ARCHITECTURAL WORK OF ALEKSANDAR DEROKO – BEAUTY OF EMOTIONAL CREATIVITY

A B S T R A C T

This paper studies significant and forgotten, but not less important, built and unrealised designs by Serbian architect Aleksandar Deroko. It seeks to achieve a continuous view in dealing with Deroko's architectural work versus the historical discontinuity of political, territorial-geographic and social circumstances. It is impossible to separate Deroko as an architect from Deroko as a scholar, researcher, historian of architecture and art, an academic professor, painter, artist, writer, chronicler of his time, protector, conservator and historiographer of Serbian cultural heritage. The main aim of this paper is to apply comprehensive research approach within which his work in the field of architectural design will be considered in a complementary and pluralistic way.

Deroko's architectural projects examined in their details and altogether represent distillate of Deroko's erudite personality, which casts shadow on relevant questions of Serbian history of architecture placement: How to understand it, observe and examine it, from Yugoslav or Serbian perspective, from the position of continuity or discontinuity, through characteristics of general or particular?

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KEY WORDS

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PLURALITY OF MEANING

INTRODUCTION

Today, thirty years after the death of Professor Deroko, much has been forgotten about this fascinating Belgrade architect. Carrying the artistic genes of his ancestors, his Italian surname sounds original and unusual in itself, and indeed, whatever he intended to do, Deroko did it in a completely original and authentic way. As a real polyhistor, he encompassed the most diverse knowledge of human culture. Mostly keen on observation rather than the rigid and lifeless academic expression, his works reflect Deroko's rich nature and numerous versatile interests that emerged from his Baroque-Renaissance personality.

He chose architecture as an art closest to his heart, while he called himself an *anythingarian* – all things in life were of interest to him.¹ He was a man who loved life, tavern, to enjoy himself, and appreciated real human values above academic references and dusty pages of books. He always relied on knowledge and avoided falling into clichés.

The key determinant through which we will observe the entire architectural work of Professor Deroko is his Baroque-Renaissance personality. In the theory and history of architecture and art, the term *homo universalis* is commonly associated with the Renaissance creators. Renaissance geniuses such as Michelangelo and Leonardo expressed their art and talent in many fields of human knowledge and dealt with various disciplines of art, science, technology, philosophy and culture in general. In his time Deroko was a rare example of the Renaissance *uomo universale*, but what adds to the significance of this conventional concept of the Renaissance man is his Baroque personality. In this case, Baroque should not be seen as the style and epoch that comes after the Renaissance, which makes the contrast and contradiction with the Renaissance principles of grace, order, and harmony. The concept of Baroque here refers to Deroko's emotional-psychological and aesthetic expression. He was Baroque in every way. His drawings are simply overwhelmed with dramatics, exuberance and passion, pulsating as if they were alive by making a vortex of collage and a map of his ingenious mind. This Deroko's tremulous line in drawing caricatures life and balances between irony, humor, and romance. And not only through drawings, but also in Deroko's speech, writing and architecture, this Baroque principle is associated with the Dionysian principle of passion, instincts, exaggeration, primordial, chaos and irrationality. All of this takes part in a sophisticated synergy of emotions, passion and ideas through which Deroko's ingenious works are derived.

It is important to point out that the aim of this research is not the stylistic, historical and theoretical analysis of Deroko's architectural opus and the classification in any kind of rigid theoretical frameworks such as "Serbian national style", "romantic national traditions of architecture" or "expression of Art Deco".² The main goal of this paper is to examine his architectural accomplishments in the context of the diversity and integrity of Deroko's creative personality in a wider, general context of historical, social and political circumstances in the country and abroad. Deroko was a very active figure in various spheres of cultural and social life, and although he tried to keep himself away from politics, the turbulent political circumstances in the country and the world particularly influenced and marked his professional research activity.

His greatest contribution to Serbian culture and science is reflected in his pedagogical and research work in the domain of history, protection and preservation of architectural heritage and the cultural heritage generally. Also as an architect Deroko achieved significant, but not extensive results in the field of design.³

Deroko's architectural designs are undoubtedly original in relation to a general trend in the Serbian and Yugoslav architecture. This paper will focus on the interwar period when Deroko realised most of his projects. He carried out a total of 28 projects between 1926 and 1943, and only three after the World War II, of which only the Monument to the Kosovo Heroes in Gazimestan is significant in terms of his architectural invention.

CULTURAL CLIMATE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS - DEROKO'S MOSAIC OF "TRAVELLING TIME"

After the World War I, the world faced radical changes first on the political-geographical basis with the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Another important event was the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, which overthrew the monarchy and the emperor, establishing a communist state power. By signing the Treaty of Versailles, new independent states were formed: Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. As the biggest loser of the war, Germany was required to pay high damages, it lost parts of the territory, and was in a terrible economic crisis. Italy found itself in a similar position, which due to unemployment, poverty and general dissatisfaction supported the fascist party of Benito Mussolini. All these

changes affected the shift of the spheres of interest in the Balkans, which was of great importance to the newly-formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, who sought to exploit the support of the victorious states of the WWI, primarily France and England. Since its founding, the union of the South Slavic nations had faced numerous political, national, religious, economic and socio-cultural problems. After the assassination of Stjepan Radić in the National Assembly, King Alexander I of Yugoslavia introduced the dictatorship in 1929. As a result, the political situation in the country became even more difficult, the separatist tendencies strengthened, which culminated in the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles in 1934. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia changed its diplomatic course and turned to Germany and Italy in the belief that it would preserve its national integrity. However, the conflicts in the country escalated when it entered the WWII in 1941 with the breakup of the Yugoslav union of states. The period between the two world wars represented a time of great aspirations and a painful way of harmonising the new South Slavic state. On the one hand, this was the era of anticipation of a civilised and humane society through investments in science, education, arts and culture. The political pretensions of different ethnic identities of the Yugoslav union involved the overwhelming burden of conservatism pushed the newly-founded country into totalitarianism, chauvinism, and repression.

By creating the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Belgrade was turned from oriental shaped town into the capital of a newly-formed, significantly enlarged country. The country's post-war reconstruction marked two decades of intense construction of Belgrade. At the time urban development and architecture were geared towards promoting principles of the newly-established Yugoslavia. In a time dominated by pluralism in thought, politics, religion, arts and culture, architecture served as a cultural core that attempted to reconcile and synchronise the existing dichotomies. It also tried to constitute new Yugoslav affinities in order to affirm the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and to style Belgrade as a kind of "Paris of the Balkans".

The state of the new social and political reality caused the simultaneous occurrence of the most diverse phenomena in the field of art and architecture from conservative historical conceptions to advanced avant-garde currents shaped by the irrational attempts of the young Yugoslav intellectual elite to form an authentic Yugoslav idea in arts and culture. The experiences of world historical avant-garde such as Fauvism, Cubism, Futurism, Suprematism, Constructivism and Dadaism had deepened and developed in Yugoslavia, and many Yugoslav writers, artists and architects maintained intensive links, especially on the Belgrade-Zagreb-Paris route.

Ljubomir Micić launched the international cultural and arts magazine *Zenit* in Zagreb in 1921. It was a platform for Yugoslav artists, writers, poets, architects, as well as Italian futurists, protagonists of German Bauhaus, Russian constructivists, suprematists and various members of European avant-garde practices. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, El Lissitzky, Vladimir Tatlin, Alexander Archipenko, Wassily Kandinsky, Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy, and Kazimir Malevich were some of the names who collaborated on this magazine.⁴

In addition to Zenithism, significant contributions were made by the Yugoslav Dadaism that was started by Dragan Aleksić in Zagreb in 1922 after he broke away from Micić and zenithists. Working in Zagreb and Belgrade, Aleksić published the Dada magazine *Dada Tank* and *Dada Jazz*, while Micić's brother Branko Ve Poljanski published the *Dada-jok* in Zagreb.

In the 1920s and 1930s, a series of avant-garde serial publications in the fields of art, craft, poetry and culture were launched in Yugoslav territories. One of the most prominent was the surrealist almanac *L'Impossible* launched in 1930, and *Nadrealizam danas i ovde (Surrealism Here and Now)* published from 1931 to 1932.⁵

Zenithism, Dadaism and Surrealism as avant-garde movements that emerged in the Yugoslav spheres signified a great cultural turning point and the climax of ideas that made direct intellectual and artistic communication with the world. The disappointment with the aftermath of the WWI were the basis of these radical movements as a product of disappointment with the false aesthetics of art that did not engage in real life processes. Therefore, the need arose in the art to act and create in a sociopolitically engaging way in the form of radical practices that would directly affect the change and unravel the established traditions, social reality and the whole system of values on which the society rested.

In this vibrant intellectual atmosphere of diverse thinking and cultural opening of the environment towards international flows, Deroko evolved professionally as an architect while being friends with many avant-garde poets, writers and artists. He had met many of them during studies abroad in Rome, and then during his specialisation in Paris. Deroko realised his dream of joining the Faculty of Technical Sciences in Belgrade's Mechanical-Technical Department to become an airplane designer, in the war irony of fate, becoming one of the first pilots of the Serbian army.⁶ He participated in the defense of the Serbian lines on the Thessaloniki front, survived malaria and tuberculosis, after which he recovered with the French military aid at a sanatorium in Rome. A year spent in Rome

would leave a strong mark on Deroko's personality and would be a turning point in his choice of further education and training. The magnificent power, durability and beauty of antique art, architecture and monuments enchanted Deroko for a lifetime.

