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МАТИЦА СРПСКА
Одељење за ликовне уметности

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The Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion as the center for exhibition activities of Belgrade architects 1928–1933

ABSTRACT: In the period 1928–1933 exhibitions held at Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion were among most important events that determined the direction of the interwar Belgrade architecture. Intertwined with the strong influence of new forms and ideas, they made it possible to comprehend all the stylistic preferences in contemporary architectural practice. Accompanied by criticism in newspapers and journals, architectural exhibitions became significant conceptual corrective and important factor in the promotion and affirmation of modern architecture.

KEY WORDS: Belgrade, architecture, Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion, the Group of Architects of the Modern Movement, exhibitions, criticism

Narrative of an architectural exhibition and its contextualization in historical and cultural discourse is important for the research of architectural trends. Architectural exhibition as complex system of representation transmits various information often used for materialization of cultural messages. Decoding the contexts of an architectural exhibition is essential for understanding the communication features carried out with a recipient. Because, extending to socio-cultural aspects and area of mass information, architecture has an ability like no other art form to become the fundamental instrument in creation and institutionalization of new identities.

THE CVIJETA ZUZORIĆ ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF ART

The economic and social changes between two World Wars, characterized by rapid population growth and uncontrolled urbanization, presented complex challenge to architectural practice in Belgrade. The period 1928–1933, in the face of political and economic crisis that followed 1929 Parliament dismissal and dictatorship, was marked in part by sudden and crucial need for social stability. Consequently, situation induced a state of affairs that has reflected as dynamic struggle among the traditional and modern in all aspects of life. Art and especially architecture paralleled these changes in society with intricate interplay of national and European influences.

In that environment, and following the initiative of Branislav Nušić, then head of the Art Department of the Ministry of Education, in 1922 Cvijeta Zuzorić Association of Friends of Art¹ was formed (ВАСИЊ 1988; ВУЧЕТИЋ МЛАДЕНОВИЋ 2003; ЦЕРОВИЋ, КЕЛЕМЕН 2011). Named after famous poetess and patroness of art from Dubrovnik Cvijeta Zuzorić (1570–1648), the Association thereby accentuated its primary mission of creating better social conditions for the development and affirmation of arts. The Association had three sections: for fine art, literature and music; and in order to provide appropriate space for these activities, pressing issue was the building of Art Pavilion.

ART PAVILION IN BELGRADE

In 1925. Ministry of Education has announced open competition for the conceptual design for the Art Pavilion in Belgrade. Proposed site was next to the Princess Ljubica's Residence, the most striking example of Belgrade's residential architecture from the first half of the 19th century. Although rules have not specified the stylistic concept of the Pavilion, it was emphasized that external architecture should be in harmony with the surroundings (КОЈИЋ 1979: 205–206, 252). The first prize went to Branislav Kojić (Fig. 1), second was Milan Zloković and



Fig. 1. Branislav Kojić, *The Art Pavilion in Belgrade*, competition project, 1925. (Politika, 31st October 1925, 16)

¹ The founders were Ana Marinković, Emka Krstelj, Olga Stanojević, Tonica Ribnikar, Laposava Petković, Angelina Odavić, Darinka Nušić, Teofanija Bodi, Bosa Petrović, Mara Tešić, Krista Đorđević, Lala Tešić, Radmila Bajloni, Divna Popović, Sonja Bulić, Branislav Nušić, Todor Manojlović, Marko Car, Branko Popović and Miloje Milojević. The first President of the Association was Ana Marinković, then a number of years Olga Stanojević and finally Krista Đorđević.

