institutions can make such decisions, in other cases an investor should paid for copyright

³²⁵ Ivacić, "Rešavanje problema zgrade za Operu," *Pravda*, 6.3.1939, 12.

³²⁶ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 218.

³²⁷ Potočnjak, "O arhitektonskim natječajima kod nas," 33.

³²⁸ "Daj šta daš' – Izložba nacrtu za zgradu »Albanije« na Tehničkom fakultetu. Rđav običaj ukidanja prve nagrade," [Give what you give - Exhibition of projects for building "Albania" at the Technical University. A bad habit of reversal of the first prize] *Politika*, 21.04.1938, 8.

³²⁹ Bajlon, "Javni arhitektonski natječaji u Beogradu," 32.

³³⁰ "Etnografski muzej u Beogradu imaće zgradu po uzoru na zgrade evropskih muzeja te vrste," [Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade will have building based on the models of European museums of this type] *Pravda*, 02.09.1938, 3.

³³¹ "Izveštaj Ocenjivačkog suda sa utakmice za izradu idejne skice za novu zgradu Državne Markarnice u Beogradu," (Beograd: Štampa Državna Markarnica, 1936), 14.

³³² Kadijević, A. "Arhitekt Josif Najman (1890-1951)." [Architect Josif Najman]. *Moment* 18 (1990): 100–106. M. Prljević commented the decision as "the elaboration of project was entrusted to the participant, who rated among the last and about whom it was know at the beginning that he would get the job" qv Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 225.

twice³³³. However, for architects such payment, the award and moral success could not be satisfying³³⁴, because the final project elaboration was the best paid part of work³³⁵. The second variant was even more problematic for competitive practice: ignoring the results and choosing other projects instead of the first awarded. Such cases deactivated the idea of competition as an instrument for searching the best solutions.

The two variants can be illustrated by cases of two competitions³³⁶ for the Mortgage Bank of the Commercial Fund (HBTF) in 1938. On the competition for the building in the corner of Kralja Milana and Frankopanove streets³³⁷ the jury distributed all prizes: the first went to M. Bajlon, the second to M. Prljević and D. Popović, the third to M. Zloković³³⁸. Finally the construction was entrusted to Branislav Marinković according to his project³³⁹.

The other building was constructed in the place of destroyed kafana "Albania", which was important in the terms of town-planning and the future of this corner was a subject of professional discussions³⁴⁰. For such significant location the HBTF demanded a monumental building³⁴¹. The competition attracted 84 participants, but the jury did not award the first prize³⁴². The Croatian team Haberle-Bauer got the second prize, the jury also awarded two third prizes for another Croatian team Dumendžić–Vrkljan–Dumendžić and M. Bajlon³⁴³. One more project was intended to be awarded the third prize, but the

³³³ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 244.

³³⁴ D.P., "O raspisu natječaja i njihovom uspjehu," 66.

³³⁵ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 224.

³³⁶ *In both cases architects in the jury were the same (P. Bajalovic, D.M. Leko, B. Kojic), only two representatives of the HBTF differed.*

³³⁷ nowadays Resavska street

³³⁸ "Izveštaj Ocenjivačkog suda sa utakmice za izradu idejne skice za novu zgradu HBTF u Beogradu, uglo Kralja Milana 23 i 25 i Frankopanove ulice," (Beograd: Štampa fabrika Marinić i Janković, 1938), 15.

³³⁹ Z. Manević, "Naši Neimari – Branislav Marinković," *Izgradnja* 4 (1981): 51.

³⁴⁰ "Na zemljištu „Albanije“ počće na proleće podijanje velike Hipotekarne Banke Trgovačkog fonda," [On the place of "Albania" will begin construction of the Mortgage Bank of Commercial Fund in the spring] *Politika*, 14.01.1938, 12.

³⁴¹ "Natječaj za izradu idejne skice za novu zgradu hipotekarne banke Trgovačkog fonda u Beogradu," *Građevinski vjesnik* 4 (1938): 49.

³⁴² The results was criticized in the article "Daj šta daš' – Izložba nacrti za zgradu »Albanije« na Tehničkom fakultetu. Rđav običaj ukidanja prve nagrade," *Politika*, 21.04.1938, 8.

³⁴³ "Konkurs za zgradu »Albanije«: žiri nije dodelio prvu nagradu za »Albaniju«," [Competition for building "Albania": the jury has not awarded the first prize for "Albania"] *Politika*, 6.4.1938, 7.

education of the authors (B. Bon and M. Grkalić) did not meet the requirements of competitions³⁴⁴. However, the administration of the HBTF chose their project as the most appropriable³⁴⁵. Because of problems with their status as authorized designers, M. Prljević was engaged for the project elaboration³⁴⁶, according to him after narrow competition between awarded and purchased projects³⁴⁷. Later the HBTF informed Bon and Grkalić about the decision not to construct³⁴⁸. As a result Bon and Grkalić realized that their idea was used for the construction from an article in a newspaper³⁴⁹. After their public protests³⁵⁰, Prljević answered that although they designed initial projects together, they had no relation to the final project³⁵¹.

Even then the first awarded project was accepted for elaboration, an investor could insist on changes in the project not only because of technical and functional reasons, but also because of his stylistic preferences. For architects it meant a violation of an original idea of the author. Such changes can be made by the architect himself (for example, the PRIZAD building³⁵² or the House of the Craftsmen's Club³⁵³) or by another architect (the third competitions for the UJIA building³⁵⁴ or the building for the District Office for Workers' Insurance³⁵⁵).

³⁴⁴ M. Ceranić, "Istorija i arhitektura palate 'Albanije' u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 6 (2005): 149.

³⁴⁵ "Hipotekarna Banka Trgovačkog fonda uskora pristupa građenju nove „Albanije“ i još jedne palate na uglu ulice Kralja Milana i Frankopanove," *Vreme*, 6.4.1938, 7.

³⁴⁶ Z. Manević, "Naši Neimari – Miladin Prljević," *Izgradnja* 7 (1981): 41.

³⁴⁷ "Po čijim je planovima sagrađena palata »Albanija« (odgovorprojektanta palate »Albanije« arhitekta g. Miladina Prljevića na izjavu zagrebačkih arhitekata g.g. Grakalića i Bona)," [According to whose plans palace "Albania" was built] *Pravda*, 20.02.1940, 6.

³⁴⁸ Ceranić, "Istorija i arhitektura palate 'Albanije' u Beogradu," 151.

³⁴⁹ I. Zdravković, "Značajniji arhitektonski objekti podignuti u Beogradu u prošloj građevinskoj sezoni. Dve palate Hipotekarne banke Trgovačkog fonda," [Significant architectural objects constructed in Belgrade during the last construction season. Two palaces of the Mortgage Bank of the Commercial Fund] *Pravda*, 28. 01.1940, 13.

³⁵⁰ Ceranić, "Istorija i arhitektura palate 'Albanije' u Beogradu," 157.

³⁵¹ "Po čijim je planovima sagrađena palata »Albanija«," *Pravda*, 20.02.1940, 6.

³⁵² The administrative building of the Privileged Export Association. Z. Manević, "Naši Neimari – Bogdan Nestrović," *Izgradnja* 5 (1981): 57.

³⁵³ I.R Marković, "Zgrada zanatskog doma arhitekta Bogdana Nestorovića," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* LIII (2006): 331.

³⁵⁴ Ignjatović, "Dom Udruženja jugoslovenskih inženjera i arhitekata u Beogradu," 104.

³⁵⁵ Z. Paladino, "Arhitektonski opus Lavoslava Horvata u Beogradu," *Prostor* 20 (2012): 315.

Mainly investors complained that projects were not representative enough, especially in cases of administrative buildings. However, the reverse situation leading to modernization of a building image was possible. The competition for the building Pension Fund of the National Bank was held in 1937. Against the backdrop of an abundance of modernist projects, the academism project of Russian emigrant architect Grigory Samojlov got the first prize³⁵⁶. The commentary of the jury implied that facade was too representative and expensive for this type of buildings³⁵⁷. As a result, in the final project Samojlov modernized the building in order to simplify and reduce the costs³⁵⁸.

Correspondingly architects adapted the idea of post-competitions changes for their own purposes. Thus the competition project met all requirements, but during the project elaboration an architect can make changes³⁵⁹. For example, the competition for the Endowment of Sima Igumanov in 1938 was 'narrow'³⁶⁰ and had a requirement to create project in the Serbo-Byzantine style³⁶¹. Brother Krstić won the first prize, but designing the detailed project they simplified the initial project in the spirit of modern architecture³⁶².

Sometimes projects were changed under the influence of modification of conditions as for example a change of a location. In the case the Art Pavilion 'The Cvijeta Zuzorić' the requirement to use vernacular architecture appeared in the competition program because of the location initially chosen for pavilion³⁶³. B. Kojić won the competition³⁶⁴. Later the location was changed and the head of Belgrade Municipality insisted on the changes of the

³⁵⁶ "Zapisnik ocenjivačkog suda za ocenu idejnih skica za novu zgradu Penzionog fonda činovnika i služitelja Narodne banke Kraljevine Jugoslavije na Terazijama u Beogradu," 15. T: 111.181/1, Muzej Nauke i Tehnike. The second prize got M. Prljević with I. Bijelić, the third one got M. Ivačić.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 7.

³⁵⁸ M. Prosen, "Palata Penzionog fonda činovnika i služitelja Narodne banke," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* XLIX–L (2002–2003): 185–186.

³⁵⁹ T. Borić, *Terazije – urbanistički i arhitektonski razvoj*, (Beograd: Zlatousti, 2004), 113.

³⁶⁰ The investor invited brother Krstić, A. Deroko and G. Samojlov to participate.

³⁶¹ M. Đurđević, "Palata Igumanov na Terazijama," *Flogiston* 1 (1995): 88.

³⁶² Z. Manević, "Naši Neimari – Braća Krstić," *Izgradnja* 11 (1980): 46.

³⁶³ near the key heritage building as Princess Ljubica's Residence (konak) qv Putnik, "Folklorizam u arhitekturi Beograda," 178.

³⁶⁴ S. Toševa, *Branislav Kojić*, (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1998), 22.

style, because there was no more reason to use folklorism³⁶⁵. Instead he proposed to follow European models and final project was created by Kojić in the academism style³⁶⁶.

In some cases a change of a location did not prevent realization of competition projects³⁶⁷ or led only to adaptations, but mainly it caused inapplicability of results and consequently renouncement of them (for example Kolarac Popular University Building³⁶⁸ or the second competition of the UJIA building³⁶⁹). On the whole, remaining of competitions results unimplemented idled the competitive mechanism. Some projects from competitions which was held in the late 1930s were not realized because of the Second World War. However, another unimplemented projects demonstrated underlying problems of the architectural process.