In the difficult post-war years, Deroko studied civil engineering and architecture in Rome, Prague, Brno, graduating in Belgrade in 1926 and became a teaching assistant on the course of the *Byzantine and Old Serbian Architecture*. Deroko's circle of friends included his best and inseparable companion writer, poet and diplomat Rastko Petrović, Vladislav Vinaver, Milan Dedinac, Marko Ristić, Dušan Matić, Tin Ujević, Marino Tartalja, Toma Rosandić, Nikola Bešević, Rista Stijović, Rade Drainac, Ljubomir Micić, Sava Šumanović, Petar Palavičini, Milo Milunović, Jovan Bijelić, Petar and Nikola Dobrović, Miloš Crnjanski, and many others.

In addition to pedagogical work at the university and academic research work in architectural history, theory and practice, in the period leading to the beginning of the WWII Deroko became known to the general public through actively writing opinion pieces in newspapers and journals. The bulk of his articles were published in the state-owned daily newspapers *Vreme*, *Politika*, *Pokret*, *Telegram*, and journals such as *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Starinar*, *Misao*, *Godišnjak Tehničkog fakulteta*, *Nova smena*, *Umetnički pregled*, *XX vek*.

From an early age Deroko had a great passion for exploring old, forgotten things of the past times. As a young boy playing in the Tašmajdan underground tunnels and fortifications around Kalemegdan, Deroko would imagine himself as a detective and investigator of the old Belgrade cobblestone.⁷ Amused by the works of pioneers of the medieval Serbian cultural heritage researchers Mihailo Valtrović, Dragutin Milutinović, Andra Stevanović, Deroko made his first steps in researching the Serbian architectural past as a student of his mentor Professor Petar Pera Popović, with whom he worked on the conservation and restoration of the monasteries Žiča, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Sopoćani and Dečani in 1925 and 1928.

During the studies, Deroko became the Secretary of the Commission for the Preservation of Historical Monuments founded by the Ministry of Religion.⁸ This commission was a significant step in expanding cultural awareness of the protection of cultural assets because at that time the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments did not exist. The Commission had begun practical and systematic work on saving and preserving old monuments.

Besides professor Pera Popović, Deroko's passionate interest in the research of Serbian medieval art and architecture was prompted by his closest friend Rastko Petrović, who, following the Serbian army retreat through Albania in 1915. Rastko was sent to Paris as a scholar of the French government where he graduated law at Sorbonne. Out of his love of art Rastko attended the lectures by famous Professor Gabriel Millet at *École des Hautes Études*. His stories and experiences from Paris served Deroko as the first reference for contemporary research studies in Byzantine art. On one of his trips from Paris to Belgrade, Rastko brought the books of Auguste Choisy, Gabriel Millet and Charles Diehl that he and Deroko read and studied with great care.⁹

Fascinated by Byzantium and the Middle Ages in their youth, Deroko and Rastko explored Serbian medieval art, architecture, rich yet forgotten heritage of stories, poems, literature, costumes, fairy tales, jewelry and other charms of the old Serbian culture. They traveled in the Serbian, Metohija, Bosnian, Montenegrin and Macedonian areas and villages, on old buses and trains as far as possible, and then rode on horses and walked to reach the abandoned monasteries.

In this poor, but happy period due to the end of the war, when the pencil and paper were a luxury, Deroko and Rastko recorded their impressions, performed measurements, drew their first sketches and made detailed written studies of the monasteries and churches, and as the pinnacle of their exciting adventures, they experienced a sublime aesthetic experiences and great spiritual ecstasies that will later be featured in Deroko's academic work and Rastko's poems and novels. At that time, nature was untouched and unspoiled by a flurry of tourists and their discarded packages and cans. As Deroko remembers, the Djurdjevi Stupovi monastery near Novi Pazar was demolished, without a roof, and the frescoes on the walls seemed to speak as the starry sky flashed above them.¹⁰

Gračanica was abandoned and only one monk lived there. The Sopoćani remains of Nemanja's capital Ras, the Patriarchate of Peć and the Visoki Dečani site, roads to monasteries in the valley of the Lim River between Bijelo Polje and Prijepolje were completely covered in ivy, and there was beautiful untouched nature and magnificent art and architecture enjoyed by the two researchers. It is then that Deroko would base his hypothesis on the progress and the artistic significance of the Serbian medieval painting of the thirteenth century (Mileševa and Sopoćani), which was much more advanced than the Serbian medieval paintings of the fourteenth century, which, until then, had been the most valued in the professional academic circles.

After graduation, Deroko received a scholarship from the French government and went to Paris to complete doctoral studies with Gabriel Millet as his mentor. However, the restless, curious spirit and the desire to get to know the bohemian life of Paris drew Deroko and Rastko to the artist's studios, the Parisian bistros and cafes where Duchamp, Picasso, Le Corbusier, Vlamenk, Chagall, Sava Šumanović, Milo Milunović, Jovan Bijelić, and many others would gather. After receiving the news that he was offered the position of assistant at the Faculty of Technical Sciences in Belgrade's Architectural Department, Deroko returned to Belgrade to take up the position and never wrote his doctorate.

After the WWI, interest in medieval art was not yet widely represented in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The public's interest in medieval art began after the Second International Congress of Byzantinologists, held in Belgrade in April 1927 in the presence of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, the Serbian Patriarch, Catholic Archbishop, numerous diplomatic and political officials and international and local experts and scientists.¹¹ After the Congress, the studies of Byzantium and the research of the Serbian and Yugoslav medieval heritage were particularly encouraged. The country began to initiate and assist the research work of experts including Deroko. He was sent to research trips to the coastal areas of the country in 1929, where he made records and sketches *in situ*, and formed the first contemporary experiences of the Yugoslav medieval architectural past.¹² The results of Deroko's research were presented in a series of articles published in *Vreme*, a daily newspaper that propagated the regime policy of Karadjordjević's royal family. We can notice the difference between Deroko's articles published before and after 1929. The articles and research that Deroko published between 1922 and 1929 were focused exclusively on the research of the Serbian medieval past,¹³ while the texts published after 1929 were directed to the study of the Serbian medieval architecture and art in the context of its cooperation in the cultural construction of the Yugoslav national identity.¹⁴

After the dictatorship was introduced increasing repressive measures were also evident in the domain of cultural policy, while the importance of scientific confirmation of the existence of a unique Yugoslav culture was increasingly stressed. Therefore Deroko's articles after 1929 acted in the function of the efforts of the ruling regime and in the spirit of the cultural policy of integral Yugoslavism.¹⁵ Deroko, a young, well-known scholar, Byzantinologist and academic expert, also became an ideologue of Yugoslavism who was trying to find and scientifically prove a link in Serbian and Croatian medieval architecture that would confirm the common foundations of the old Serbian

and Croatian architecture. On his travels along the Yugoslav coast, Deroko was searching for the type of temple that represented the prenatal embryo of Yugoslav architecture. He proudly wrote of the existence of “great” Yugoslav art in the Middle Ages, where the South Slavic tribes inhabited the area from Istria to Morava and Vardar – the Croatian tribes occupied the west of Neretva, and the Serbian occupied the east of Neretva.¹⁶

As the sea tribes adopted the western Roman religion and civilisation earlier, and the Serbian tribes later adopted the Byzantine influence, on a quasi-scientific basis, without any authentic material evidence, Deroko claimed that there was evidence that still needed to be investigated, and that the actual cradle of Serbian medieval architecture should be sought in old coastal churches. Deroko based his hypothesis on the fact that the Raška School which had many Roman influences from the West, did not appear at once, but gradually evolved over time from some of the architectural forms of the coastal Croatian architecture dating before Nemanja’s constitution of the Serbian state.

Analogously to the “archaeological” connection between Serbian and Croatian medieval architecture from the period of “contamination” by Byzantine and Romanesque influences Deroko found primordial ideas in the field of ethnology that were not rooted in the Byzantine and Latin heritage, but rather on the natural “sincere” folk traditions and vernacular architecture. In the 1920s Deroko was increasingly intrigued by the study of vernacular architecture and established a thesis of a general division of the history of Yugoslav architecture into only two types: historical, which included architecture built in different styles, and traditional folk architecture, whose style had always been created by a peasant himself – a self-taught builder in tune with nature.¹⁷

As a part of the academic support in the building of the Yugoslav identity, vernacular architecture had a double significance, it in itself was a common denominator for all Yugoslav territories, but it also embodied the differences between Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians and Herzegovinians who all had their own folklore traditions. Deroko’s research work on Yugoslav vernacular architecture would continue in socialist Yugoslavia after the WWII. Therefore, in his research practice and texts the distinctiveness of various vernacular traditions would be further emphasised as an expression of special features of the regional identities and the wealth of the Yugoslav culture of unity in diversity.¹⁸

DEROKO'S PARABLES IN THE TIME OF EMERGING MODERNISM

At the time when Deroko graduated in architecture in 1926, Belgrade was still recovering from the effects of the WWI, while urbanisation and large-scale construction was in progress. In architecture, the romantic tradition of historical and eclectic styles in the spirit of academism was partially pursued. A large number of significant public and state institution buildings were built in eclectic academic styles by Russian immigrant architects. The aesthetics of Romanticism, on the other hand, was infused in the architecture of the revival of medieval Serbian-Byzantine tradition in the last decades of the nineteenth century after Serbia gained independence from the Ottoman occupation. The search for authentic national "Serbian style" was one of the most prominent preoccupations for architects in the era of the Kingdom of Serbia. However, with the post-war establishment of the new state union of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, nationalistic tendencies in architecture were primarily limited to church architecture and continued to exist as an integral part in creation of Yugoslav identity.