third joint work by Branko Krstić and Zarija Marković (ЂУРЂЕВИЋ 1996: 16). According to Kojić himself (1979: 206), he implemented the structural motifs of Princess Ljubica's Residence, the concept well received as the first attempt to convey past centuries secular architecture of the Balkans as a contemporary assignment. However, Belgrade Municipality changed the building location to Mali Kalemegdan, near walls of Belgrade fortress. Kojić adapted design, but remained stylistically consistent. As he later recalled (1979: 206), the head of the Belgrade Municipality Kosta Kumanudi turned down project on the grounds that the Art Pavilion looked like a "road tavern," recommending "appearance of the building in stylistic or similar classical architecture." Once again in 1927 architect revised plans, and opening ceremony was held on 23rd December following year (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Branislav Kojić, *The Art Pavilion in Belgrade*, 1925–1928 (Courtesy National Library of Serbia)

Kojić created a unique spatial concept, structured for polyvalent programs like art exhibitions, literature events and concerts by incorporating "vestibule and small hall, surrounded by adjoining premises, placed symmetrically in relation to the main hall" (ТОШЕВА 1998: 23). Jovanović noted (2001: 76) "potency of post-Art Nouveau or in fact Art Deco message" and imposed academicism only in the accented columns with ionic capitals on the front façade, ascribing that to "ironic phrase of a young architect, whose spatial concept was far from antiquity." Interior, designed by architect Danica Kojić with vestibule ceiling paintings by Živorad Nastasijević and Vasa Pomorišac's stained glass above the entrance (КАШАНИН 1968: 117; ТОШЕВА 1998: 23), was radically changed in 1975.

ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITIONS AT THE ART PAVILION 1928–1933

The Cvijeta Zuzorić Pavilion, from the very beginning, produced changes within Belgrade society by altering social dynamics and promoting new cultural models. In the short span between 1928 and 1933, Art section presented 76 exhibitions of foreign and domestic artists (ВУЧЕТИЋ МЛАДЕНОВИЋ 2003: 50). Autumn Exhibition for Belgrade artists and the Spring one with participation of counterparts from Kingdom were organized every year. Several art groups exhibited regularly: Lada, Oblik (Form), Zograf (Zographer), Russian Art Group K.R.U.G., the Group of Architects of the Modern Movement (GAMM), and a number of independent artists. In order to show ideas and tendencies of current art in other countries, also were held exhibitions of Contemporary British Art in February 1929, and the Contemporary French Art during December following year. At the German Contemporary Art Exhibition held in April 1931 participated architects among whom were Peter Behrens, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Erich Mendelsohn, Hans Poelzig, Otto Wagner, Max and Bruno Taut. They displayed 140 photographs – selection of contemporary architectural practice, from schools, factories and hospitals to residential buildings (ПОПОВИЋ 1931: 54, 61).

The Pavilion was officially inaugurated with the First Autumn Exhibition, opened from 30th December 1928 till 30th January 1929. As expected, the manifestation has attracted wide attention of cultural community and critic. Distinguished art critic Branko Popović, architect, painter, and a member of Oblik, published two comprehensive overviews. He analyzed architecture of newly built Pavilion, considering wrong the decision to integrate into single object areas for exhibitions, concerts and literature events, which in his opinion led to dysfunctional space. Popović argued (1929a: 212) that contemporary art gallery building is functional, without ornamental decoration and expensive materials so “the external architecture present only internal structure of the most sincere way. [...] Sole décor inside should be exhibited art. Therefore exhibition building need to have a number of smaller and larger spaces with bare walls, glass ceiling, installations for fast change, movement and rearrangement of walls and, in particular, the installations for light regulations”.