In general results of international competitions were not realized, especially it concerns town-planning competitions: most of them were international and most of them gave unrealizable results. However, unlike competitions for buildings, town-planning competitions involved interests of a lot of institutions and had higher financial demands. Among town-planning competitions held in the interwar period³⁷⁰, the competition for the Terazije Terrace attracted substantial attention of the professional community³⁷¹. Behind the competition was the idea to create a complex of monumental public buildings³⁷². Representatives of five countries with 25 projects participated in the competition³⁷³. The

³⁶⁵ Moreover to him folklorism caused negative associations with "the dark period of the Ottoman rule" qv Putnik, "Folklorizam u arhitekturi Beograda," 179.

³⁶⁶ Z. Manević, "Arhitekt Branislav Kojić (1899-1987)," *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 4 (1997): 57.

³⁶⁷ For example, the State Printing House.

³⁶⁸ M. Đurđević, "Arhitekta Andrej Vasiljevič Papkov," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* LII 52 (2005): 299.

³⁶⁹ S. Mihajlov, *Rajko M. Tatić: 1900–1979*. (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 2013), 83.

³⁷⁰ For example, Tašmajdan, Topčider, Slavija Square, Theatre Square (qv Somborski, "Razvoj Beograda između dva rata," 45).

³⁷¹ M. Borisavljević, "Problem Terazijske terase," [The problem of the Terazije Terrace] *Pravda*, (04.03.1930), 1.

³⁷² "Konkurs za Terazijску terasu," [The competition for the Terazije Terrace] *Politika*, 10.02.1929, 8.

³⁷³ The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia (qv "Pitanje Terazijeske Terasa se rešava. Otvaranje i procena skice," [The question of the Terazije Terrace is solving. Opening and evaluation of projects] *Vreme*, 15.06.1930, 10).

first prize went to Serbian architect Nikola Dobrović, who studied and worked in Prague³⁷⁴. The German architect O. Kurz got the second award, M. Hećimović and G. Bohutinski from Prague got the third, and the fourth prize went to B. Marinković and D. Jovanović³⁷⁵. The project of Nikola Dobrović played a significant role for the affirmation and development of Serbian modernism³⁷⁶. Moreover, it was one of the most progressive town-planning projects of its time³⁷⁷. However, his project implied serious financial contributions that complicated its realization³⁷⁸.

On the whole, the abundance of problems caused refusals to participate³⁷⁹ or appeals from the professional organizations to boycott incorrectly announced competitions. Although some architects actively took part during all their career, mainly only young architects participated³⁸⁰. Problems in competitive practice influenced also architectural development in a negative way. For example, Branislav Kojić claimed that backwardness of public buildings in Belgrade was caused by wrong course of competitions³⁸¹, because their results were ignored.

Chapter Three. Competitions and Administrative Buildings: Case Studies

3.1. The issue of governmental buildings

After the First World War Belgrade faced a problem of unsuitable allocation of state institutions. War damages caused a lack of premises and unsatisfactory quality of preserved buildings. On the other hand, territorial expansion and changes of character of the state led

³⁷⁴ Z. Manević, "Naši Neimari – Nikola Dobrović," *Izgradnja* 1 (1981): 47.

³⁷⁵ In addition six project were purchased (two Yugoslav and four German) q.v. B. Popović, "Kako će izgledati Terazijaska terasa," [How will look the Terazije Terrace] *Politika*, 6.07.1930, 7–8.

³⁷⁶ J. Bogdanović, "Architect Nikola Dobrović – A Member of the Heroic Generation," *Serbian Studies* 17/1 (2003): 93.

³⁷⁷ M.R. Perović, *Srpska arhitektura XX veka: od istoricizma do drugog modernizma*, (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2003), 122.

³⁷⁸ N. Dobrović, "Terazijaska Terasa," [The Terazije Terrace] *Vreme* 27.02.1932, 1.

³⁷⁹ For example, M.Korunović (qv A. Kadijević, A. Momir Korunović, (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika culture, 1996), 30) or B. Kojić (qv S. Toševa, *Branislav Kojić*, 56).

³⁸⁰ "Daj šta daš' – Izložba nacrtu za zgradu »Albanije«," *Politika*, 21.04.1938, 8.

³⁸¹ Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika*, 96.

to the institutional reform, which called for establishment of new institutions and reorganization of existing. The state had to allocate new institutions in leased buildings, which mainly were unsuitable³⁸² and moreover costly, because of rent charges³⁸³.

Furthermore, symbolic reasons were of relevance – temporary housing of state institutions was giving an impression of weakness. For example, the very proclamation of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was announced in the private house of Krsmanović, moreover the proclamation of the first constitution (the Vidovdan Constitution) took place in former building of Cavalry barracks³⁸⁴, in which the National Assembly finally was allocated during the 1920s³⁸⁵. Therefore an effort was made to remedy this situation and constructed appropriate representative buildings for state institutions. It was planned that the state would vacate private buildings as soon as possible³⁸⁶. For construction purpose state institutions could get a loan and whole process was regulated by special committee³⁸⁷.

In the beginning of the 1920s the Belgrade Municipality got offers from foreign companies to construct a whole complex of governmental buildings³⁸⁸, which were rejected³⁸⁹. The administration failed to create a coherent plan³⁹⁰, and each institution organized a construction process on their own³⁹¹. Because of economical problems and complications in coordination of interests, the necessity of proper allocation for state institutions was relevant until the Second World War³⁹².

³⁸² “Proširenje državnih zgrada,” [Expansion of governmental buildings] *Politika*, 28.07.1920, 3.

³⁸³ D.M. Leko, “Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda i Ministarstva šuma i rudnika,” [The new building for the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks and the Ministry of Forestry and Mining] *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1926): 193.

³⁸⁴ “Zgrada za Konstituantu,” [The building for the Constituent Assembly] *Politika*, 19.02.1920, 3.

³⁸⁵ Popović, “Zgrada Narodne skupštine,” 13.

³⁸⁶ “Za podizanje Beograda,” [For Construction of Belgrade] *Politika*, 02.07.1920, 3.

³⁸⁷ “Pitanje državnih građevina,” [The issue of governmental buildings] *Politika*, 14.02.1921, 3.

³⁸⁸ “Za obnovu Beograda,” [For Reconstruction of Belgrade] *Politika*, 10.10.1920, 3.

³⁸⁹ “Državne zgrade u Beogradu,” [Governmental buildings in Belgrade] *Politika*, 24.10.1920, 3.

³⁹⁰ Kušević, *Jugoslavija na tehničkom polju 1919 – 1929*, 60.

³⁹¹ Leko, “Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda,” 193.

³⁹² Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 84.

The construction of governmental buildings was connected with an idea to create administrative centers. During urban transformations of Belgrade after 1878 such idea was not implemented and as a result existing ministerial buildings mainly were located in different parts³⁹³. The task of creating administrative centers was among significant requirements during the elaboration of the Master Plan. For example, the program for the international competition included a list of areas allotted for governmental buildings³⁹⁴. According to the final version of the Master Plan these areas were reserved for state institutions³⁹⁵.

The first area was conceived as adjoined to the Knez Miloša street. The Master Plan implied the creation of the complex of ministerial buildings in the area between streets Knez Miloša, Nemanjina, Hajduk Veljkova and Birčaninova³⁹⁶. This area had good transport accessibility and was located near some of existing ministerial buildings³⁹⁷, because since the 1880s the Knez Miloša street became a “representative state buildings axis”³⁹⁸. Consequently during the interwar period this axis ‘was a gathering line’ for governmental building projects³⁹⁹. Another administrative area was also related to pre-war urban development, because was designated near the National Assembly building⁴⁰⁰, where in addition the Knez Miloša street starts.

The issue of governmental buildings was in terms of reference of the Ministry of Construction, which conducted all stages of construction⁴⁰¹, but announced competitions for

³⁹³ S. Vladislavljević, “Zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda i Ministarstva šuma i rudnika,” *GGB* XLIV (1997): 209.

³⁹⁴ Vuksanović-Macura, *San o gradu*, 31.

³⁹⁵ Maksimović, *Problemi urbanizma*, 35.

³⁹⁶ B.M. Pajević, *Regulacija Beograda 1867–1923. godine*, (Beograd: Grafički institut „Narodna misao“, 1923), 73.

³⁹⁷ The document № 5650 from 03.03.1921, facs. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

³⁹⁸ Roter Blagojević and Vukotić Lazar, “Between East and West,” 128.

³⁹⁹ Ignjatović, “Architecture, Urban Development, and the Yugoslavization,” 122.

⁴⁰⁰ B. Maksimović, “Urbanistički razvitak Beograda između dva rata,” u *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 3, ur. V. Čubrilo (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974), 163.

⁴⁰¹ Toševa, “Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina,” 112.

projects, because such buildings were significant⁴⁰². Despite the fact that Rulebooks implied the same competitive procedure for private and state institutions⁴⁰³, for administrative buildings the main problems of competitive practice were ignoring the results and changing the projects. With the exception of projects that were not implemented at all, the majority of constructed administrative buildings presented differences between their shapes and competition projects. Thus the cases revealed the gap between architectural development and preferences of state institutions. This gap had two dimensions: stylistic and functional.

On the one hand, stylistic preferences of state institutions came to the discrepancy with the new architectural trends. While modernism gradually affirmed in Belgrade architecture, the state authorities continued to support revivalist styles. Academism was considered as a style which can embody the stability and prosperity of the state, represent the Yugoslav unity, and thus was the most suitable for governmental buildings. From such point of view, modernism did not meet requirements of representative architecture, because of simplistic and undecorated facades. These considerations demonstrated the gap not only in stylistic preferences, but also in very understanding of the essence of architecture.

During the interwar period, the direction of architectural searches started to diverge with requests of governmental architecture. Architects paid attention to solving social problems⁴⁰⁴ in the spirit of 'leveling between palaces and huts'⁴⁰⁵. In addition functional and rational organization of space became crucial and made the issue of facades insignificant.

In the case of Belgrade architecture, a turning point was revealed by a questionnaire about architecture, initiated by Belgrade Municipal Newspaper in 1932. Although the

⁴⁰² Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 211-212.

⁴⁰³ The main difference was that according Rulebook of 1938 state institutions had a right to entrust final elaboration to its technical bureau without paying copyright fees twice. From the other hand, private institutions more broadly interpreted prescriptions of Rulebooks and rarely reacted to interventions of the UJIA.

⁴⁰⁴ D. Tadić, "Socialjna uloga savremene arhitekture," [The social role of contemporary architecture] *Javnost* 4 (1935): 78-80.