Modern architecture emerged after the WWI and became dominant after the WWII. Modernism in architecture was a direct derivative of contemporary European tendencies in architecture. Modernism, Expressionism, Cubism, Art Deco, Academism shaped by historicalist neo-styles and folklore tendencies blended and often changed throughout careers of prominent Serbian architects. The period between the two world wars in Serbian architecture was the time of search, the period of delusions, irrationality and great efforts to create a solid and clear architectural expression that would primarily present Belgrade as the Yugoslav capital and the modern center of the Balkans.

Serbia had a young tradition of architectural education. The Ministry of Construction's Architectural Department was established in 1881, and the Architectural Department of the Faculty of Technical Sciences set up in 1896, so the first generation of graduated architects appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the development in the Serbian architecture was interrupted by the outbreak of the WWI. After the war, the role and the significance of architecture in building and creating the identity of Belgrade as the capital of a new large state union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was growing. In addition to intensive construction activities, more and more attention was focused on the theoretical and aesthetic issues of architecture.¹⁹

Besides intense theoretical dilemmas about the ethical and aesthetic issues of architecture, the general public in Serbia was largely ignorant of the role of an architect who was often regarded as less important than an engineer.²⁰ The Group of Architects of Modern Direction – GAMP, founded in 1928, marked the beginning of Belgrade opening up, which was otherwise conservative. The group was founded by architects Milan Zloković, Dušan Babić, Jan Dubový and Branislav Kojić, all of whom studied architecture in European centers outside Yugoslavia. They advocated for the affirmation of modern architecture, and the group was joined by affirmed architects whose projects were beginning to experience modernist transformations such as Dragiša Brašovan and Krstić brothers. The GAMP, comprising 18 members, worked in design, organising exhibitions and publishing texts about the principles of modern architecture.²¹ After making considerable contributions to the development of the Serbian architecture, in 1934 the GAMP was dissolved and its members continued to work individually in the spirit of Modernism.

Like Zenithism, Dadaism and Surrealism in art, early Modernism in Serbian architecture was a short-lived, progressive, but insufficiently strategically organised tendency. Serbian modernism between the two world wars did not distinguish itself by a radical revolutionary attitude towards the existing academic tradition of architecture. It was characterised by a mild, conciliatory, ambivalent position that failed to achieve a striking dominance on the complex Yugoslav scene, but it provided great and significant achievements in architecture in some of the works of Milan Zloković, Momčilo Belobrk, Dragiša Brašovan, Branislav Kojić, Dušan Babić, Jan Dubový and Nikola Dobrović. These architects significantly marked the avant-garde spirit of a new, advanced vision of Yugoslav architecture between the two world wars.

Deroko was a representative of the first post-war generation of architects who graduated from the Architectural Department of the Faculty of Technical Sciences in Belgrade. Although he was in the same generation as Dušan Babić, Jan Dubový, Milan Zloković and Branislav Kojić, Deroko did not start designing in the spirit of Modernism. Considering that from the very beginning of his studies Deroko was focused on the research of medieval Serbian and Byzantine architecture, he chose Cathedral of St. Sava in Belgrade as the topic of his graduate studies. Spending time in Paris and traveling across Europe, Deroko was very much concerned with the movements and endeavors of contemporary architecture and art. The Bauhaus and Le Corbusier's principles gave him a logical and correct direction of the architecture of the new century, but he remained committed to the "archaic" and his personal vision of architecture.

Bearing in mind Deroko's extraordinary drawing and artistic talent, a sense of space and logic in architecture, the question arises: How is it that such a progressive and versatile thinker did not find his artistic and aesthetic expression in the flows of modernism when it comes to his construction practices? The answer probably lies in Deroko's highly ethical principles of understanding art and architecture itself. Deroko understood architecture in a holistic way given his primary choice to be an architect historian and researcher of medieval architecture. He tended to follow the national vernacular architectural tradition. His architecture in practice was very much in ethical unity with his theoretical attitudes and definitions. In his unique academic, research, educational, conservation, drawing, painting and construction work, Deroko did not want to disrupt the spiritual and moral harmony of his creative personality and to stand outside his vernacular and medieval parables in order to make a drastic change of his architecture towards Modernism.

Deroko's achievements represent conciliatory evidence, respect for the spirit of modernity, but at the same time, a traditional national architecture is maintained as an expression of the particularity and historical continuity. In this way, Deroko's projects form a unified whole in which there are no deviations in the aesthetic, visual, technical and conceptual sense. Deroko's architecture was balanced and always tied to a moderately modern vision of architecture that sought to maintain the course of the tradition of vernacular construction reminiscent of the historical heritage of the medieval past through modern technical achievements.

DEROKO AS AN ARCHITECT AND MASTER BUILDER

Deroko spoke very little of his architectural work, apart from writing about his topical projects in the daily newspapers. Deroko's views on his own architecture can only be discerned between the lines of his many papers and articles on general theoretical, historical and cultural issues of architecture. Deroko was most active between 1927 and 1940 when it comes to realizing his architectural projects. After the WWII, he completely devoted himself to his pedagogical work at the university, the protection of national cultural heritage and research work through writing studies and books on the Serbian and Yugoslav medieval architecture, medieval fortified cities and traditional folk architecture.²²

The body of Deroko's built projects is not large, but it is enough to pay attention to the bravurous details of the Colonel Elezović's House, the Monument to Osman Džikić, the Barlovac Chapel, the Church of Holy Transfiguration in Novo Sarajevo, student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty or beautifully carved pillars at the altar of Cathedral of St. Sava, all of which are unusual and valuable examples of authentic and original architecture.

Deroko's architectural creativity should be considered primarily in the context of his principal commitment for research in the field of history and protection of architectural heritage. Deroko's path of an architect-researcher and transmitter of historical knowledge can be traced in his practical work in the field of architecture. If we exclude student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty and the unrealised competition design for a building of the Faculty of Philosophy, we can see that Deroko did not even try to participate in major architectural competitions for public buildings and structures that were usually the most important measure of success of an architect. Deroko achieved modest results in designing individual housing architecture, while he remains best remembered for his projects of memorial and religious architecture.

Deroko's architectural opus includes a total of 28 built works and 27 projects that were never completed, of which 11 houses were constructed (5 unrealised house projects), 6 sacral buildings built (11 unrealised church projects), 9 realised monuments of memorial architecture (4 projects not implemented), and 2 implemented public function projects (7 unrealised in this area). (See Table 1)

Some of his research hypotheses, studies, typologies and categorisations played an important role in the ideological construction of the Yugoslav national and cultural identity, which had its specific characteristics in both Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), as well as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Therefore, Deroko's entire academic research cannot be viewed only in ideological light and as a product of historical, social and political circumstances.

In projects that were of broader public interest, Deroko's theoretical research work had more impact and certainly influenced the formation of design solutions. However, Deroko appreciated the so-called "neutilitarian" architecture, which included memorial monuments. In this area of architecture, Deroko as an artist and architect had far more freedom to show his aesthetic and poetic expression in architecture. In an interview with Miloš Crnjanski, when asked to point out his main idea in architecture, Deroko said that modern architecture cannot be

a direct continuation of tradition, that studying and researching the history of architecture was what reflected and elevated the spiritual architectural culture, but that it was absurd to impose medieval architectural principles on modern life.²³

In another interview for the *Politika* daily, at the age of 80, Deroko said: ‘As an architect, I did not deal with the design, but mostly with the aesthetic side of architecture, first of all medieval, and then the so-called traditional national architecture of the old towns and villages.’²⁴ Indeed Deroko was not quite an ordinary architect-designer focused on solving technical, structural, material and practical issues in architecture; he was the author and *protomajstor* (master builder) in Michelangelo’s sense – in everything he dealt with, as well as in the design of architecture, he left a worthy and recognisable seal of personality, laced with his knowledge, elocution and erudition.

As an architect with a strong artistic drive Deroko transferred his love for painting, and in particular drawing, to the methodology of his architectural work. He developed his projects from a bunch of sketches and croquis. By designing through a drawing with the strong emotional rush, like in Surrealist collages, Deroko recorded the unconscious flow of his thoughts. Deroko’s drawings dictated a specific narrative in a conglomerate and vortex of symbols, parables, associations, rebuses, riddles, as his artistic affinity emerged for the circle of his friends, comprising Dadaists, Zenithists and Surrealists.²⁵ Deroko, as a conservative architect, united the tradition and avant-garde in his artistic impression and philosophical thought of art and architecture.

DEROKO’S HOUSES

Deroko’s architectural career began with residential architecture. He is the author of 11 built individual houses, built in the center of Belgrade and residential areas of Dedinje, Topčider and Senjak.