At the First Autumn Exhibition, Belgrade architects Milan Zloković, Branislav Kojić, Dušan Babić, and Jan Dubový for the first time introduced themselves as a group, just a month after founding the Group of Architects of the Modern Movement² (КОЛИЋ 1979: 169–198; МАНЕВИЋ 1979a; БЛАГОЈЕВИЋ 2003). Zloković exhibited competition project for Kolarac University building, railway station and one from The International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts in Paris (1925). Nevertheless, projects far from Modernism were shown, like Zloković’s Pantheon, church near Gradac monastery and Kojić’s old house in folkloristic manner. Babić’s projects for Sarajevo (now lost) were also there and Dubový’s various works including agricultural buildings (МАНЕВИЋ 1979a: 99–100; МАНЕВИЋ 1979b: 214). When it comes to appearance and reception of Belgrade’s proponents of modern architecture, one can argue the impact they made considering stylistically heterogeneous work displayed. Contemporary critics mentioned architects, without naming their projects. Modernist-oriented Branko Popović wrote favorably about their exhibited works (1929b: 305) noting stern aspiration for purer architectural solutions and restoration of ties between our architectural production and one in European centers.” Sculptor Sreten Stojanović (1929: 7) complimented formation of GAMM but disproved “great outstanding originality in the treatment of their projects.” Milan Kašanin, another prominent art critic had similar opinion. He rightfully observed (1968: 121) small number of architectural projects and concluded, “according to them nothing can be said about the aspirations and the results of our architects.” However, at the end also said: “Fortunately, it is known that the Milan Zloković and Branislav Kojić are talented planners who have raised a number of interesting buildings.”

GAMM members have participated at the following Spring Exhibition, held in May same year. As stated in the catalogue, alongside Jan Dubový, Milan Zloković and Branislav Kojić exhibited Veljko Milošević from Belgrade, and Vilko Ebert and Đurić Pothorski from Zagreb (ПРОЛЕТЊА ИЗЛОЖБА 1929; МАНЕВИЋ 1979a: 101). Regarding the reception of architecture, compared to previous exhibition, situation was even more discouraging, so *Vreme* newspaper

² Milan Zloković, Branislav Kojić, Dušan Babić, and Jan Dubový formed GAMM on 12th November 1928 in Belgrade with the aim of promoting contemporary principles in architecture and decorative arts. Many Serbian architects were members, among whom Branko Maksimović, Petar and Branko Krstić, Momčilo Belobr, Svetomir Lazić, Vojislav Simić, Đura Borošić, Živko Piperski, Dragomir Tadić, Branislav Marinković, Dragan Gudović, Miladin Prljević, and Dragiša Brašovan. GAMM was disbanded on 12th February 1934.

critic only singled out Zloković and Kojić (ПЕТРОВ 1929: 4). This almost ambivalent attitude toward architects and architecture during formative year of the Pavilion could be partially explained by an episode occurred in the autumn 1929, when Art section unsatisfied with the performance of architectural jury, regarding submission of paintings and sculptures, decided to separate, justifying decision with harsh words that architects “let dilettantes pass.” Milan Minić, as representative of the Architect’s Club in the Association accepted the wish of Belgrade’s painters and sculptors (МАНЕВИЋ 1979b: 213). Following this, after 1929 architects no longer participated in Spring and Fall shows.

Few months before mentioned split, GAMM was already on the clear path in promoting principles of modern architecture. In the Art Pavilion on 9th June 1929, GAMM as organizer opened the First Salon of Architecture, the first exhibition of contemporary architecture in Belgrade during interwar period. As Milan Zloković highlighted (according to КОЈИЋ 1979: 194) GAMM, as supporters of new movement, have invited all Belgrade architects, regardless of orientation, in order to call the attention on more complete image of “individual schools”. Among 22 architects/teams³ and 262 works Kojić listed (1979: 185–193) were also representatives of Serbian national style Momir Korunović, Milica Krstić and Jezdimir Denić. Four sculptors submitted work (Vladimir Zagrodnjuk, Živojin Lukić, Petar Palavičini, Sreten Stojanović), also nine painters, including Roman Verhovskoj, Vasa Pomorišac, Mladen Josić and Nikola Bešević. Even though Salon was named architectural, once again architects, painters and sculptors exhibited together. Furthermore, alongside GAMM members participated supporters of national style and academicism in architecture, giving the visitors unique opportunity to perceive and compare all the headings of Belgrade’s architecture. Although contemporary ideas were presented (Kojić’s Interior à la Corbusier, Dubový’s Triangulation Point of Belgrade, Zloković’s own house and project of railway station) most of the exhibit reflected prevailing eclectic notions (БЛАГОЈЕВИЋ 2003: 62).