⁴⁰⁵ S. Planić, "Anketa o arhitekturi Beograda," [The questionnaire about architecture of Belgrade] *Književnik* 2 (1933): 48-53.

questions themselves⁴⁰⁶ and the majority of answers demonstrated that the issue of facades remained its significance, some responses questioned relevance of facades for architecture and claimed that such obsolete accentuation on facades obstructed architectural development of Belgrade⁴⁰⁷. Croatian modernist architect Stjepan Planić published a review of this questionnaire, in which emphasized that the focus of modern architecture is on the content rather than the form⁴⁰⁸. Moreover, he indicated that ‘members of the ruling class’ paid attention to facades in order express their power and prosperity⁴⁰⁹.

For administrative buildings, a facade functioned as a kind of a screen, which articulate and translate representations of state institutions. In the case of new established states such representation became crucial. Thus the Kingdom put efforts to constructed rich-decorated monumental administrative buildings, which were criticized by architects. They claimed that such primitive demands raised the price of buildings without avail⁴¹⁰, while problems of urban planning and social housing were relevant⁴¹¹.

The divergence existed not only on the level of ideas, but also pervaded the organization of competitions. The competition programs were based on functional requirements about space organization and quite rare contained the style or any other demands about facades. The jury decisions and distributions of awards were made on the base of successfulness of the functional use of a space. Conversely on the final stages of the decision making process, the issue of facades became significant. Thus results of competitions differed from the final shape of buildings. For example, modernists projects

⁴⁰⁶ The journal addressed to professionals following questions:

1. What you think about contemporary facades of new constructed building after the war in Belgrade?
2. Is it any kind of progress in designing more beautiful facades?
3. In what direction should develop future architectural shape of the capital according to current architectural design and construction opportunities?

From 42 responses the journal published 12 (q.v. “Anketa o arhitekturi Beograda,” *BON* 12 (1932): 759).

⁴⁰⁷ B. Maksimović, “O spoljašnjoj arhitekturi Beograda,” [About external architecture of Belgrade] *BON* 12 (1932): 782.

⁴⁰⁸ Planić, “Anketa o arhitekturi Beograda,” (1933): 51.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ B. Kojić, “Izgrađivanje Beograda,” [Construction of Belgrade] *Javnost* 5 (1935): 103.

⁴¹¹ S. Planić, “Program graditeljstva,” [Program of Construction] *Građevinski vjesnik* 1 (1932): 11.

started to win in competitions for administrative buildings during the 1930s, but after interventions of state investor projects were designed in the academic style. As a result the professional community criticized backwardness of governmental architecture⁴¹² and its incompatibility with architectural development⁴¹³.

3.2. Ministerial buildings

For construction of ministerial buildings, the Ministry of Construction organized competitions⁴¹⁴, but mainly problems with final decisions occurred. Only one ministerial building was constructed according to the competition winning project: the building for the Ministry of Transport. According to the Master Plan, the Ministry got a territory in the area designed for a complex of ministerial buildings near the Knez Miloša street⁴¹⁵. The competition was announced in 1922 with requirements to satisfy contemporary functional and aesthetic standards⁴¹⁶. The first prize got the project of Sverozar Jovanović⁴¹⁷, who was a representative of the pre-war generation of Serbian architects, the professor of the Belgrade University and a long-term employee of the Ministry of Construction⁴¹⁸. His project was considered as one of the best examples of the academic style⁴¹⁹, producing the effect of monumentality by strict harmonious composition⁴²⁰. Thus it met expectations of the Ministry about representative architecture. However, the financial reasons delayed the

⁴¹² Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka*, 96.

⁴¹³ Kojić, "Arhitektura između dva svetska rata," 186.

⁴¹⁴ The case of the building for the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health was an exception. The ministry directly ordered a project in the Ministry of Construction and its architect Dimitrije M. Leko created a project. (about this building q.v. D.M. Leko "Zgrada za Ministarstvo socijalne politike i narodnog zdravlja," *Arhitektura* 9-10 (1932): 241; D. Maslač, "Dve zgrade arhitekta Dimitrija Leka," [Two buildings by architect Dimitrije Leko] *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1936): 185-189). For the building of the Ministry of Trade and Industry initially was intended to organize a competition (document №26686 from 26.12.1921, fasc. 1386, fond 62, AJ), but finally the project was ordered to Nikolay Krasnov (Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 128).

⁴¹⁵ Pajević, *Regulacija Beograda*, 73.

⁴¹⁶ Marković, "Zgrada Ministarstva saobraćaja," 199.

⁴¹⁷ "Ministarstvo saobraćaja gradi sebi palatu i železničarima stanove," [The Ministry of Transport built a palace and apartments for railway workers] *Vreme*, 27.11.1927, 3.

⁴¹⁸ More about his life and work q.v. V. Kamilčić, *Arhitekta Svetozar Jovanović*, (Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2011).

⁴¹⁹ Nestorović, "Postakademizam u arhitekturi Beograda," 347.

⁴²⁰ Popović, "O savremenoj arhitekturi u Beogradu," 761.

implementation of the project⁴²¹ and the construction started only in 1927, after receiving loan from the State Mortgage Bank⁴²². In the beginning of the 1920s the gap between professional and governmental view on styles and architecture was not relevant, thus the competition occurred without problems.

However, in this period problems could emerge because of difficulties in development of competitive practice itself, as for example in the case of the building of the Ministry of Forestry and Mining and the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks got a place in the area designated for ministerial complex in 1921 and invited without a competition the architect Nikola Nestorović to create a project and control the construction⁴²³. Nestorović was one of the most fruitful representatives of the pre-war generation⁴²⁴. For the Ministry he created the project, which characterized by combination of Art Nouveau elements with Neo-Classical monumentality⁴²⁵ (figure 1).

⁴²¹ "Nova palata Ministarstva saobraćaja,"[The new palace of the Ministry of Transport] *Vreme*, 25.12.1928, 2.

⁴²² "Radovi na podizanju nove zgrade Ministarstva saobraćaja," [Works on the construction of the new building for the Ministry of Transport] *Vreme* 31.07.1927, 9.

⁴²³ M. Pavlović, "Život i delo arhitekta Nikole Nestorovića," (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2014), 352. Pavlović supposed that he was invited because of his membership in the Serbian agricultural society.

⁴²⁴ M. Pavlović, "Architectural activity of Nikola Nestorović between the conservative academism and Secession reform," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 42 (2014): 203.

⁴²⁵ Pavlović, "Život i delo arhitekta Nikole Nestorovića," 366.

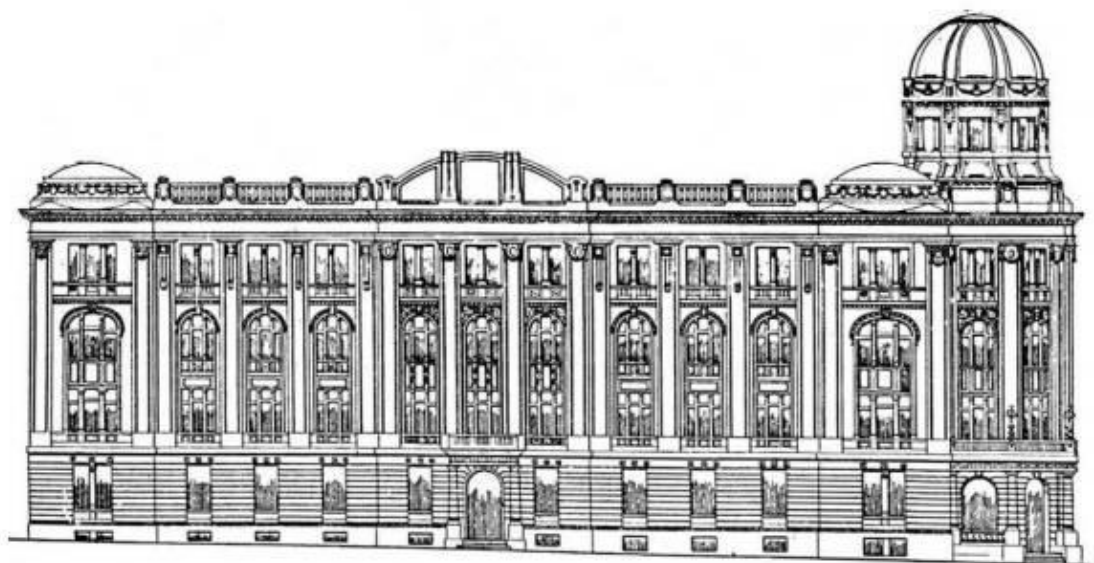


Figure 1. Nestorović's project for the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks.

Source: D.M. Leko, "Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda," *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1926): 196.

The Ministry of Forestry and Mining got for its building the neighboring sector⁴²⁶ and requested holding a competition to the Ministry of Construction⁴²⁷. Requirements for the project included imposing monumental building with rich decoration in order to 'worthily and pronouncedly represent the Ministry, which manages overground and underground natural wealth'⁴²⁸. Under the influence of the idea of creating an administrative center, the Ministry of Construction suggested to design both buildings in accordance and harmony with each other, and for this purpose to conduct a competition for a joint project⁴²⁹. The competition requirements implied relations with existing Nestorović's project⁴³⁰. Among fifteen projects, the jury awarded three and purchased two⁴³¹.

The winning project was created by the technical bureau "Architect" of Dragiša Brašovan⁴³² (figure 2). As it was mentioned in the accompanying text, they tried to follow and develop the ideas of existing Nestorović's project. The jury characterized architecture of

⁴²⁶ Vladislavljević, "Zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda," 214.

⁴²⁷ The document №8842 from 10.04.1921, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴²⁸ The document №2191 from 25.01.1921, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴²⁹ Toševa, "Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina," 112.

⁴³⁰ Vladislavljević, "Zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda," 217.

⁴³¹ Leko, "Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda," 194.

⁴³² A. Kadijević, "Život i delo arhitekta Dragiše Brašovana (1887-1965)," *GGB XXXVII* (1990): 151.

this project as “serious, quiet with simple contemporary forms”⁴³³. Other awarded and purchased projects were in different variants of neoclassical academism⁴³⁴.

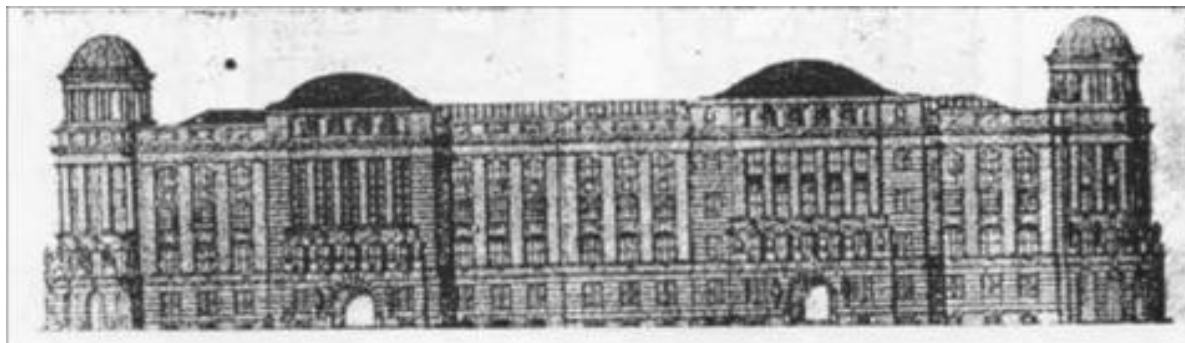


Figure 2. The competition project by the bureau “Architect” for the building of the Ministry of Forestry and Mining.