Colonel Elezović’s house on 20 Njegoševa Street, built in 1927, is one of his first projects. Colonel Elezović expressed his desire for decoration and architectural forms that would resemble the antique and romantic era. (Fig. 1) Respecting the wishes of his client, Deroko designed the house in the spirit of the French Renaissance castles, with a pronounced mansard roof and effective processing of the roof cornice. Because of its central position in the urban neighborhood, Colonel Elezović’s house was limited to only one street façade that became a representative backdrop of Deroko’s artistic invention. Deroko

Fig. 1. Colonel Elezović house on 20 Njegoševa Street in Belgrade, 1927 (photo: Srdja Mirković)

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Colonel Elezović House is the best example of the preserved authenticity of Deroko's designer expression, with special attention to the processing of minuscule details. In the image B the interior of the entrance hall of the house transposes the impression of an ancient castle with a cassette ceiling with blind consoles on the ceiling, while special attention is paid to the polychrome treatment of the walls and the floor of the hall. The image C shows the detail above the entrance door in the form of a grotesque head of a lion that alludes to the fairytale expression of the entire house from the time of medieval and Renaissance castles. In the same spirit, there are also large arched wooden doors, on which there is a carved pilaster with stylized capitals carved in a shallow relief (image D). In the image E, a knocker on the door is another small detail that conveys the impressions from ancient times, while, around the knocker and keyhole, there is a stylized mythological motif of Ouroboros (the snake that bites its own tail) made in wrought iron, which is the symbol of eternity and infinite repetition of the cycle of life through continuous birth and dying. These are the best example of expressing Deroko's architectural parables that should not be regarded as decorative historical scenery, but as building elements of an entirely original architecture with a strong poetic seal of the author.

gives an impeccably symmetrical solution, slightly pulling outwards the central cube of the façade. On the second floor he placed a loggia above which there is medieval decoration with plant and animal motifs reminiscent of William Morris and Arts and Crafts decorations. Decorative arabesque reliefs are also present on parapets below the first floor windows, while sculptor Živojin Lukić made this poetic relief composition in line with Deroko's design. Although conditioned by the wishes of Colonel Elezović, Deroko failed to fully express his personal aesthetic principles of architecture in this project. Nevertheless, it is regarded as one of his more notable achievements for which he received an award from the Architect's Club in 1930.

In 1930s Deroko became increasingly interested in the works of national vernacular architecture, which he considered to be equally important and significant as medieval architecture he dealt with.²⁶ Deroko travelled around the country, made records and sketches and collected ethnological data on material culture and architectural tradition throughout Yugoslavia. Deroko's inspiration and fascination with the spontaneity, simplicity and beauty of the rural architecture created for centuries by the uneducated and unnamed folk builders would leave a mark in Deroko's architectural achievements, but above all in his housing projects. The first indications of these folklore tendencies were noticed in the villa of Obrad Simić on 5a Banjičkih žrtava Street, built in 1931. (Fig. 2) The villa represents a certain symbiosis of the various influences of Medieval Monastic architecture, Modernist and Folklore elements. There is an expressionistic playfulness of wall masses in the form of bay towers that alludes to the Folklore elements of the *doksat* (upstairs enclosed balcony or porch, characteristic for Islamic and Serbian vernacular architecture), but also to medieval towers. Modernist influences are present in the façade without ornaments, painted in white. The only polychronic detail is a rectangular shallow niche filled with bricks on the central highest cube in which an iron sun clock is placed. Very shallow pitched roof with mild roof eaves make it a form of transitional solution between modernist flat roof surfaces and pitched roof with *ćeramida* roof tiles, related to the folklore and Mediterranean tradition of the oldest medieval monasteries on the Yugoslav coast.

In its entirety, Obrad Simić's villa emphasises the impression of massiveness that is accomplished by the rhythm of changing cubic masses. The compromise between modernism and vernacular tradition is seen in the application of two types of window apertures: large and rectangular windows in a row and small arched openings similar to monastery biforas. The house would be a typical example of Modernism, if one was to remove details such as a shallow pitched

Fig. 2. Villa of Obrad Simić on 5a Banjičkih žrtava Street in Belgrade, 1931. (photo: Srdja Mirković)

Although the windows joinery, gutters and some fences on the terraces have been changed, the Villa of Obrad Simić retained the authenticity of the expression. In this case, Deroko devoted special attention to the design of details, such as the iron number of a home made by Deroko's design with his recognizable handwriting, and the iron sun clock in a polychrome brick niche on the central wall of the façade.

Today Deroko's house, which he designed for his father, no longer exists, but the image shows the essence of Deroko's way of thinking in designing individual residential architecture in the spirit of fusing the motif from a vernacular tradition with a simple contemporary architectural expression, without redundant ornamental details. Deroko's architecture, seen through history, archeology, ethnology and culturology, collects numerous Deroko's interests in the general context of human being and relationship with nature. It is not only Deroko as an architect that stands out, but also Deroko as a passionate collector of old weapons, locks, padlocks, keyholes and the whole corpus of folk tradition, customs and heritage.

Fig. 3. Aleksandar Deroko's family house in Topčider in Belgrade, 1936. (Aleksandar Deroko, "Estetika kuće u polju," *Umetnički pregled* 5, Feb. 1938)

roof, shallow wooden consoles beneath bay windows and a shallow eave above the window in a linear style form of the *ceramida* roof tiles. All these unobtrusive details depict Deroko's commitment to the architecture between tradition and modernity.

Following similar principles in 1937 Deroko designed a villa for lawyer Stakić on 2 Miloša Savčića Street in Dedinje. This project was more dominated by the Mediterranean spirit of construction present in a massive stone-faced tile. The Modernist façade with no ornaments was expressively treated with rough rust treatment in plaster, and the upper corner of the house was accentuated by a sculptural detail depicting St. George killing a dragon made in red terracotta. Analysing Deroko's residential architecture projects, we can see that decorations are always present in a very conservative way with respect to the logic of construction. Decorative elements in his architecture always provide symbolic meaning.

Building his own house on 3 Dr Jovana Danića Street in Topčider, Deroko freely expressed his theoretical and practical understanding of residential architecture that needed to be humane, in touch with nature and the environment, following in the footsteps of anonymous national folk builders for centuries. (Fig. 3) Deroko revived all microelements of folklore construction in the project to build his house. According to Bogdan Bogdanović, it was a kind of architectural ensemble because the house was built from finished old and rejected elements of the village and town architecture: sooty wooden beams, old gutters and amber ladders that were positioned horizontally as a fence on the porch.²⁷ Deroko's house was built completely in the spirit and in the logic of the construction of old traditional folk builders without any technical tools, with old brick masonry, intentionally curved edges of walls with a pronounced chimney on the façade with a massive chimney cap, covered with *ceramida* roof tiles.²⁸

Deroko's design approach to the folk tradition and tradition of Serbo-Byzantine medieval architecture was very different from that of Momir Korunović's and Branislav Kojić's treatment of national historical and ethno elements in architecture. A decade older than Deroko, Korunović – the ideal of the “Serbian national architect”²⁹ and as a member of the old school of architecture in his accomplishments, approached architecture in an extremely academic manner by replacing the historic eclecticism with the “Serbian Moravian” and Byzantine style, which was interpreted as a prototype model for “modern design” in the spirit of the Serbo-Byzantine style.

On the other hand, Kojić's efforts to reconcile and harmonise the ethno heritage of Serbian vernacular architecture with modernist principles, provided ambivalent and inconclusive results in those projects where he tried to synthesize Modernism and Folklorism. Oriental *divanhana*-like bay windows (Divanhana is encased balcony that in the Ottoman way of living was the most representative part of a house used as a gathering place alongside the windows), transformed into modernist non-ornamentalism, overly-emphasized roofs and prominent chimneys with rustic ends, remain an example of the hybrid and undefined direction of his architecture. Kojić's architectural opus represents a very complex and dispersive eclecticism in the general theoretical and practical comprehension of architecture. Therefore in Kojić's designs there are potable metamorphoses associated with Classical Academism, Modernism and the Serbian folklore architecture.

Like Deroko, Kojić dealt with theoretical research in vernacular architecture.³⁰ While Deroko had a poetic, sentimental and simultaneously meticulous research approach based on the collection, recording, drawing and sketching of elements of the vernacular history of architecture, Kojić had a cold and rational attitude based on statistics and rigid academic study of vernacular architecture. Kojić dealt more with the issues of urbanisation, economy and industrialisation and their influence on the relations between villages and cities, while Deroko remained a romantic seeker and a collector of the old national folklore and rural architecture, which was disappearing in the lead up to socialist industrialisation of the country.

Deroko's house on Topčider Hill confirms his creative work as the role of interpreter of proven formulas of national folk construction. Deprived of useless decorations, which was the main aesthetic characteristic of historical styles such as Renaissance, Baroque, Classicism, etc., this universal form of architecture was created on the basis of natural conditions and the basic construction logic which represented the essence and philosophical basis of architecture for Deroko. This Deroko's masterpiece literally confirmed his thought that the essence of architecture was not only in Greek temples and antiquity as the source of European architecture, nor in the magnificent structures of historical styles, but rather in the essence of primary, primordial and small forms of folk creation.³¹

Deroko transposed the entire beauty of folk construction in his projects of houses. With his talent and skills, he revived and prolonged the life of wooden beams,

ćeramida tiled roofs and generally all elements of vernacular architecture which continued to make connection with nature, and thus the man-nature connection. He was an architect-artist with very pronounced sensibility for the symbolic and aesthetic endeavor of architecture as a discipline which, in addition to technical solutions, has a higher role that is not practical and functionalistic in nature, which was advocated by Modernists in a literal sense. The architecture which is partly art, aesthetics, philosophy and socio-humanistic discipline should transfer knowledge accumulated through the millennia of its existence and thus contribute to the preservation of tradition and its adaptation to the conditions of the modern era.