On the first independent exhibition of the Artistic Group Oblik,⁴ (ROZIĆ 2005) organized from 15th December 1929 until 4th January 1930 in the Pavilion, as guests participated architects with 34 works presented. Those architects were all GAMM founders (Zloković, Babić, Dubový, Kojić), Petar and Branko Krstić, and Nikola Dobrović who never joined the GAMM but shared their standpoint (КАТАЛОГ 1929: 14–15). Architect Đurđe Bošković, researcher in the fields of history of architecture, art and protection of cultural monuments, and one of the most engaged interpreters of Belgrade’s interwar architectural development, critically analyzed exhibited architecture. In a comprehensive review in which strived for the cessation of all possible styles of the past (1930a: 214, 215), he discussed displayed work, but taking into consideration the overall development of architecture, wrote about the changes of form brought

³ Dušan Babić, Mateja Bleha, Aleksandar Vasić, Jezdimir Denić, Jan Dubový, Vojislav Đokić, Milan Zloković, Branislav Kojić, Momir Korunović, Milica Krstić, Svetomir Lazić, Dimitrije Leko, Zarija Marković, Veljko Milošević, Milan Minić, Vojin Simić, Dragomir Tadić, Gojko Todić, Ljubica Todorović, Janko Šafarik, Branislav Ristić and team Mihailović – Petrović.

⁴ Formed in 1926 by Branko Popović, Jovan Bijelić, Sava Šumanović, Petar Dobrović, Veljko Stanojević, Petar Palavičini, Toma Rosandić, Sreten Stojanović and Marino Tartalja, Oblik aimed for inclusion in modern European art trends and was an essential element for the affirmation of modern art in Serbia. Due to orientation, many artists later joined, including architect Nikola Dobrović (1932), also Zloković, Dubový, Kojić and Brašovan (after dismissing GAMM in 1934). Oblik held 16 exhibitions in Belgrade, Split, Skopje, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Banja Luka, Sofia, Prague, Plovdiv, and Thessaloniki and was active until the Second World War.

by reinforced concrete. He also noticed Western influences through Paris and Prague. Dobrović's Southern villa, Milan Zloković's plan for a factory and villa Mozer in Zemun, Kojić's Sanitary Institute in Sarajevo and projects by architects Petar and Branko Krstić (drafts for ossuary and villa Milićević) had perfect balance and harmony in his opinion (1930a: 216, 217). Members of Oblik and GAMM exhibited previously at the First Salon of Architecture, and on this show, that cooperation resumed.⁵ It was an opportunity for supporters of modern architecture to display with artists that shared same perspectives on contemporary art scene, so they carefully selected architectural projects for presentation. Exhibition of Oblik was obviously organized with the intention to accentuate undergoing modernization of Serbian society and culture, in order to fit into current European context. Moreover, being the crucial part of the process, modern architecture received affirmative criticism.

Russian painters, sculptors and architects formed Art Group K.R.U.G.⁶ (КАДИЈЕВИЋ 1994). Their First Exhibition was held in April 1930 in the small hall of the Pavilion. Architect Viktor Lukomski presented two projects carried out in Belgrade: the Royal Palace (built in cooperation with Živojin Nikolić) and Avala Hotel. He also exhibited drafts for Army Headquarters Building. Ivan Rik showed designs for memorial chapel and several paintings (КАДИЈЕВИЋ 1994: 296–297). In March following year, with guest artists, K.R.U.G. held Second Exhibition, this time in main hall. Sreten Stojanović in his overview briefly mentioned (1931: 6) architectural works. He noted interesting project for Palace of the Vardar Regional Government in Skopje by Lukomski and Rik, and emphasized the quality of Andrej Papkov's projects. Exhibitions of K.R.U.G. were primarily means of introducing younger generation of Russian artist to the public, and in that context, had minor influence on the main course of interwar architecture in Belgrade.