Source: D.M. Leko, “Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda,” *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1926): 196.

After the competition a conflict between the Ministry of Construction, the bureau “Architect” and Nestorović started about the issue of the project elaboration. Firstly, according to the contract with the Ministry of Forestry and Mining, Nestorović got this right⁴³⁵. The bureau “Architect” appealed to the UJIA and after its intervention the decision was changed in favor of the bureau and the contract was assigned⁴³⁶. Finally they elaborated the project together, but the Ministry of Construction was not satisfied by it⁴³⁷ (figure 3). In

⁴³³ Leko, “Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda,” 194.

⁴³⁴ The second prize project called “*Ministarsvo*” (unknown author) was characterized by academic monotonous facade with colonnade. The Russian emigrant architect Victor Lukomsky got the third award with project followed traditions of Russian Empire style. His idea for connection two institutions in one building referred to the Senate and Synod building in Saint Petersburg. Another Russian emigrant architect Aleksej Vasiljev proposed the project in the spirit of Petersburg neoclassical architecture of the 1910s, which was purchased. Maybe the author of this project was Nikolay Vasililjev, who also was in the Kingdom at that moment and this project has similarities with his project for the the Administration of State Monopoly from 1908. Although Aleksej Vasiljev arrived in 1920, he became an architect later (graduated in 1932) qv A. Arsenjev, “Biografski imenik ruskih emigranata,” u *Ruska emigracija u srpskoj kulturi XX veka*. T. 2., ur. M. Sibinović, (Beograd: ČIP Štampa, 1994), 238. The second purchased project was created by Milan Zloković, who later became prominent modernist architects. Unlike other awarded projects, Zloković’s solution was more rational and simplified and under influence of French modernized classicism (qv L. Blagojević, L. “Transpozicija duha i karaktera italijansko-mediteranske arhitekture u ranim projektima Milana Zlokovića,” *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 34 (2012): 4-5). (Figure A.4).

⁴³⁵ Vladislavljević, “Zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda,” 215.

⁴³⁶ The contract from 13.05.1921, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

Arhiv Jugoslavije, fond Ministarstva Građevina 62, fascikla 1371. yzovop om 13.5.1922

⁴³⁷ Pavlović, “Život i delo arhitekta Nikole Nestorovića,” 368.

stylistic terms their project was “convergence of stylistic streams”⁴³⁸ with Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Baroque elements⁴³⁹.

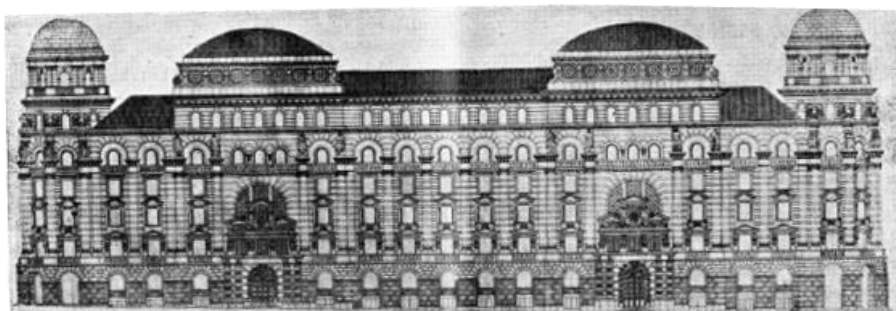


Figure 3. The final project by N.Nestorović and the bureau “Architect” (1924)

Source: D.M. Leko, “Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda,” *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1926): 197.

The representatives of the Ministry of Construction claimed that the facade was too pretentious and luxury⁴⁴⁰ and based on the unacceptable mix of styles, which was against “aesthetic and architectural rules”⁴⁴¹. Thus referring to the inadequacy of the facade, the Ministry insisted that its Architectural Department should elaborate the final project. This task was entrusted to Russian emigrant architect Nikolay Krasnov, who created “typical project for such kind of buildings”⁴⁴². This project was implemented, after cancellation of the contract with the “Architect” and Nestorović⁴⁴³.

On the base of this case, the Ministry came to the conclusion that “experiments of private architects on governmental buildings” should be not allowed⁴⁴⁴. Thereby it led to establishing as a rule that state institutions entrust the final project elaboration to their technical bureaus.

The building of the Ministry of Finance also demonstrated deregulation of competitive practice during the 1920s. The competition for the new building was announced

⁴³⁸ Z. Manević, “Naši Neimari – Dragiša Brašovan,” *Izgradnja* 8 (1980): 50.

⁴³⁹ Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 343.

⁴⁴⁰ Protocol 22700/1923, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴⁴¹ Protocol 14.241 from 04.06.1926, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Protocol 68049 from 01.09.1926, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴⁴⁴ Protokol 14241 from 27.05.1926, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

in 1924⁴⁴⁵. The location was chosen near the old ministerial building and the building of the Ministry of Trade and Industry under construction⁴⁴⁶. The jury contained of the representatives of key architectural institutions – Nikola Nestrović as professor of University, Petar Popović as chief of the Ministry of Construction, Momir Korunović and Croatian architect Edo Šen as representatives of the UJIA. From the Ministry of Finance was Đorđe Rašić⁴⁴⁷.

Among twenty-six competition projects, the jury did not find a one, which could get the first prize⁴⁴⁸. The project created by the technical bureau “Architect” got the second prize⁴⁴⁹, as exactly following the program (figure 4). The jury decided that other projects can not be awarded and disturbed award amount for purchasing seven projects⁴⁵⁰. The majority of project were in the academic style⁴⁵¹.



Figure 4. The project of the bureau “Architect” for the first competition for the Ministry of Finance.
Source: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2770-K6, 10-12.

The results of this competition caused the professional discussions and protest from the UJIA. Edo Šen appealed to the Zagreb Section, questioned the quality of the jury

⁴⁴⁵ Konkurs za izradu idejnih skica za novu palatu Ministarstva finansija TL 11 1924 III

⁴⁴⁶ Situacija za izradu skica, 2770-K6, IAB.

⁴⁴⁷ Rezultat javne utakmice za izradu skica za zgradu Ministarstva Finansija u Beogradu. 2770-K6, IAB, 1.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 22

⁴⁴⁹ Among awarded and purchased projects, this project implied the most expensive building (approximately 84 millions of dinars, while others on the average 60 millions). Ibid., 23-45.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ With the exception of the Serbo-Byzantine project of Žarko Tatić. Four of these projects were created by architects, who worked in the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction. Nikolay Krasnov participated twice: in cooperation with Dmitrij Leko and with his own project, and both projects were purchased (qv M. Mađanović, “Prilog proučavanju beogradskog opusa Nikolaja Petroviča Krasnova (1922-1939),” *Nasleđe* 16 (2015): 77-78). (Figure A.5).

work⁴⁵², because the single awarded project was created by the bureau, in which the son of the Jury Chairman worked⁴⁵³. As a result the UJIA suggested to the Minister of Finance⁴⁵⁴ not to confirm the jury decision⁴⁵⁵, after his refusal the UJIA appealed also to the Minister of Construction Nikola Uzunović and Prime-Minister Nikola Pašić⁴⁵⁶.

As a result of the intervention of the UJIA, the Ministry of Finance announced a new competition⁴⁵⁷. However, it concerned only the facade and contained requirements to design in the Byzantine style. The UJIA was not satisfied, because competition requirements included the specific style and the jury remained the same (except Edo Šen)⁴⁵⁸, and invoked its members not to participate⁴⁵⁹.

Finally, only five architects participated⁴⁶⁰, and the project of D. Brašovan won⁴⁶¹. (figure 5). His project combined features of Roman and Byzantine architecture⁴⁶². The conclusion that finally this project was rejected and Krasnov was appointed out of competition became a commonplace in historiography⁴⁶³.

⁴⁵² "Razne vesti," [Different news] *Tehnički list* 19 (1924): 248.

⁴⁵³ Later on to this accusation was added the fact that Nikola Nestorovic with the bureau Architect elaborated projects for the Ministry of Forestry and Mining and the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks.

⁴⁵⁴ At the moment it was Mehmed Spaho. However, the competition was announced under the control of Milan Stojadinović, who returned to the office on 6.11.1924.

⁴⁵⁵ "Vesti iz udruženja," [News from the Association] *Tehnički list* 20 (1924): 264.

⁴⁵⁶ "Vesti iz udruženja," *Tehnički list* 4 (1925): 63-64.

⁴⁵⁷ "Izrada planova za novu palatu Ministarstva finansija," [Making plans for a new palace of the Ministry of Finance] *Politika*, 16.04.1925, 7.

⁴⁵⁸ "Vesti iz udruženja," *Tehnički list* 2, 01.12.1925, 358.

⁴⁵⁹ "Odluka inženjera i arhitekata povodom konkursa za fasadu palata Ministarstva Finansija," [The decision engineers and architects about the competition for the facade of the palace of the Ministry of Finance] *Politika*, 25.4.1925, 5.

⁴⁶⁰ As punishment for participation two members the Club of Architects were excluded for one year from sessions (qv "Zapisnik VIII Redovne Godišnje Skupštine UJIA – Sekcija Beograd," *Tehnički list* 7 (1926): 107. Besides the winner, Brašon, it might be Branislav Kojić (qv Manević, "Arhitekt Branislav Kojić," 56).

⁴⁶¹ Kadijević, "Život i delo arhitekta Dragiše Brašovana," 151.

⁴⁶² A. Kadijević, "Rad Nikolaja Krasnova u Ministarstvu građevina Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije u Beogradu od 1922. do 1939. godine," *GGB XLIV* (1997): 228.

⁴⁶³ qv Manević, "Pojava moderne arhitekture u Srbiji," 15; Kadijević, "Život i delo arhitekta Dragiše Brašovana," 151; Kadijević, "Rad Nikolaja Krasnova," 228; Toševa, "Kapitalna dela ruskih arhitekata u Beogradu," u *Ruska emigracija u srpskoj kulturi XX veka*. T. 2., ur. M. Sibinović (Beograd: ČIP Štampa, 1994), 303.