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Deroko as an architect remained best remembered for his achievements in the domain of sacral architecture. The central basis of Deroko's design orientation when it comes to religious architecture was his determination to study the Byzantine and medieval Serbian architecture. As a student, he worked on the restoration and conservation with his mentor Pera Popović, professor of the Byzantine and Old Serbian architecture at the University of Belgrade and the head of the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction. Interested in history and history of art, Deroko studied Serbian church architecture.

His architectural opus in religious architecture includes 6 completed buildings and 11 unrealised church projects, of which the most important project was the Cathedral of St. Sava, which he worked on in cooperation with professor Bogdan Nestorović, then the Church of Holy Transfiguration in Novo Sarajevo and the church and residence in the Žiža monastery.

The idea of building the Cathedral of St. Sava was related to the independence of the Serbian state and its need for establishing its national integrity in the field of religion and culture of the free Serbian people. The first ideas about building the Cathedral of St. Sava came about at the end of the 1870s. In celebration of the 300th anniversary of the burning of the relics of Saint Sava in Vračar (municipality in Belgrade), the Association for the Building of the Cathedral of St. Sava was founded in 1895.³² The Association actively worked in the Serbian public, wrote the proclamations, encouraged the royal state administration to engage in the task of acquiring the necessary conditions, above all finances, for the construction of a monumental building, a symbol of Serbs and Serb descent, dedicated to the greatest Serbian Archbishop, Saint Sava.

a

b

c

d

e

Fig. 4.

Cathedral of St. Sava
in Belgrade, 1932.
(a and b credits: The
Museum of Science
and Technology
– Collection
Architecture; c,
d, e photo: Srdja
Mirković)

Images A and B present an imaginary axonometric view of the Cathedral of St. Sava. Image B shows one of the variants of searching for the most suitable architectural solution, while the image A is the final solution, which architect Branko Pešić has followed when the construction of the cathedral resumed. Details of the capitals and parts of the pillars in the images C, D, E represent Deroko's authentic design and artistic idea and were made in its entirety before the beginning of WWII. The images were taken in December 2017, and there are scaffolds on which washing and cleaning of capitals and columns is in progress today. The image of the present-day appearance of the church is not included here because the façade is entirely deviated from Deroko's idea of coating the façade with various shades of yellowish massive ashlar in a horizontal style based on the façade of the Visoki Dečani Monastery. Instead of a warm, polychrome variant that would be obtained by stacking the ashlar shades, a cold, monochrome and rigid solution of the façade in a white smooth marble was obtained.

In 1904, on the anniversary of outbreak of the First Serbian Uprising, the board of the Association for the Building of the Cathedral launched an initiative for an architectural competition, and as one of the main conditions, it was emphasised that the cathedral should be designed in a magnificent manner in the Serbo-Byzantine style. The association noted that there were not enough competent experts in the country who could evaluate competitive decisions and decided to request the assistance from the Russian Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. In 1905, the St. Petersburg Academy established that none of the five submitted design ideas for the cathedral fully responded to the requirements of the competition.³³

The Balkan Wars and the WWI postponed the search for the most representative Serbian cathedral. The second competition announced in 1926 also failed after the Commission for the Building of the Cathedral of St. Sava declared that none of the projects fully meet the necessary conditions. It was concluded that many designs provided very interesting and valuable solutions which especially emphasised and appreciated the effect of monumentality and the condition of building a cathedral in the Serbo-Byzantine style. The first and third prizes were not awarded, while the second prize was given to Bogdan Nestorović. Other works were purchased, including the one from Deroko, who was a young assistant professor at the time. The Association for the Building of the Cathedral demanded a magnificent monumental building that would overshadow all Orthodox cathedrals in the Balkans with its magnitude and appearance.³⁴ To that end, they began to search for the best solution which combined the most successful project designs from the competition. After extensive discussions by the church and the general public in 1932, Patriarch Varnava and the Commission for the Building of the Cathedral of St. Sava decided on the final solution, which incorporated changes by a design team comprising Nestorović and Deroko. (Fig. 4)

The controversy surrounding the construction of the Cathedral of St. Sava was the longest and most lively architectural debate conducted in the Serbian public arena through various publications, lectures and tribunes.³⁵ Many opinions were controversial, and one of the central questions was the questions of style in which the cathedral itself should be raised, whether in the twentieth century it was appropriate to build a cathedral on the model of Serbian medieval architecture or to focus on modern solutions of Modernism. Deroko was moderately involved in the debate, he did not question the choice of the Serbo-Byzantine style. He believed that since the Orthodoxy had not changed over the centuries the most probable expression of Serbian Orthodox faith in aesthetic and religious sense could only be represented by Serbian medieval church architecture.³⁶

The project design of the Cathedral of St. Sava by Nestorović and Deroko represented a compromise solution between the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and Gračanica Monastery in Kosovo, which was considered to be the ideal of the Serbian version of the Byzantine style and the ultimate symbol of Serbian medieval architecture. The design idea for the Cathedral of St. Sava embodied the values of the Byzantine and medieval Gračanica architecture, constituting the material and spiritual hints of the Byzantine and Serbian models of a church, which provided a mystical idea about the Cathedral of St. Sava and Belgrade as the “second Constantinople”, the successor and the last stronghold of Orthodoxy toward the Latin West.

The project of the Cathedral of St. Sava is an impressive monumental church with a large shallow dome, 34 meters in diameter, that dominates the entire architectural solution. The shape of the base is the Greek cross (spanning 91 meters east-west and 81 meters in the north-south direction), the ends of the cross are in a visual sense emphasised portals, there are cones in the upper parts above the lines of the cross. The cathedral has four elevation levels: a crypt and treasury below the ground level with a surface of 2,300 square meters, a church at the ground level covering 3,254 square meters, at 13 m height from the ground floor there are three side galleries spanning 1,444 square meters, and there is a 45-meter high circular gallery below the dome. The total area of the cathedral is 8,500 square meters, and the height from the ground floor to the central dome is 65 meters. Nestorović and Deroko aspired to achieve the space and integrity of the space that was supposed to be processed in the technique of the magnificent old Byzantine mosaic. It was planned that the outer lining would be in a smooth stone like at Dečani Monastery, and by alternating the horizontal rows of solid stone tassels in yellowish and gray, a harmonious rhythm on the facade would be achieved.³⁷

Deroko's creative contribution was most prominent in the design of the cathedral's interior and in the design of all stone decorations for façade and its fine artwork. According to Deroko's designs, 24 marble pillars were made in Italy, and 9 gigantic column capitals and 6 consoles were sculpted by Deroko's friend and sculptor Giuseppe Grassi. Particularly interesting are the torned columns in the apse of the temple whose capitals display Deroko's recognisable aesthetics. Each column and capital are unique in its own way. Some capitals show a distinguishable symbol of the two-headed eagle personifying the Serbian imperial mark, while the capitals carry motifs of two doves hugging that associate with the Serbian heraldry of a two-headed eagle. Deroko's doves on the capitals ennoble the strict and cherished heraldry of a two-headed eagle

by replacing it with a tame pair of doves whose necks are intertwined in a love game, which provides a lovely modest manner of decorative processing. Between the embraced doves, there are elegantly styled crosses, and the entire capitals are harmoniously complemented by stylised bundles and floral motifs.

The cathedral was built 12 meters in height when the German bombing of Belgrade began on 6 April 1941, and the country's entry into the WWII halted the construction. During the German occupation, the complete technical documentation was destroyed, only the original design and decorative details that Deroko buried in the basement of his house were saved which were later used as a basis for the continuation of work.

After the WWII, the issue of building a cathedral was no longer topical, even the demolition and conversion of the facility was discussed. Deroko gave several projects of the converted Cathedral of St. Sava to the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Belgrade Radio Broadcasting Company between 1964 and 1967, however none of this was realised. The construction of the Cathedral of St. Sava continued on 14 May 1986, under the leadership of the chief architect Professor Branko Pešić.

Deroko expressed the highest freedom and his personal understanding of the sacred architecture in three churches: the Church of Saint Sava in Split, the Church of Holy Transfiguration in Novo Sarajevo and the Holy Trinity Church in Kraljevo. (Fig. 5) These three churches are based on almost identical design solutions on the basis of a free Greek cross with a wide cube, overlays of the cross are heightened by prominent portals, the space between the lines of the cross is crowned with circular cones and domes, and the external architecture of this church gives the impression of rotunda.

The competition for the Orthodox church of St. Sava in Spalato was announced in 1935. Among 15 designs Deroko submitted two project solutions and won the first and third prize, while the second prize was awarded to the Spalato architect Siciliani. Deroko praised the conditions of the announced competition that offered the freedom of artistic creation, as he pointed out: 'We are no longer forced to follow a pseudo-Byzantine or old Serbian church architecture that was actually invented by the Viennese architect Hansen which has for decades adorned our temples with its fictional and fake decor.'³⁸ Deroko characterised his first-prized design solution as an architecture in the ancient Christian oriental spirit, which directly indicated the correlation of Deroko's theoretical attitudes about the existence of a "primordial Yugoslav" masonry that linked the earliest medieval architecture of Serbian and Croatian territories.³⁹

Fig. 5a. Church of Saint Sava in Split, 1935
(credits: The Museum of Science and Technology – Collection Architecture)

By images A, B and C, I wanted to show the similarity of the architectural solutions of the churches in Split, Kraljevo and Sarajevo. These projects sublimate Deroko's idea of the modern design of a Christian medium-sized church. The central plan with an accentuated spacious dome and lower tetraconch creates a compact solution resembling a rotunda which, with its pure and harmonious appearance, suggests the uniqueness of Christianity in its religious and theological sense.