Architect Nikola Dobrović with his brother Petar, painter and Risto Stijović sculptor, in November 1930 held a joint exhibition at the Art Pavilion (Fig. 3). Event was accepted with enthusiasm from the public but also prominent critics like Milan Kašanin, Todor Manojlović, Desimir Blagojević and Đurđe Bošković. In Kašanin's (1930: 554) opinion Nikola Dobrović "is a supporter of newest 'cubism' architecture, fostered especially in the Netherlands, Germany and the Czech Republic. This architecture rejects any external decoration and goes for pure forms, and is extremely intellectual." Todor Manojlović had similar opinion, saying that work of Nikola Dobrović's austere and monumental style results from the new architectural material – concrete and operate in "pure, large geometric forms and masses – cube, square, ellipse, spiral" (МАНОЈЛОВИЋ 1930: 4). The daily newspaper *Vreme* in addition to review of Todor Manojlović, released the following day another critique written by Đurđe Bošković. Unusual step of editorial board demonstrated that exhibition truly left a positive impression in the cultural community. After affirmative attitude toward Petar Dobrović's paintings and sculptures of Risto Stijović, Bošković focused on analyzing the architectural projects of Nikola

⁵ Architects, as guests (before joining) rarely took part at Oblik's exhibitions. Nikola Dobrović, whose brother Petar was member of Oblik presented on Fourth in Skopje (1930); Kojić and Zloković on Tenth in Belgrade (1933).

⁶ On first exhibition of K.R.U.G. in 1930 participated Aleksandar Bikovski, Ananije Verbicki, Vladimir Žedrinski, Vladimir Zagorodnjuk, Vladimir Predajević, Ljudmila Kovaljevska – Rik, Ivan Rik and Viktor Lukomski. Joined by architect Andrej Papkov, members again exhibited following year (except Predajević), with guests Ivan Lučev, Pavle Froman and Pjer Križanić.

Dobrović that filled the entire small hall of the Pavilion. At this exhibition, Dobrović also offered winning competition project for Terazije Terrace in Belgrade. Bošković, even while commending overall design, observed accentuated horizontality. In Dobrović's architecture, he envisioned "harmony, rhythm, balance of masses – everything resolved in a completely logical, consequent manner, based on the constructive possibilities" (1930b: 6). Undoubtedly, as all critics highlighted, Nikola Dobrović's architecture was among the purest examples of modernism presented in the Pavilion until then. In comparison to contemporary tendencies of Belgrade's architectural practice, it was far more progressive in acceptance of aesthetic criteria of international modern movement, and set firm further guidelines.

Exhibition entitled the First Exhibition of Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture was opened at Cvijeta Zuzorić Pavilion from 18th to 26th February, and was regarded as the most significant and influential architectural exhibition in Belgrade during interwar period. Organizer was again GAMM with, as stated in the Catalogue (ИЗЛОЖБА 1931: 3) "collaboration of the Architects Club from Ljubljana and the Circle of Architects from Zagreb."

In the Catalogue 174 projects were listed, and from Belgrade participated members of GAMM: Dušan Babić, Đura Borošić, Dragiša Brašovan, Jan Dubový, Branislav Kojić, Petar and Branko Krstić, Mihajlo Radovanović, Milan Sekulić, Dragomir Tadić, Milan Zloković, only Vojin Simić did not exhibit. In addition, work presented by Josif Najman, regarded as modernist, Branislav Marinković, Jovan Jovanović and Živko Piperski, as interns (МАНЕВИЋ 1980: 275, 278). Branko Popović, Branko Maksimović and Đurđe Bošković, stressing the importance of modern architecture for development of our community, all wrote affirmative criticism. Maksimović gave in *Politika* newspapers extensive three-part critique. Projects were displayed in a way that was immediately possible to observe directions of architecture in all three cities, he noted (1931a: 5), adding it was a serious relapse that most Belgrade architects did not exhibit plans. He positively assessed work of GAMM members (1931b: 8), including Dragiša Brašovan's Yugoslav Pavilion at Milan Fair, Palace of the Danube Regional Government in Novi Sad, and Jan Dubový's Complex of Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade (Fig. 4). Another overview written by Đurđe Bošković was published in two numbers of daily newspaper