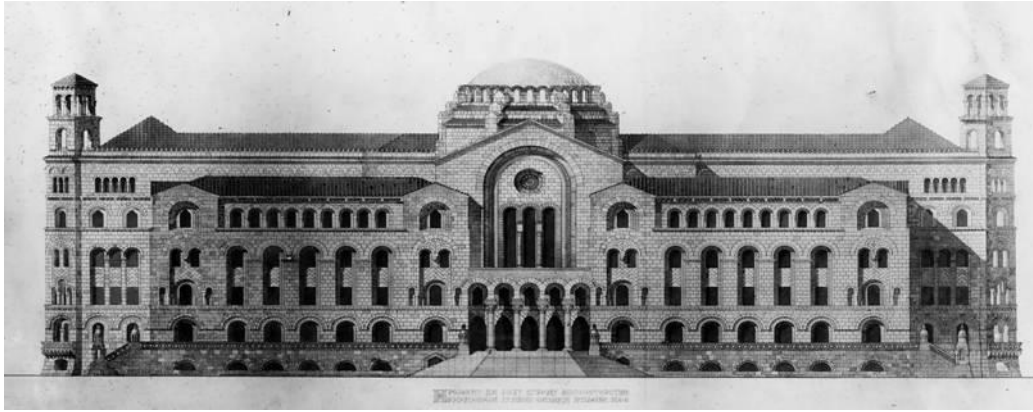


Figure 5. D. Brašovan's project for the second competition for the Ministry of Finance.
Source: Collection of Miloš Jurašić.

However, the Ministry abandoned the idea to construct a building in that place⁴⁶⁴. In the spring of 1924 the Ministry of Finance already bought the building which the Ministry of Trade and Industry ordered for itself to Krasnov⁴⁶⁵, in order to create a complex of buildings in the whole area⁴⁶⁶. Finally, the Ministry of Finance was allocated in this building on the corner of Nemanjina and Knez Milosa streets⁴⁶⁷. This case was important for development of practice of the UJIA's interventions to the competitions. From the other hand, it demonstrated how under the conditions of the incoordination between institutions projects remained unimplemented.

The building of the Ministry of Education is also an example of unrealized construction for ministerial buildings. Since 1879 the Ministry of Education got a private building near Terazije, which later was reconstructed and adapted with creation new façade in the Serbo-Byzantine style by Branko Tanazevic⁴⁶⁸. However, after the First World war the building was not enough for the new state. After a number of adaptations, the Ministry decided to construct a new building. The preparations started in the April of 1937 for new building in corner of Knez Miloša and Birčaninova streets⁴⁶⁹. The Ministry of Education

⁴⁶⁴ Nestorović, "Postakademizam u arhitekturi Beograda," 378.

⁴⁶⁵ Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi*, 342.

⁴⁶⁶ Document №1296 from 15.04.1924, fasc. 1371, fond 62, AJ.

⁴⁶⁷ in front of the building of the Ministry of Forestry and Mining and the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks

⁴⁶⁸ D. Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815–1914* (Beograd : Muzej grada, 1981): 100-101.

⁴⁶⁹ Skica za novu zgradu Ministarstva Prosvete, 7/5, fasc. 2, fond 81, AJ.

announced a competition in the July with the jury contained two architects (S. Jovanović and D. Leko) and three representatives of the Ministry of Education⁴⁷⁰. The program remained the question of a style for architects, but with demands for facades “to have a character of public buildings”⁴⁷¹. The result was typical for end of the 1930s: no first prize. Two second prizes went to Haberle-Bauer and M. Čakelja. M. Bajlon and E. Šamanek got the third. Among other participants were Milan Zloković⁴⁷², Miladin Prljević⁴⁷³, Bogdan Nestrović⁴⁷⁴, Grigorij Samojlov⁴⁷⁵.

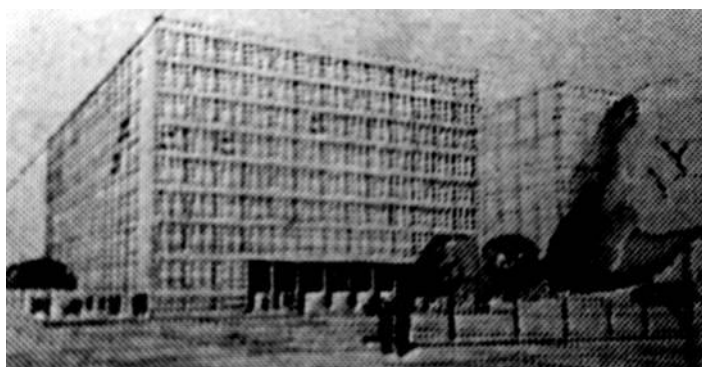


Figure 6. The project of Bajlon and Šamanek for the Ministry of Education.

Source: M. Bajlon, “Javni arhitektonski natječaji u Beogradu između dva rata,” *Čovjek i proctor* 5 (1975): 31.

According to Samojlov's memoirs, the Minister of Education, Dimitirje Magarašević proposed him to elaborate the final project⁴⁷⁶. In contrast to the winning modernist projects, Samojlov's project was typical academic with neo-classical and neo-renaissance elements (figure 7). Thus while the jury chose the project from the point of view of functional organization, the Minister paid attention to project, which “had a character of public buildings', that meant for him the academism.

⁴⁷⁰ “Utakmica za izradu idejne skice za novu zgradu Ministarstva Prosvete u Beogradu,” [The competition for a new building for the Ministry of Education] *Vreme*, 04.07.1937, 13.

⁴⁷¹ “Uslovi utakmice i građevinski program za izradu idejnih skica za novu zgradu Ministarstva prosvete u Beogradu,” *Muzej Nauke i Tehnike* T: 111.183/1, 3.

⁴⁷² M. Đurđević, “Život i delo arhitekta Milana Zlokovića (1898-1965),” *GGB*, XXXVIII (1991): 165.

⁴⁷³ The project in the collection of Museum of Science and Technology, T: 111.183/4-5.

⁴⁷⁴ M. Đurđević, “Prilog proučavanju života i dela arhitekta Petra Dimitrijevića Anagnostija,” *GGB* XLVII-XLVIII (2000-2001): 240.

⁴⁷⁵ M. Prosen, “Prilog poznavanju beogradskog opusa Grigorija I. Samojlova,” *Nasleđe* 3 (2001): 90.

⁴⁷⁶ M. Milovanović, “Arhitekt Grigorij Samojlov,” v *Russkaja emigracija v Jugoslavii*, redkol. A. Arsenjev, O. Kirillova i M. Sibinović (Moskva: Indrik, 1996), 285.

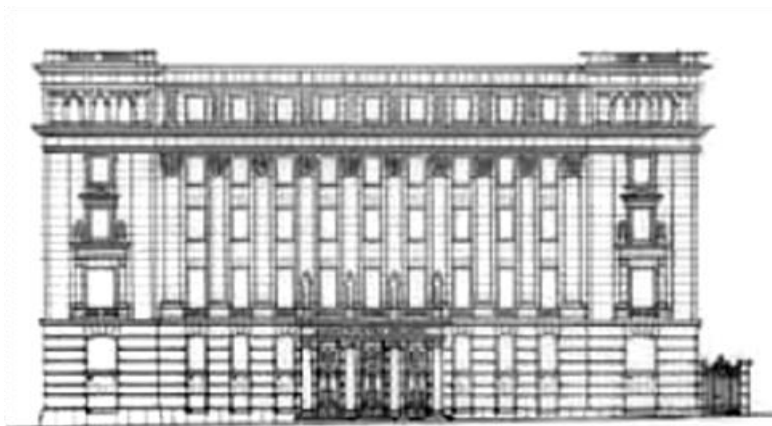


Figure 7. Samojlov's project for the Ministry of Education.

Source: M. Prosen, "Tvorchestvo arhitekta Grigorija Ivanovicha Samojlova," v *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, arhitektura i iskusstvovedenie Russkogo zarubezh'ja*, red. O.L. Lejkind. Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 2008, 398.

Despite the loan from State Mortgage Bank⁴⁷⁷, the construction was delayed. The location was changed in 1939 and the Ministry got a loan to buy a new site on the corner Balkanska and Nemanjina⁴⁷⁸. As a result the building remained unimplemented, as many in the case of other competitions of the late 1930s with exception the competition for the Ministry of Construction.

As many other state institutions the Ministry of Construction faced a problem of insufficient allocation, and the initial plan was to reconstruct the old building and Architectural Department created the project⁴⁷⁹. Finally, the Ministry of Finance provided a site near the Financial park on Nemanjina street for its new building⁴⁸⁰. The competition was announced in the July of 1938 and the jury was all from the Ministry of Construction: two architects (Momir Korunović and Milica Krstić) and three engineers⁴⁸¹. As many others, the competition was unsuccessful, from 35 project jury reviewed 15, but did not awarded no first and second prize, however nine projects were purchased⁴⁸². Only the third

⁴⁷⁷ The document № 13524 from 5.7.1937, fasc. 590, fond 66, AJ.

⁴⁷⁸ The document №36382 from 2.10.1939, fasc. 590, fond 66, AJ. This location was near the Ministry of Construction.

⁴⁷⁹ "Izvestaj o izgradnji Palate Ministarstva Građevina," 843, fasc. 3, fond 81, AJ.

⁴⁸⁰ The letter from the Minister of Construcion to the Minister of Finance, №14781 from 11.04.1938, fasc. 269, fond 42, AJ.

⁴⁸¹ "Natječaj za idejnu skicu za zgradu Ministarstva građevina u Beogradu," [The competition for a building of the Ministry of Construction] *Građevinski vijesnik* 7 (1938): 38.

⁴⁸² "Izveštaj ocenjivačkog suda za ocenu idejnih skica za zgradu Ministarstva građevina u Beogradu," fasc. 1838, fond 62, AJ.

prize was awarded to the project of Dragan Gudović in cooperation with Ante Lorencin⁴⁸³. Gudović worked in the Ministry of Construction since 1930⁴⁸⁴ and probably was a relative of Milica Krstić⁴⁸⁵. The jury characterized his project as original with good disposition and modern look⁴⁸⁶.

Finally, the Ministry appointed ministry official Gojko Todić, who presumably participated and got repurchase⁴⁸⁷. The Ministry was not obliged to choose for realization the third-prize project. However, in conditions of chose between architects with similar positions (both were employees of the Ministry) and similar stylistic specifics⁴⁸⁸, differences in their projects seems to be the main factor. Both projects were monumental, but Gudović's was late modernist⁴⁸⁹, while Todić's was neoclassical with an accented colonnade⁴⁹⁰. According to Zoran Manević, this project was under direct influence of Nazi architecture⁴⁹¹. However, such features of the project as Corinthian columns, the facade division, the specifics of the portico indicated more common neoclassical influence. As a result of policy of state institutions all ministerial buildings constructed in the interwar period had features of academism.