Fig. 5b. Holy Trinity Church in Kraljevo, 1939
(credits: The Museum of Science and Technology – Collection Architecture)

Fig. 5c. Church of Holy Transfiguration in Novo Sarajevo, 1939-1940.
(source: [https://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Црква_Светог_Преображења_\(Сарајево\)/#/media/File:Crkva_Svetog_Preobrazenja_Sarajevo.JPG](https://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Црква_Светог_Преображења_(Сарајево)/#/media/File:Crkva_Svetog_Preobrazenja_Sarajevo.JPG))

The established hypothesis on the connection between the sacral Serbian buildings of the prehistoric times and the oldest churches on the Croatian coast was architecturally formed by Deroko in his project of the Split Orthodox Church, reminiscent of the oldest sacred buildings such as the early Christian Mausoleum Galla Placidia in Ravenna (5th century), the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Ras (8-12th century), the Church of the Holy Trinity in Poljud near Split (9-11th century) and the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin (11th century). The aforementioned churches constitute the theoretical and material background of Deroko's project pointing to the connection of the East and the West, Byzantium and Rome, or Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Catholic Christianity. Deroko's compact, rotundial solution of the Split Church with a spacious unifying inner space emphasises the universality of the national, religious and ideological cultural concept of Yugoslavism in general.

Deroko's church in Split did not see the light of the day, as was the case with a similar concept conceived for the church of the Holy Trinity in Kraljevo. Only the Church of Holy Transfiguration in Novo Sarajevo was built in 1940. Deroko's inflection from the conservative flows of the design of modern Orthodox shrines into the canon of the Byzantine style, considered to be the prototype of the Serbian national style in architecture, reflected his personal relationship with sacral architecture. The spirituality, warmth and humanity of Orthodoxy were expressed through Deroko's projects of small and modest village churches, built with the lowest material assets by the formula of a practical but aesthetically striking traditional folk construction.

Despite the fact that he taught the Byzantine and Serbian medieval architecture at the university, Deroko as an architect-designer did not follow the tradition of his professors Pera Popović, Branko Tanazević and Momir Korunović, whose projects were the expression of the "most Serbian architecture" seen through the revival of the Byzantine and Moravian styles. An authentic architectural syncretism that united the old Serbian medieval architecture, early Christian influences, the primary forms of sacral architecture on the Yugoslav coast and the vernacular folklore tradition in Deroko's construction was accomplished in all his works. The following of the works were built: the Bell Tower of the St. Demetrius Church in Bitola (1930), the Eparchy residence in Niš (1935), a residence, dining room and a small Church of St. Sava in Žiža (1935-1940). The only Deroko's project that went beyond the aforementioned Deroko's guidelines in church construction is the project of the White Monastery's church, which was done in the spirit of Modernism. Working on the protection and restoration of the Žiža Monastery between 1935 and 1940, in addition to the church of Saint

Fig. 6. The student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty in Belgrade, 1939-40. (a credits: The Museum of Science and Technology – Collection Architecture; b, c, d, e, f, g photo: Srdja Mirković)

The image A shows the building of the student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty in axonometry with a pronounced expressionist expression in fine arts, which is one of the most important Deroko's characteristics in design. The selected images C, D, E, F, G show the details of the student dormitory and were taken in October 2017. These examples emphasize the importance and authenticity Deroko dedicated to the details in the façade arrangement: from robust stone to brick laying in motifs of an equal-armed cross. In the same manner as in Colonel Elezović House, here Deroko also devoted special attention to the wooden doors and modelling of the iron knobs and keys (G).

Sava, which continued Deroko's concept of compact rodondal solutions, he also designed the monastery's residence. The interesting architectural concept of the residence in Žiča points to Deroko's love for Italian Renaissance art, and the residence is unusually similar to the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, while successfully unifying the Byzantine, Romanesque and Renaissance influences.

One of Deroko's most exquisite architectural accomplishments, besides the Cathedral of St. Sava, is the student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty built in 1939-40. (Fig. 6) Deroko worked on it in collaboration with Petar Anagnosti, who was in charge of technical problems and the production of drawn axonometric representations. The student dormitory was noted as an outstanding example of modernity and modernist architecture.⁴⁰ Deroko's project of the boarding student residence certainly expresses the influence of Modernism, but at the same time emphasises the strong connection with tradition. Opinion of the public on the so-called "outstanding modernity" of the project should be interpreted in the context of the growing influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its aspiration to affirm the Orthodox Theology Faculty as a new modern member of the University of Belgrade. The faculty became part of the univeristy in 1920.

With this project expressing the client's desire to present the teaching of theology from the perspective of modernity and actuality, Deroko expressed himself in an inversive way that modernist formulas of architecture applied in a traditional way. Since this is a profane architecture, the logic of building with traditional materials and techniques, such as those Deroko advocated in his projects, was not suitable in this case, but the point was in the application of the most modern construction techniques. His concept of modernism in construction, the linear contours of simple rectangular masses, the flat roof and the emphasis on the horizontal modeling of the façade, was embedded in the symbols of tradition in a wider and general sense of understanding architecture that had nothing in common with the "Serbo-Byzantine style", which was still one of the directions of architecture at that time. The very notion of tradition in Deroko's entire architectural creation is to be seen from a liberal, cultural and humanistic angle. In Deroko's projects tradition is perceived as a historical period and the transfer of knowledge, skills, customs and traditions which continue and maintain the cultural continuity of one nation and its artistic expression. In this context, the most expressive traditional element is the bright red brick that coats the façade of the student dormitory. The red colour of the brick evokes the strongest feelings in man and symbolically points to the spirit and warmth of the Serbian orthodox christian religion.

The domination of red the façade is broken up by gray elements: the giant symbol of the stone cross on the central corner tower, the ground level garnished in rustic gray stones and reinforced concrete beams above the windows. Deroko's choice of the brick façade alludes to the ancient forms of Mesopotamian building and a man's connection with soil, clay, crafts and nature. The brick had become an irreplaceable part of the tradition of building construction through centuries and millennia, from Sumer to the Romans. Its significance was increasingly fading in the twentieth century. Deroko used brick in most of his buildings for accentuating and performing details such as the often-used symbol of brick cross.

When it comes to the student dormitory, the smart rhythm of bricks matching the multiplication of a Greek cross creates a geometric pattern on the façade in the fields between the windows. The connection to the tradition is manifested in the tactile and natural material of gray rustically treated stone blocks, which are covered with facade to the ground level, and also in the large symbol of the cross on the central highest cube of the building.

Deroko combined tradition and modernism in the project of theological student dormitory. The line-like constructive frame is also reflected on the façade, the sculptural ornamentation is completely eliminated, and the decoration appears as part of the façade woven or sealed into the façade surface. The student dormitory sums Deroko's compromised path in the architecture of public buildings, relying on tradition, but standing in contrast to the anachronistic tendencies of the "Serbo-Byzantine" style and associating with modernism and contemporary trends in architecture.

Besides this dormitory, in the domain of the public profane architecture, Deroko made a design project for the new building of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, which he submitted in a competition in 1940. This project fully reflected the modernist tendencies, which could be interpreted as Deroko's opportunistic move to adapt the general characteristics of his architectural style to the requirements of the competition and the latest trends in world architecture.

MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE

Tombs, mausoleums, tombstones from the beginning of humanity form an important field of human expression, contemplation and view on the world, life and death, society and others, as well as the relation to oneself, but above all, the relation to the metaphysical, religious and theological being that overcomes us.

Memorial architecture is a human trail in time, history, culture and civilisation. It contains the most sensitive messages, emotions, sublime thoughts and feelings that, by their materialisation in architecture, mark important points in time, trying to save them from the oblivion and preserving them throughout the culture of memory.

Deroko appreciated the artistic and symbolic possibilities offered by the memorial architecture that occupied a very important place in his architectural opus, numbering 9 monuments and memorials, which were built, and 4 unrealised projects. He started his public design work exactly with memorial architecture by creating a competition project for the Memorial Ossuary at Vido island near Corfu in 1925. The architecture of the ossuary points to universal symbols, without the influence of national features. Imagined as a large circular stone wall, it resembles the open tolос Atreus Treasury in the Mycenae.

In 1926, Deroko devised a competition project for the Memorial Chapel at Zeitenlik, followed by a project for the Memorial of Field Marshal Putnik in 1927. He was awarded the first prize for the latter, but it was not completed in line with his design. While studying in Rome, Deroko met Ivan Meštrović and highly appreciated his work, especially Meštrović's project of the Vidovdan Temple. Meštrović's influence is apparent in Deroko's project for the Monument to Field Marshal Putnik, conceived as a monumental sarcophagus set on an imposing cube-shaped stand in the form of a high staircase, at the corners of which are the four lion sculptures. At the top of the staircase plateau, a cascading building was installed with an entrance portal that resembles a temple on which this massive stone sarcophagus rests with caryatids in the spirit of Secession style.