Fig. 3. Catalogue front page of Exhibition of Petar Dobrović, Risto Stijović and Nikola Dobrović, Cvijeta Zuzorić Pavilion, 9th November 1930 (Courtesy ULUS Archive)



Fig. 4. Jan Dubový, *Large Refractor Pavilion of the Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade*, photograph (Courtesy Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade)

Vreme and was intended for wider audience, so the author at the beginning explained the historical development of architecture. Once more he reiterated position expressed earlier in the year regarding modern architecture at the exhibition of Oblik, that the principles of contemporary architecture have not changed, only expressed in the new construction material – reinforced concrete (1931a: 5). In second part, he analyzed exhibited works (1931b: 5). In excellent projects by Dušan Babić he noticed overemphasized horizontality (Protić villa) or sculpture set to inadequate place (Lektres Building and UYEA Building). Although left positive impression with the modernist oriented critics, this show revealed also some shortcomings. As Manević remarked (1979a:

154) there was no special preparation, architects exhibited what had, often “copies of the plans reduced to the size of a postcard. Thus, one author could on one square meter of exhibition area present his entire oeuvre.” Regardless of that, irreversible process of change in aesthetic perception reached a peak. In terms of acceptance and influence of GAMM members’ projects on First Exhibition of Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture, their architecture (Yugoslav Pavilion at Milan Fair, Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade, etc.) transferred into mainstream.

Two years later, the Second Exhibition of Yugoslav Contemporary Architecture was organized in the Pavilion. When it comes to Belgrade architects, all members of GAMM took part except Simić and Sekulić. Even though GAMM has again invited architects from Ljubljana and Zagreb, this time counterparts treated them with indifference. Đurđe Bošković (1933a: 389) highlighted essential fact that one “can really only speak about the exhibition of an independent group of architects of modern direction, with guest appearances of several Zagreb citizens” and reminded that participate thirteen architects from Belgrade, three from Zagreb, and no one from Ljubljana. Critics made remark to Belgrade architects for presenting projects already seen in previous exhibitions. Branko Maksimović, also a participant, protested because architect presented work mostly through photographs of façades. Many excluded plans, making impossible to observe important aspects as interior solutions and housing organization. He explained that the true architectural exhibition would be the one showing originals, erected buildings that can be entered into, like the Weissenhof Estate (Weißenhofsiedlung) built for 1927 Stuttgart exhibition (1933: 228–229). Maksimović complimented projects for private buildings and villas by Belgrade architects Milan Zloković, Momčilo Belobrck, and Krstić brothers. Jan Dubový in his opinion, unnecessarily featured the Astronomical Observatory, already shown in more detail on the First show (1933: 229–230). Đurđe Bošković pointed out (1933: 387) that modern architecture it has become a powerful factor in public life. The time

has passed when “the modern architecture was looked with distrust [...] and the average citizen saw luxury and an enemy that disturbs course of traditional life.” In this exhibition photographs of already erected buildings were presented, architectural solutions made in a “modern spirit.” Bošković well concluded that those erected buildings are the main feature of show, and what distinguishes it from the First Exhibition of Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture. Also are displayed the projects that would be carried out soon, and not idealized solutions to various problems, as has been the case (1933: 388). Public interest in the Second Exhibition of Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture was incomparably less from one held two years before, and it was opened only for three days. Indifference toward exhibition could be analyzed from different points, but it has to be taken into consideration that, as Bošković highlighted, façade photographs (as documents of built objects) were displayed, a proof enough that in 1933 modern style prevailed in Belgrade’s contemporary architectural practice.