3.3. Other administrative buildings

As well as in the case of the pre-war unrealized competition for the Administration of State Monopoles, a number of interwar competitions for it was unsuccessful and their

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ N. Kilibarda, "Pregled delatnosti i uloga Dragana Gudovića u beogradskoj arhitekturi," *GGB* LVII (2010): 214.

⁴⁸⁵ Z. Manević, ur., *Leksikon srpskih arhitekata XIX i XX veka*, (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1999), 86.

⁴⁸⁶ "Izveštaj ocenjivačkog suda za ocenu idejnih skica za zgradu Ministarstva građevina u Beogradu," fasc. 1838, fond 62, AJ.

⁴⁸⁷ V. Banković, "Nova zgrada Ministarstva građevina Kraljevine Jugoslavije," *Nasleđe* 6 (2005): 164. The building was constructed according his project in monumental modernized academism from 1939 to 1940.

⁴⁸⁸ Manević, "Arhitektura i politika," 303.

⁴⁸⁹ Kilibarda, "Pregled delatnosti i uloga Dragana Gudovića," 222.

⁴⁹⁰ Manević, "Arhitektura i politika," 303.

⁴⁹¹ Manevic, "Srpska arhitektura 20 veka," 26. Probably Milica Krstić as a protagonist of neoclassicism and German architecture influenced such image of the final project qv Manević, "Arhitektura i politika," 303.

results also remained unimplemented. The first idea was one of the most megalomaniac projects in interwar Belgrade and implied the creation of a huge monumental building for the Administration of State Monopoles, the State Cadastre and the Government. The location was chosen between Nemanjina and Geprata streets, near the ministerial complex. The jury members were three architects (N. Nestorović, B.Kojić and B. Maksimović) and two representatives of the Administration of State Monopoles⁴⁹². Among nineteen projects the jury awarded two and purchased five⁴⁹³.

Two awarded projects represented completely different solutions. The first prize project of Croatian modernists M. Haberle and H. Bauer implied the complex of connected buildings with simplified modernist facade⁴⁹⁴ (figure 8).

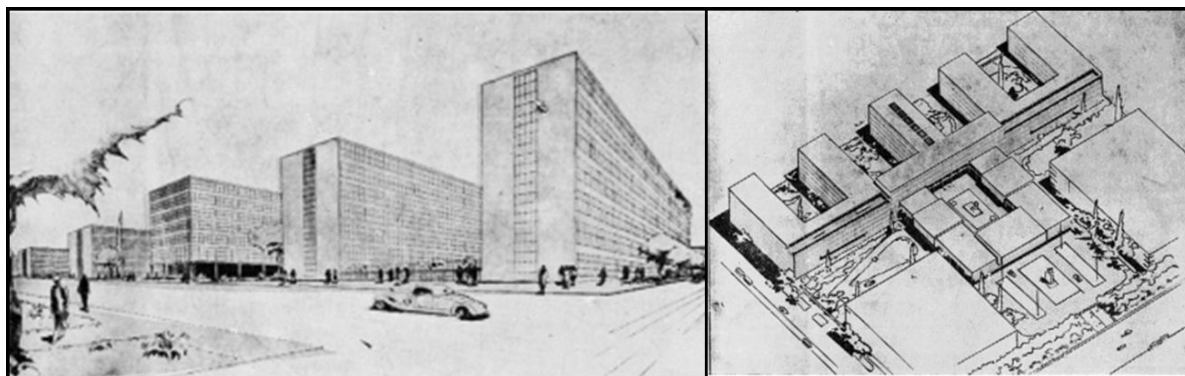


Figure 8. The project of Haberle and Bauer for the Administration of State Monopoles.

Source: H. Bauer i M. Haberle, "Idejna skica za novu zgradu Uprave državnih monopola," *Građevinski Vjesnik* 5 (1937): 66-67.

The second project of Serbian architects R. Tatić and J. Ranković proposed the one monumental building with the central part (for Government) emphasized by columns and tower, which was in accordance with existing ministerial buildings⁴⁹⁵ (figure 9).

⁴⁹² Mihajlov, *Rajko M. Tatić: 1900–1979*, 92.

⁴⁹³ "Palata Predsedništva vlade, Uprave državnih monopola i katastra Ministarstva finansija," [The palace of the Government, the Administration of State Monopoles and the State Cadastre] *Politika*, 13.04.1937, 7.

⁴⁹⁴ H. Bauer i M. Haberle, "Idejna skica za novu zgradu Uprave državnih monopola," *Građevinski Vjesnik* 5 (1937): 66-67.

⁴⁹⁵ "Zgrada Uprave monopola u kojoj će biti smešteno i predsedništvo vlade biće najveća i najrepresentativnija u zemlji," [The building of Monopoly Administration where they will be located the Government will be the largest and most representative in the country] *Vreme*, 13.04.1937, 12.

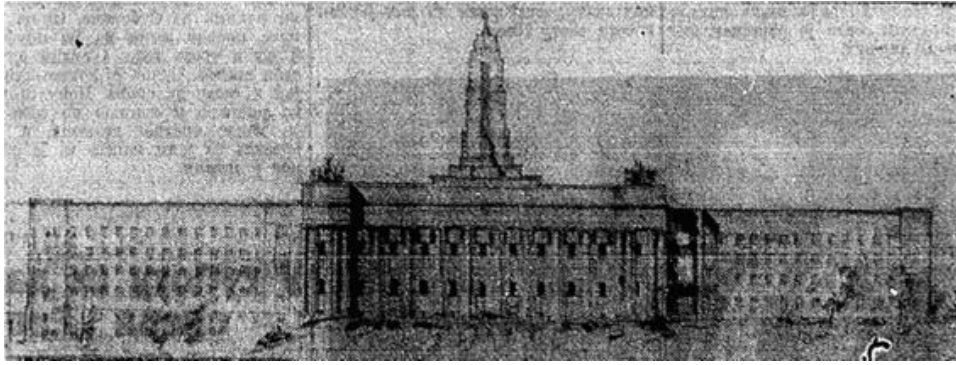


Figure 9. The project of Tatić and Ranković for the Administration of State Monopoles.

Source: "Zgrada Uprave monopola u kojoj će biti smešteno i predsedništvo vlade," *Vreme*, 13.04.1937, 12.

The Administration of State Monopoles decided to organize the narrow competition between the authors of awarded and purchased projects⁴⁹⁶. On this competition one of awards went to Russian emigrant architect Petar Anagnosti for his neoclassical project with monumental colonnades⁴⁹⁷. However, results of both competitions remained unimplemented because of the location change. Another location was chosen near the National Bank on the street Kralja Petra⁴⁹⁸. The next competition was held in 1939. Despite a lack of the first prize, the competition demonstrated the triumph of modernism, in which eight modernists projects got awards⁴⁹⁹ (figure 10). However the project was not realized because the Second World War.

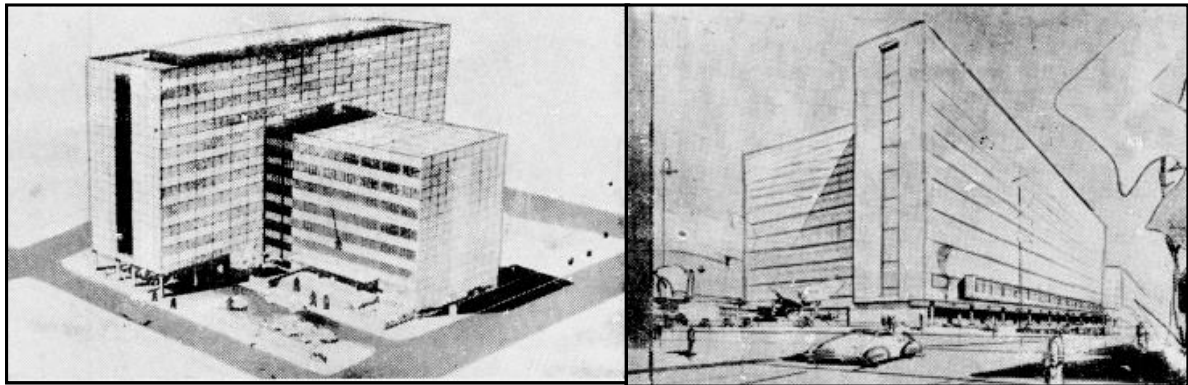


Figure 10. The second prize projects by M. Kovačević and V. Turina and H. Gotvald

Source: "Rezultat utakmice za izradu idejnih skica za zgradu Uprave državnih monopola," *Građevinski vjesnik* 3 (1940), 25-27.

Besides the complex on the Knez Miloša Street, another administrative area was conceived near the National Assembly building⁵⁰⁰. The Master Plan reserved a location to the south of the Assembly building for the Belgrade Municipality⁵⁰¹. However, as a result of

⁴⁹⁶ Mihajlov, *Rajko M. Tatić: 1900–1979*, 93.

⁴⁹⁷ Đurđević, "Prilog proučavanju života i dela arhitekta Petra Dimitrijeviča Anagnostija," 247.

⁴⁹⁸ V. Panić, "Načela moderne u arhitekturi javnih objekata u Beograd, period 1918-1941," (PhD diss., Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2013), 103.

⁴⁹⁹ "Rezultat utakmice za izradu idejnih skica za zgradu Uprave državnih monopola," *Građevinski vjesnik* 3 (1940), 25-27.

⁵⁰⁰ Maksimović, "Urbanistički razvitak Beograda između dva rata," 163.

⁵⁰¹ Maksimović, "Vrednosti generalnog plana," 256.

disputes about the land ownership between the Municipality and the St. Mark's Church, the site was sold to the Post administration⁵⁰², which decided to construct there a monumental building for the Main Post Office, Main Telegraph and Postal Savings Bank⁵⁰³.

The competition was announced in 1930 and contained complicated requirements because was designated for allocation of different institutions on the very asymmetrical site⁵⁰⁴. The competition requirements implied the freedom of architects in the question of a style⁵⁰⁵. The jury consisted of representatives of the Ministry of Construction, the head of Postal Savings Bank and university professors of architecture from Belgrade (Dragutin Dorđević), Zagreb (Janko Holjac) and Ljubljana (Josip Plečnik)⁵⁰⁶. As mentioned Snežana Toševa, such composition of the jury showed the significance of the competition and the building itself⁵⁰⁷.

Among fifteen projects, the jury awarded three and purchased four⁵⁰⁸. Modernism and architects from western parts of the state dominated: Croatian architect Josip Pičman in cooperation with Andrij Baranja got the first prize, (figure 11). Slovenian architect Ace Lovrenić was awarded the second and Croatian architect Mijo Hečimović got the third award⁵⁰⁹. (Figure A.6)

⁵⁰² "Pred zidanje palate Glavne pošte," [Before construction of the Main Post Office] *Politika*, 17.11.1929, 7.