In cooperation with his professor Pera Popović in 1928, Deroko designed a tomb chapel for the Barlovac family at the New Cemetery in Belgrade. This work combines reminiscences of different historical styles: Gothic, Romanesque, Oriental, Byzantine, and Serbian religious medieval architecture, which is especially evident in the positioning of stone blocks of the chapel. The sculptural treatment in stone is emphasised on the chapel, in the archaic romantic way, that is evident in the sculptural symbols of the four evangelists: angel, winged lion, bull and eagle, which are embedded in niches on the tambour of the chapel dome. At the New Cemetery in Belgrade, Deroko designed three more monuments: a tombstone for the Kićevac family (1934), a tomb chapel for General Nikolajević (1938) and a tombstone for the Denić family (1939). The influence of archaic pagan architecture is particularly emphasised in the first monument, while the remaining two monuments emphasise the influence

Fig. 7. The tomb chapel for Officer Nikolajević at the New Cemetery in Belgrade, 1938. (photo: Srdja Mirković)

Out of all Deroko's monuments of sepulchral architecture, the tomb chapel for Officer Nikolajević (Fig. 7) was chosen, because it is a chapel rather than a tombstone, and the architectural expression manifests itself in a more elaborated and complete manner. The detail here (right) is very similar to the motives that appear on the tombstone of the Denić family, where Deroko's conciliatory and poetic relation to death is summed up through the fairytale floral and animal ornaments.

Fig. 8. Memorial turbe for Osman Djikić in Mostar, 1934-36. (source: <http://prica-i-pjesma.blogspot.it/2017/11/osman-i-zora-aurka-mila.html>)

Fig. 9. Memorial Ossuary of the Vidovdan Heroes at Orthodox cemetery in Sarajevo, 1939. (source: <https://sarajevo.travel/assets/photos/places/original/the-chapel-of-the-vidovdan-heroes-1397393303.jpg>)

Figures 8, 9 and 10 were chosen to present Deroko's works that I considered the most significant in the domain of memorial architecture. In these images, Deroko's memorial monuments were presented as a whole, because I followed the idea of the perspective display of whole memorials which, in aesthetic and perceptual sense, act on the observer, especially when the observer approaches them from a distance, which is complemented by a special ceremonial and emotional experience that the observer has at that moment.

of the Serbian medieval church architecture and folklore traditions, represented in motifs like fairy tales – the romantic vine leaves, the doves, the arabesque and herbal ornaments. (Fig. 7)

Deroko is also behind the monument to Osman Djikić at the cemetery near the Karadžozbeg Mosque in Mostar (1934-36), which he was very proud of. (Fig. 8) Deroko as a great admirer and connoisseur of history, found inspiration in the ziggurats and calottes of the ancient civilisations of Persia and Mesopotamia. The entire monument was made in horizontal rows of bright red bricks. The monument was conceived as a walled baldachin with an egg-shaped dome. Under the baldachin there is a stone sarcophagus and two *nišans* – a Muslim shape of a tombstone. The committee of state commissioners assessed Deroko's monument as imposing, and a serious, peaceful and dignified architecture that provides far greater magnificence than any Moorish elaborate style, Modernism or Baroque pseudo-Muslim style.⁴¹ Encouraged by the wishes of the commissioners to bring national and religious-local elements into architecture, Deroko designed a monument to a great Serbian Muslim poet as a form of neutralisation of the oriental sepulcal architecture by depriving the monument of extensive decoration and the usual arabesque. He superpositioned the decoration in a symbolic-expressive sense, using extensively red colour bricks.

Of all his architectural accomplishments Deroko was most proud of the Memorial Ossuary of Vidovdan Heroes built in 1939 at the Orthodox cemetery in Sarajevo. (Fig. 9) Members of the “Young Bosnia” – Gavrilo Princip and other participants in the Sarajevo assassination on Vidovdan, 28 June 1914, in which the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Franc Ferdinand was killed, were buried in the ossuary.⁴²

In this spatially small, but historically significant project, Deroko was guided by his ever-present aspiration for the continuity of the tradition. In the walls of the chapel he embedded the *spolia* of the monument from the old Vrbanj cemetery, these remains of old tombstones with inscriptions on archaic Cyrillic letters provided special aesthetic and spiritual qualities to the chapel. In the architectural sense, the chapel resembles the small basic forms of the first single-naos churches with two low towers, among which the names of Gavrilo Princip and the other ten participants in the Sarajevo assassination are inscribed on the façade, while the vault of the lunette is followed by Petar Petrović Njegoš's verses from *The Mountain Wreath*: ‘Congrats to the one who lives forever, he was born for a lot!’ Above the lunette on the façade, a frequent Deroko symbol of the cross was made with red brick, which contrasts with white stone blocks of the chapel.

In the period after the WWII, Deroko was poorly engaged in design work. The only significant work that was realised in 1952-53 was a monument to the Kosovo heroes in Gazimestan. (Fig. 10) The history of building a monument to Serbian heroes killed in the Kosovo Battle of 1389 is very long. At the beginning of the twentieth century the idea of unifying the South Slavs became increasingly present. At that time one of the most eminent Croatian and Yugoslav artists Ivan Meštrović began to work on the project of the Vidovdan Temple – a memorial to the famous victims and heroes of the Kosovo Battle. From 1910 to 1919, Meštrović exhibited sculptures and a model of Vidovdan Temple at world exhibitions in Vienna, Rome, Belgrade, Venice, London, Glasgow, Bradford and Paris. The basis of the Yugoslav national style in art and architecture was created through the grandiose and imposing project of a large-scale temple with a large number of sculptures expressing the characteristic power of Meštrović's monumental heroic style and classicistic pathos. This confirmed the idea of the undisputed unity of the South Slavic tribes. The myth of the Kosovo Battle had always been a basic element of the Serbian cultural history, and it was built through Serbian folk epic poetry which sang praises to the 1389 battle between the Serbian and Ottoman armies in the Kosovo Field. The Ottoman army won, after which the Serbian medieval state gradually completely fell under the Ottoman rule, and was liberated only in the early nineteenth century. As a symbol of Serbian nationalism, the cult of Kosovo for centuries was the basis of various irrational pretensions of the Serbian state for revanchism and the return of King Dušan's and Prince Lazar's empire. The Kosovo cult involved a whole series of ideas about the particularities, speciality and extraordinary nature of the Serbian people which, by bloody death and sacrifice for the homeland, rose to the position of the winner in the kingdom of heaven thanks to the Kosovo myth narrative.

Fig. 10. Gazimestan monument, 1952-53 (Source: Left: <https://enjoypristina.wordpress.com/2012/07/25/gazimestan-tower/>; Right: Zoran M. Jovanović, *Aleksandar Deroko*, (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Društvo konzervatora Srbije, 1991), 85.

In the Vidovdan Temple Meštrović achieved a unitaristic message embodied in the universally understood personification of the Kosovo Battle, according to which each of the three Yugoslav nations – Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – had their own battle in which they were defeated by the conquerors. Deroko's approach to the Kosovo issue was far more conspiratorial in terms of adapting the architectural and artistic expression to new historical, political and social circumstances in Tito's socialist Yugoslavia, in which the political and ideological influence of the Kosovo cult was significantly reduced and amortised by the communist politics of fraternity and unity.

Deroko's idea did not rely on the national romantic elements around which the Serbian nationalist ideals were united, but rather sought to balance between universal architectural features. As on the monument to Osman Djikić, Deroko performed the so-called "neutralisation" of the expected response to a given subject, deviating from the *cliché* of formal materialisation of Muslim sepulchral architecture, he applied the same principle in his architectural solution to the monument in Gazimestan.

It is shaped like a medieval 25-meter-high tower, built of rustically treated stone ashlar. The simple look of the mediaval defence tower is associated with a clear symbolism of defense that can be very widely understood in the extent of the nationalist views of Kosovo as the last bastion of Serbs to be defended until the last drop of blood, to the pacifist views of the futility of warfare and sacrifice.

Since the Gazimestan memorial complex is located not far from Gračanica – the symbol of Serbian medieval architecture and the main basis for formulating the so-called Serbian national style architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – it was to be expected that Deroko's monument would bear some kind of resemblance to the Byzantine tradition. However, he deliberately avoided the emphasis on national differences, which would be obvious had he used the motives in the spirit of the Serbo-Byzantine tradition. In this way Deroko did not only circumvent the emphasis of Serbian national prototypes, but rather by choosing architectural forms, mitigated the importance of the Kosovo myth and the Kosovo cult. The only thing that is directly related to the Kosovo myth appears in the interior of the monument, where verses from the folk epic poems of the Kosovo cycle, selected by the poet Milorad Panić Surep, are written in bronze letters on the staircase platforms. The fact that the verses are inscribed inside the tower, and not on the outside, indicates Deroko's tendency to realise an image of universal neutrality, reconciliation and integrity that was conducive to new means of artistic, aesthetic and symbolic expression in 1952, which had nothing in common with Deroko's designs in the pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Table 1.