Major exhibition of Artistic Society Zograf⁷ (ЈОВАНОВИЋ 1998) organized in March 1933 demonstrated the times have changed. As a prominent member of Zograf architect Bogdan Nestorović on that occasion presented his entire oeuvre – from historical styles to modern architecture. Đurđe Bošković (1933b: 73) noticed “indeed incomprehensible heterogeneity in the views of a contemporary architect.” In accordance with his modernist-oriented criticism, he evaluated that most successful Nestorović’s projects are in modern style. Greatest attention, in his opinion, deserved harmoniously composed Commissariat Building in Topčider. Considering Artisans Club he wondered why was there potent tower insufficiently linked to the building itself. Since cross section was not presented, at first he believed that purpose was decorative, which is contrary to major principle of modern architecture – seeking rational solutions. Two main Nestorović’s work presented – St. Mark’s Church and St. Sava’s Temple were “in the Byzantine style,” and thus fulfilled the aspirations of Zograf. On this exhibition, the public first time saw plaster model of the St Sava’s Temple, so Bošković critically analyzed the model noting absence of absolute harmony in interior space or unique disposition of the lateral forces, all prominent characteristic of Hagia Sophia Church in Istanbul (1933b: 74). Todor Manojlović (1933: 549) asked, looking at Nestorović’s exhibited drafts and sketches, which of them are true expression of artist’s architectural ideals, “modern ones or Byzantine and Baroque reconstruction? – Because in both cannot be equally believable.” He presumed “the Commissariat in Topčider over St. Sava’s Temple.” Exhibition of Artistic Society Zograf in March 1933 demonstrated that tide has irretrievably shifted toward modern architecture. Predominantly negative reviews given to non-modern architectural projects by Bogdan Nestorović, including competition project of St. Mark’s Church and model of St. Sava’s Temple have to be studied in broader context of the debate on “national style” that engaged entire professional community regarding stylistic guidelines that followed competition call for the St. Sava’s Temple. Polemic escalated in the beginning of 1932, between the proponents of the national style on one side, and those advocated for a new competition and/or attaining results through a contemporary interpretation of architectural form on the other. Main protagonists of debate were modernist oriented critics, as was Đurđe Bošković.

⁷ Members of Artistic Society Zograf were Živorad Nastasijević, Vasa Pomorišac, Josip Car, Ilija Kolarović, Zdravko Sekulić, Svetolik Lukić, Radmila Đorđević-Milojković, Staša Beložanski. Architect Bogdan Nestorović was also member, and Branislav Kojić exhibited with Zograf. Oriented towards religious art, Zograf wanted to establish a new basis of national style. The Society was active from 1927 until 1940.

Tenth Exhibition of Oblik was organized in the Art Pavilion from 10th to 24th December 1933, with two guests architects – Milan Zloković and Branislav Kojić, presenting the achievements of contemporary architecture. Kojić exhibited Children’s Home in Skopje, Primary School in Zemun, Residential building in Belgrade and Public building case study. Zloković, on the other hand, presented Commerce Hall in Skopje, University Children’s Hospital, and Šterić villa in Topčider. (УМЕТНИЧКО 1933). On Oblik’s Tenth show Zloković exhibited University Children’s Hospital, the capital accomplishment of Serbian modernism. Modern architecture hence entered a new phase of highly articulated expression, and in addition that crucial moment consequently marked the end of temporal framework researched regarding architectural exhibitions at the Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion in Belgrade.