⁵⁰³ "Monumentalno zdanje Centralne pošte," [The monumental building of the Main Post Office] *Vreme*, 19.01.1930, 7. About Postal Savings Bank qv D. Letica, "Ministarstvo finansija Kraljevine Jugoslavije," 265-269.

⁵⁰⁴ "Pred zidanje palate Glavne pošte i Poštanske Štedionice u Beogradu," [Before construction of the Main Post Office] *Politika*, 17.11.1929, 7.

⁵⁰⁵ "Građevini program za izradu idejnih skica za palatu Poštanske štedionice i Glavne pošte i Telegrafa u Beogradu," fasc. 1525, fond 62, AJ.

⁵⁰⁶ The document №32650 from 22.05.1939, fasc. 1525, fond 62, AJ.

⁵⁰⁷ Toševa, "Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina," 105.

⁵⁰⁸ "Rezultat natečaja za idejne skice palate Poštanske štedionice i Glavne pošte i Telegrafa," *Tehnički list* 17 (1930): IX.

⁵⁰⁹ "Pred zidanje palate Glavne pošte i Poštanske Štedionice u Beogradu," *Politika*, 18.09.1930, 7.

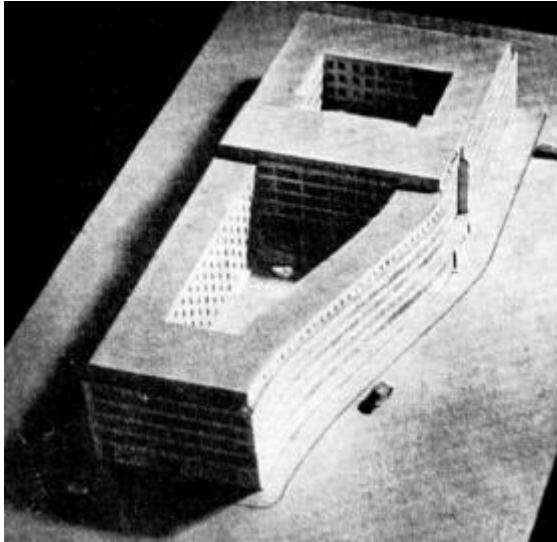


Figure 11. The project of Pičman and Baranja for the Main Post Office.

Source: S. Planić, "Problemi savremene arhitekture," Zagreb: Jugoslovenska štampa, 1932, 99.

According to the jury, Pičman's project offered the most suitable and rational organization of space⁵¹⁰. The project was progressive in technical and stylistic terms and had the simplified façade with an abundance of glass⁵¹¹.

His approach to the façade design displeased the investor⁵¹². In this case also the location of the future building near the National Assembly building influenced the change of the project. The idea to create administrative center caused the necessity to harmonize architecture of other building with the National Assembly building which was designed in Neo-Renaissance style⁵¹³.

One of the existing versions is that King Alexander himself demanded the changes of the facade, because it was not monumental enough to be constructed near the National Assembly⁵¹⁴. However, according to archival documents, such initiative came from the side of the Ministry of Transport, taking into account that this Ministry was the owner of the future building. The Minister of Transport, Lazar Radivojević, after receiving the project,

⁵¹⁰ The document №619884 from 6.10.1931, fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹¹ "Tehnički opis projekata PIB," fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹² S. Mihajlov i B. Mišić, "Palata Glavne pošte u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 9 (2008): 248.

⁵¹³ A. Kadijević, "U traganju za uzorima Doma Narodne skupštine," *Nasledje* 4 (2002): 50.

⁵¹⁴ According to memories of D.M. Leko, King Alexander said that "in front of the Parliament he did not want a building, which children could smash by slingshot," qv Manević, "Jučerašnje graditeljstvo," 8-9.

requested to design 2-3 variants of more monumental and representative facade⁵¹⁵. For that reason the chief of the Architectural Department engaged Nikolay Krasnov, Vassily Androsov, Vladimir Dević and Dragomir Tadić for this task⁵¹⁶. As a result the Ministry of Construction sent to the Minister of Transport five projects⁵¹⁷, among which the draft of Androsov was chosen⁵¹⁸ (figure 12). Although Androsov during his work in Yugoslavia mainly designed churches in Serbo-Byzantine style⁵¹⁹, he had experience for public buildings during his work in Petersburg. However, his contribution was connected only with facade in monumentalized neoclassicism, because the organization of space and plans were kept from Pičman's modernist project⁵²⁰.



Figure 12. Androsov's project for the Main Post Office

Source: M. Drljević, "Istorija i arhitektura Pošte 1 u Beogradu," *Zbornik Matice Srpske za likovne umetnosti* 37 (2009): 283.

From the other side of the National Assembly, the building for the Privileged Agrarian Bank was constructed. The Privileged Agrarian Bank was founded in 1929 in order to finance agricultural loans and accumulate peasants' debts to the state⁵²¹. Although it was in mixed ownership, but its activities was under strict state management⁵²².

⁵¹⁵ The document №3620 from 30.01.1931, fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹⁶ The first insert on №3620 from 18.02.1931, fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹⁷ Two projects from Krasnov and Dević (each), one project from Androsov, the first insert on №3620 from 10.03.1931, fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹⁸ A The document №13728 from 03.04.1931, fasc. 1526, fond 62, AJ.

⁵¹⁹ Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila*, 257-262.

⁵²⁰ M. Drljević, "Istorija i arhitektura Pošte 1 u Beogradu," *Zbornik Matice Srpske za likovne umetnosti* 37 (2009): 285.

⁵²¹ D. Gnjatović, *Privilegovana agrarna banka: prilog istoriji poljoprivrednog kredita Srbije 1836-1947*, (Beograd: Udruženje banaka Srbije, 2013), 114-123.

⁵²² Ibid., 105-106.

At the end of 1930 the Privileged Agrarian Bank announced a mixed competition: eight architects were invited, but others could also participate⁵²³. Among invited architects, Croatian architects got the first and second prizes (Edo Šen and Stjepan Hribar). The Serbian team, brothers Krstić, got the third prize⁵²⁴ (figure 13). The projects were exhibited and attracted the attention of journalists; a lot of projects were published, besides the two awarded modernist Croatian projects⁵²⁵.

The project of Edo Šen was characterized by well-organized space, which met all requirements, with modern, but simplified façade, which according to articles in newspapers was not able to attract attention and impress⁵²⁶. Hribar's project was criticized both by the jury and by journalist, because of problems with the entrance⁵²⁷. Branko Maksimović describing Krstić's project indicated that their modern facade still contains elements of traditional compositions⁵²⁸. This project can be considered as an example of Serbian Art Deco⁵²⁹. The project of N. Krasnov and D.M. Leko, designed in modernized academism⁵³⁰, attracted attention of journalists (was published in the most of articles about the exhibition), and was even called "the best project"⁵³¹. The jury also was satisfied with the façade of this project, because of its classical character⁵³² (figure 14).

⁵²³ "Konkurs. Privilegovana Agrarna banka," *Vreme*, 31.12.1930, 10. Finally 18 non-invited architects participated qv M. Prosen, "Palata Privilegovane agrarne banke u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 15 (2014): 63.

⁵²⁴ "Konkurs za izradu skice za zgradu Privilegovane agrarne banke u Beogradu," [The competition for a building of the Privileged Agrarian Bank in Belgrade] *Politika*, 16.02.1931, 6.

⁵²⁵ For example, as concerns professional journal "Architecture", it published to the modernist projects by Croatian architect Hugo Ehrlich and Serbian architect Momčilo Belobrk (H. Ehrlich, "Idejna skica za Privilegovanu agrarnu banku u Beogradu," *Arhitektura* 9-10 (1932): 242-243; M. Belobrk, "Idejna skica za Privilegovanu agrarnu banku u Beogradu," *Arhitektura* 3-4 (1933): 51-52).

⁵²⁶ "Privilegovana agrarna banka izložila je projektovane skice za svloju buduću palatu," [The Privileged Agrarian Bank exhibited projects for its future building] *Pravda* 18.02.1931, 5.

⁵²⁷ B. Maksimović, "Izložba skica za zgradu Privilegovane agrarne banke," [The exhibition of projects for a building of the Privileged Agrarian Bank] *Politika*, 20.2.1931, 8.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Prosen, "Ar deko u srpskoj arhitekturi," 433.

⁵³⁰ A. Kadijević, "Prilog proučavanju dela arhitekta Nikole Krasnova u Jugoslaviji, 1922-1939," *Saopštenja* XXVI (1994): 182.

⁵³¹ "Sa izložbe za palatu Agrarne banke," [From the exhibition about a building of the Agrarian Bank] *Politika*, 18.02.1931, 5.

⁵³² Maksimović, "Izložba skica za zgradu Privilegovane agrarne banke," *Politika*, 20.2.1931, 8.

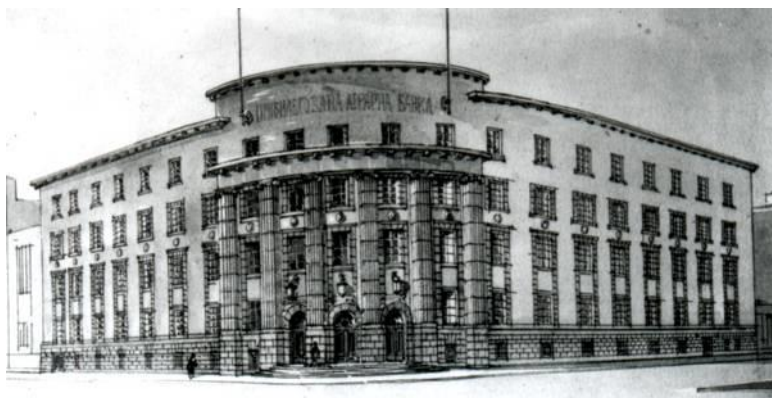


Figure 13. The project of Leko and Krasnov for the Privileged Agrarian Bank.

Source: Collection of Miloš Jurišić.

Taking into account the journalist remark about the inability of Šen's project to impress, and the fact that both first and second prize projects were not even published, they obviously could not satisfy the investor. Thus the Bank Committee for construction chose for realization the project, which was awarded the third prize⁵³³. The Bank Committee was satisfied with Kristić' whole concept of the project⁵³⁴, but requested the modification of the facade⁵³⁵. In the spirit of ideas about administrative buildings, the facade was classicized by adding doric columns and classical roof cornice⁵³⁶. As a result, the final project can not be considered as academist or modernist⁵³⁷ (figure 15).



Figure 14. Competition and final projects by brothers Krtić

Source: M. Prosen, "Palata Privilegovane agrarne banke u Beogradu," *Nasleđe* 15 (2014): 67–68.

As the cases from the 1920s demonstrated problems in regulation and development of competitive practice, this two cases revealed the gap between functional concepts. While

⁵³³ M. Stojanović, "Arhitektura banaka i štedionica u Beogradu: 1918–1941," (Thesis, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2013), 39.

⁵³⁴ Manević, Z. *Graditelji. 1*, (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1986), 46.

⁵³⁵ M. Đurđević, "Zgrada Agrarne banke u Beogradu," *Flogiston* 8 (1998): 159.

⁵³⁶ Manević, Z. *Naši neimari Braca Krstić* 12 (1980) 46.

⁵³⁷ Polovina, "Arhitektura klasicizma," 103.

the projects were chosen according to the criteria of functional space organization, the facades were changed under the pressure of institutions and finally were designed with neoclassical elements.

Conclusions

The thesis explored the problems in competition practice in interwar Belgrade with the focus on administrative buildings. The competitions were characterized by the abundance of problems, which embraced all competition stages: program elaboration, work of a jury, decision making and its implementation. As concerns administrative buildings, almost all competitions were unsuccessful. State institutions rather ignored the results of competitions or demand significant changes of the competition project during the elaboration of the final versions. Despite the high level of corruption in the Kingdom, competitions for architectural projects seem to be quite free of corruption influences, because did not involve a money question. Moreover, the juxtaposition between the lists of the authors of awarded projects and the jury members did not reveal close professional connections, which will be enough to claim that prejudice and favoritism were reasons of unsuccessful results.

The thesis demonstrates that unsuccessful results of competitions for administrative buildings were connected with the gap between architectural development and preferences of state institutions. This gap was connected not only with stylistic preferences, but also with a very understanding of the essence of architecture. On the one hand, modernism spread among architects, while state institutions continued to support revivalist styles. On the other, architects paid attention to the functional and rational organization of space in contrast to state institutions, which requested representative facades.

During the growth of the divergence between directions of architectural searches and demands of state institutions, the character of problems in competitions changed. The case studies revealed that in the 1920s the main problems appeared because of difficulties in development of competitive practice on the whole. However, when the gap in stylistic preferences increased, competitions could not work as an instrument of searching for best

solutions. Different understandings of the essence of architecture led to contradictions in selection criteria. The competition programs was based on functional requirements about the space organization, the jury decision and distribution of awards were made on the basis of the implementation of these requirements. However, state institutions paid more attention to facades and their styles, which led to ignoring the results or changing competition projects. Thus the competitive mechanism was obstructed by this gap.

Further investigations can be continued in two directions. On the one hand, the examination of competitions in other cities of the Kingdom will clarify the factors which led to obstruction of competitions in various functional areas. On the other, the comparison of Belgrade with other capitals in the region will contribute to understanding of the influences of competitive practice on governmental architecture.

Appendix: Additional Projects



Figure A. 1. Competition projects for the Administration of State Monopoles (1908).

Source: D. Maslač, "Skice za zgradu Monopolske uprave," *Srpski Tehnički List* 13-16 (1909).

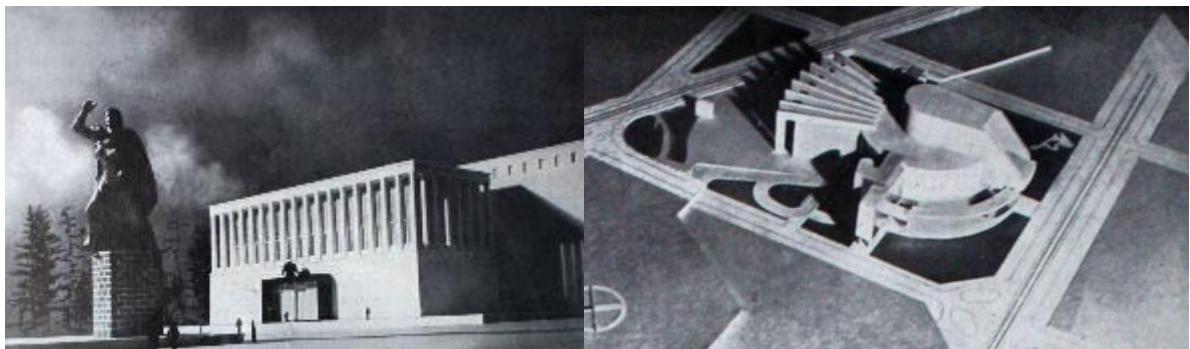


Figure A. 2. The second prize projects for the State Opera House: the Italian team (left) and the Croatian team (right)

Source: I. Zdravković, "Ishod konkursa za Beogradsku operu," *Umetnički pregled* 4-5 (1940): 144, 146.

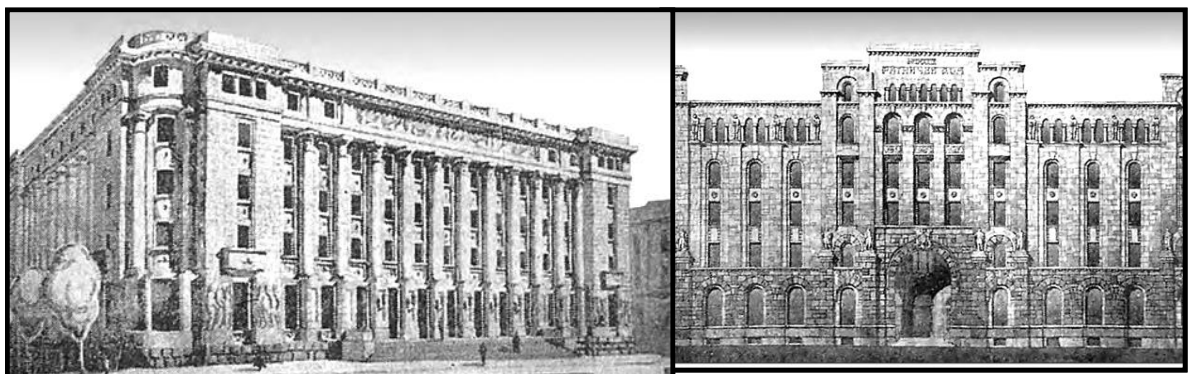


Figure A. 3. The projects for the Warrior's House: J. Jovanović and Ž. Piperski (left) and B. Nestrović and J. Šnajder (right)

Source: "Skice za Ratnički dom u Beogradu," *Vreme*, 16.05.1929, 3; "Projekti za Ratnički dom u Beogradu," *Vreme*, 17.05.1929, 3.

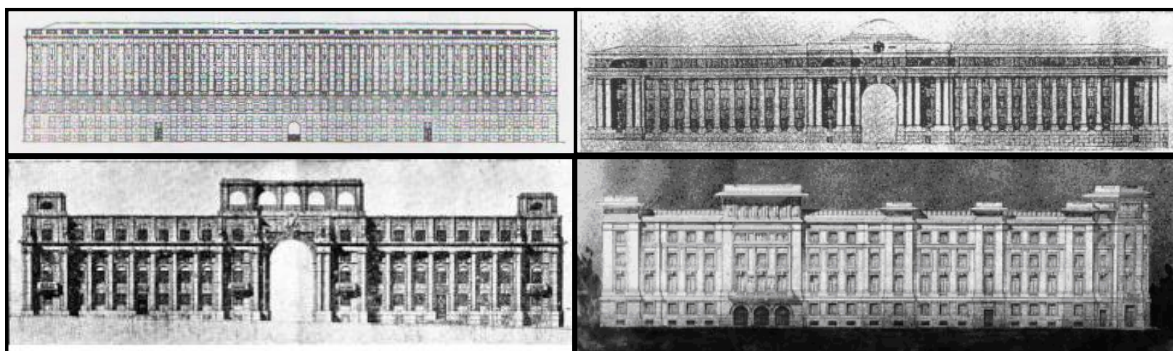


Figure A. 4. The awarded and purchased projects for the Ministry of Forestry and Mining and the Ministry of Agriculture and Waterworks: unknown author, Lukomsky, Vasiljev, Zloković.

Sources: D.M. Leko, "Nova zgrada Ministarstva poljoprivrede i voda," *Tehnički list* 13-14 (1926). For Zloković's project: L. Blagojević, L. "Transpozicija duha i karaktera italijansko-mediteranske arhitekture u ranim projektima Milana Zlokovića," *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 34 (2012): 4.

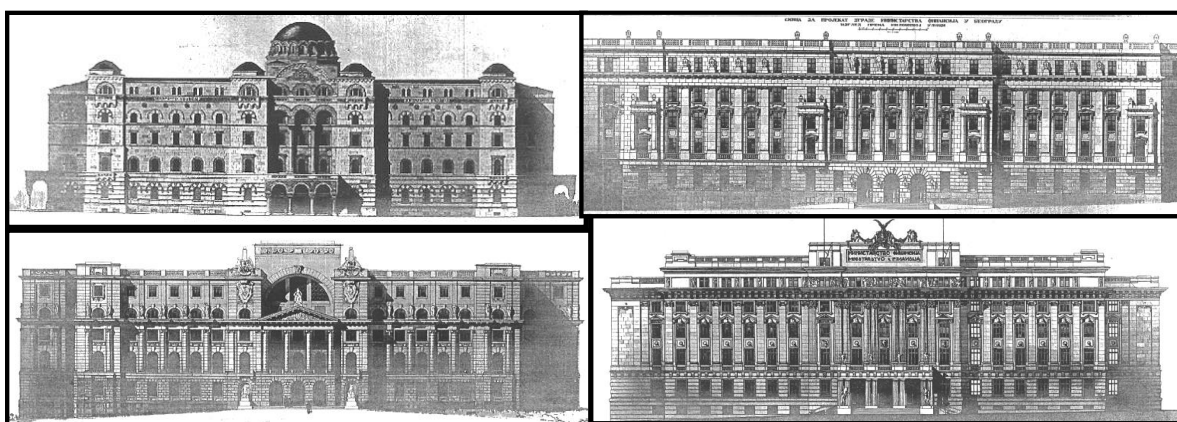


Figure A. 5. Competition projects for the Ministry of Finance by architects from the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction: Ž. Tatić, D.M. Leko, N.P. Krasnov, G. Todić.

Source: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, zbirka 2770-K6.



Figure A. 6. Hečimović's project for the Main Post Office

Source: S. Planić, "Problemi savremene arhitekture," Zagreb: Jugoslovenska štampa, 1932, 96.

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Muzej Nauke i Tehnike [Museum of Science and Technology] (Belgrade): Collection of the Department of Architecture.

2. Private collections: Collection of Miloš Jurišić (Belgrade).

3. Press:

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