CONCLUSION

Architectural exhibitions, as a complex system of representation, are made of various discourses. In the case of Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion, following First Autumn Exhibition in 1928, art shows with the participation of architects became increasingly frequent, and as seen were followed by critical reviews in the Belgrade daily newspapers *Politika*, *Vreme*, *Pravda*, journals *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Misao* and *Beogradske opštinske novine*. Considering that, architectural exhibitions arranged in the period 1928–1933 were regarded as a representative form of communication, and consequently, one of the most important factors in transformation of Belgrade interwar architecture.

The direction of creating cultural message went toward the affirmation of modern architecture. How was this accomplished? Decoding the systems of representation by introducing the principles of modern architecture to somewhat passive cultural environment, as was Belgrade between the Two World Wars, required direct confrontation of old and new tendencies. Exactly that was done on the architectural exhibitions in the Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion. Alongside the projects of modernism were ones inspired by the past: academicism, Serbian national style or Byzantine architecture. Modern architecture shaped its identity by disputing the established value systems of historicism. A new narrative was formed, that its modernity and authenticity based on discontinuity. Opposing the two architectural concepts, the doctrine of modern architecture was promptly evaluated. Next, and most important link in the communication pattern were prominent critics, architects, art historians, artists and writers as Milan Kašanin, Branko Popović, Branko Maksimović, Đurđe Bošković, Sreten Stojanović, Todor Manojlović and others, who with their affirmative modernist-oriented criticism, contributed to emphasize and convey the message of architectural exhibitions.

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УМЕТНИЧКИ ПАВИЉОН „ЦВИЈЕТА ЗУЗОРИЋ“ КАО ЦЕНТАР ИЗЛОЖБЕНИХ АКТИВНОСТИ БЕОГРАДСКИХ АРХИТЕКАТА 1928–1933 ГОДИНЕ

Резиме

Наративи архитектонских изложби и њихова контекстуализација у историјском и културном дискурсу битни су за истраживање архитектонских токова. Уметнички павиљон „Цвијета Зузорић“ од оснивања 1928. године је генерисао промене у београдском друштву мењајући друштвену динамику и промовишући нове културне моделе. Истодобно, изложбе у периоду 1928–1933 биле су међу најважнијим догађајима који су одредили даљи правац развоја београдске архитектуре. У програмски хетерогеној ситуацији под утицајем нових форми и идеја, управо је путем изложби било могуће сагледати све савремене стилске тенденције. Уз све присутније критичке осврте у новинама и часописима, оне су постале значајан концептуални коректив, и важан фактор у промоцији и афирмацији модерне архитектуре.

Након Прве јесење изложбе 1928. године, у Павиљону „Цвијета Зузорић“ су убрзо следиле бројне смотре уметничких група: „Облик“ (1929/30, 1933), „К.Р.У.Г.“ (1930, 1931) и „Зограф“ (1933) на којима архитекти учествују као гости. Такође, „Група архитеката модерног правца“ организовала је Први салон архитектуре (1929), Прву и Другу изложбу југословенске савремене архитектуре (1931, 1933). Смер конкретизације културне поруке ишао је према афирмацији модерне архитектуре. На који начин је то изведено? Уз радове модерних стремљења, налазили су се и они инспирисани прошлошћу: академизмом, српском средњовековном и византијском архитектуром. Опонирањем два архитектонска концепта, вредновале су се и афирмисале доктрине модерне архитектуре. Сходно томе, на изложбама у Павиљону модерна архитектура је градила индентитет супротстављајући се устаљеним системима вредности историцизама. У питању је био нов наратив који је своју модерност и оригиналност заснивао на раскиду са стиливима прошлости.

Важна карика у комуникацијском обрасцу били су угледни критичари, архитекти, историчари уметности, уметници, књижевници и новинари попут Милана Кашанина, Бранка Поповића, Бранка Максимовића, Ђурђа Бошковића, Сретена Стојановића и других, који су својим афирмативним модернистички оријентисаним критикама допринели да изложбе постану својеврстан катализатор у вредновању доктрине модерне архитектуре.

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