YEAR	COMPLETED PROJECTS	UNCOMPLETED PROJECTS
1925		Competition project for National Pavilion of Kingdom of SHS at the International Exposition in Philadelphia Competition project for Memorial Ossuary at Vido island near Corfu
1926		Competition project for Memorial Chapel with Ossuary at Zeitenlik – Serbian military cemetery in Thessaloniki Diploma thesis design for the Cathedral of Saint Sava in Belgrade
1927	The house of Colonel Elezović on 20 Njegoševa Street in Belgrade The house of lawyer Simić on 25 Tuzlanska Street in Belgrade	First-prize competition project for the Field Marshall Putnik monument in Belgrade
1928		Design for a wooden church Design for a village church
1929	The house on the corner of the streets Jovanova and Dositejeva in Belgrade The house of Marinković family on 16 Suvoborska Street in Belgrade Tombstone chapel of the Barlovac family at the New Cemetery in Belgrade	
1930	The House in Vrnjačka Banja Bell Tower of the Saint Demetrius Church in Bitola	Design for a village church with two bell towers Design for a village church with one bell tower Design for a village church with one “distaff” bell tower Competition project for interior design of Saint Mark’s Church in Belgrade
1931	Villa of Obrad Simić on 5a Banjičkih žrtava Street in Belgrade	
1932	Final design for the Cathedral of Saint Sava in Belgrade (teamwork with Bogdan Nestorović) The house of Hristić family in Topčider, Belgrade	
1934	Memorial <i>turbe</i> of Osman Djikić in Mostar Tombstone for Kićevac family at the New Cemetery in Belgrade	Design for the Hristić family villa
1935	Residence of Eparchy in Niš Residence, dining room and the little Church of Saint Sava in Žiča Monastery	Design for the house of painter Milo Milunović in Senjak, Belgrade Final design for the Church of Saint Sava in Split Design for the house of the Teokarević family in Bar

1936	Aleksandar Deroko's family house in Topčider, Belgrade	
1937	Villa of lawyer Stakić on 2 Miloša Savčića Street in Dedinje, Belgrade	
1938	The tomb chapel of Officer Nikolajević at the New Cemetery in Belgrade	Design for the house in Srem
1939	The tombstone monument for the Denić family at the New Cemetery in Belgrade	Design for a church in modern style in Beli Manastir Design for the Holy Trinity Church in Kraljevo
1939 - 1940	Church of Holy Transfiguration in New Sarajevo Memorial Ossuary of Vidovdan Heroes at Orthodox cemetery in Sarajevo The Boarding student residence of the Orthodox Theology Faculty in Belgrade	
1940	The village house in Pružatovac near Mladenovac	Competition project for the building of Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade
1942	Memorial Ossuary in Smederevo	Design for the new church with crypt in Pružatovac near Mladenovac
1943	Primary school (today School "Dimitrije Davidović") in Smederevo	Design for village school with two classrooms
1944		Design for village school with four classrooms Design for village school with two classrooms
1952 - 1953	Gazimestan monument	
1958	Monument for Muhamed Zildžić	
1959		Design for the motel in Studenica
1960.		Tombstone monument for Jovan Dučić in Trebinje
1963.	Interior adaptation of the Belgrade National Museum (with associates)	
1964 - 1967		Design for the conversion of the project of Belgrade Sveti Sava Cathedral in Serbian Orthodox Church Museum
1984		Competition project for Delijska česma fountain on Knez Mihajlova Street in Belgrade

CONCLUSION

Today, thirty years after Deroko's death, and almost thirty years after the war and the break-up of Yugoslavia, evaluating and interpreting his creative opus is a very complex task. From which point of view should Deroko's architectural and design work be considered? Should it be from the standpoint of academic terminology that he created in his research work, or from the standpoint of Serbism or Yugoslavism, tradition or modernism? Without any attempt to justify Deroko's accomplishments, regardless of the time in which he lived and created, regardless of all historical, political and ideological circumstances, we can conclude that Deroko has remained the embodiment of a great creator, a brilliant mind and an enlightenment *protomajstor* (master builder).

Undoubtedly one of the most appropriate ways of understanding Deroko's architectural opus goes through the line of aesthetics and art, but above all, always keeping in mind the integrity which, as a cardinal postulate, covers all the domains of Deroko's creativity, not just the design of architecture. As a designer, he was primarily an artist, and then an architect. Deroko's drawings, paintings, sketches of projects, croquis and drawings of real life scenes, the life in which Deroko was an active participant, were in a way a deviation from responsible academic speech exposed to the public judgement. In the realm of drawing and painting Deroko was a free romantic artist, inspired by irrational visions and inexplicable wonders of life. In design, he approached the architecture from a sensitive and aesthetic side, always through free drawings, through sketches that were transformed into symbolic text and a kind of unique and ever-recognisable narration. This genuine artistic approach highlights another significant side of Deroko's creative personality through the highest spiritual need of man to articulate art in a higher philosophical dimension of architecture beyond its pragmatic and utilitarian purpose.

Regardless of the functional, technical, social, political and other demands that architecture imposes, as the architect is always a restricted artist due to all these demands, Deroko managed to find an absolutely authentic, unrepeatable and generally recognisable expression in all circumstances during his long life, whether it was in architecture, painting, written and spoken word, science or research practice. It is enough to only look at Deroko's signature, drawing or construction to recognise that it was made by him.

The Renaissance creator, erudite, and polymath realised his elaborate Baroque nature in all segments of life from the exciting night life of bistros, his acerbic writing of research studies, tireless exploration of cultural heritage, original

architectural practice, to writing books of memories of the past and quickly forgotten time of Deroko's youth. Deroko wrote his memories in a juicy, lively and expressive style. In analogy to Deroko's drawings that unite different thematic fragments on the same paper, making the type of drawn collage of thoughts. As well as the drawing, Deroko's written word buzzes from one topic to another. In this twist of Deroko's sentimental descriptions, full of archaic Old Belgrade expressions, an emotional atmosphere is created that inspires the reader to completely surrender and let down to the torrent of Deroko's playful and fearless perception of life and art with a deep aesthetic thrill.

We can conclude that Deroko's architecture, which many consider traditional, old-fashioned and conservative, was created as an expression of the national style in the spirit of Serbo-Byzantine tradition and vernacularism. Contrary to this view, Deroko's architecture can be viewed as an authentic concept of the aesthetic, emotional and perceptive way of artistic expression that is inextricably linked to numerous segments of Deroko's Baroque personality. In this concept of emotional, expressive, eclectic and rationally incompatible endeavors in architecture, an image of Deroko is created as an avant-garde creator, a rebel who did not want to bow to any style of architecture. Being restless, joyous and passionate in drawing, writing, and architecture, Deroko found a gap between tradition and modernity, in which he placed his authentic, original, and unique understanding of architecture.

NOTES

N.B.

Most of the images used in the paper are author photographs made purposely and were taken in 2017. The central theme of a significant number of these photographs is the details of Deroko's architecture. I believe that the photographs of the selected details 1C, 1D, 1E, 4C, 4D, 4E, 6C, 6D, 6E, 6F, 6G and 7-right best illustrate Deroko's creative syncretism which in a personal way encompasses Deroko's understanding of Serbian vernacular, medieval sacral and modernist architecture. Details of locks, keyholes, house numbers, specific ornamental doors, beams, dripstones, small polychrome facade details are embedded with empathic poetics and constitute the main characteristic of Deroko's highly authentic architecture. An important role of heritage and tradition is embedded in these small elements of design, and these details emphasize Deroko's most important thought that any future architecture, no matter how modern, different, and special it is, should seek to remain in continuity with tradition. This is due to the fact that, without tradition, there is no modernity, without history and sense of who we were before, we will not know who we are now or where we are going tomorrow. Most of Deroko's constructed buildings of residential architecture have suffered many changes to their original appearance to date, and for this reason I chose to photograph those houses that have largely preserved Deroko's authorial ideas.

- 1 Deroko was a professional swimmer, athlete, a pilot and defender of Belgrade in the World War I and II. He was a painter, draftsman, photographer, architect-designer, historian of art and architecture, writer and chronicler of his time. He was one of the greatest experts in restauration and protection of Serbian cultural heritage, a university professor, academician, and holder of numerous awards and recognitions.
- 2 See: Zoran Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900-1970* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1972); Aleksandar Kadijević, *Jedan vek traženja nacionalnog stila u srpskoj arhitekturi* (Sredina XIX – sredina XX veka) (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1997); Ksenija Čirić, "Internat studenata Pravoslavnog bogoslovnog fakulteta u Beogradu," *Nasleđe*, br. 15 (2014): 77-83.
- 3 Deroko's architectural activity of greater significance includes the project of the Cathedral of Saint Sava, which is still in progress, the Church of Holy Transfiguration in New Sarajevo, the student dormitory of the Orthodox Theology Faculty and the Monument at Gazimestan.
- 4 The international magazine *Zenit* was published in Zagreb from 1921 to 1923, and from 1923 to 1926 in Belgrade, when the pro-Communist article "Zenithism through the prism of Marxism" led to the magazine being banned. In total, 43 issues of the *Zenit* magazine were published, which involved collaboration of a large number of artists throughout Yugoslavia: Ivan Gol, Boško Tokin, Jovan Bijelić, Dušan Matić, Stanislav Vinaver, Avgust Černigoj, Eduard Stepančić, Vilko Gecan, Vera Biller, Branko Ve Poljanski, Mihajlo Petrov, Josip Seissel (Jo Klek), and many others.
- 5 The Yugoslav Surrealism was authentic creation of Yugoslav artists that collaborated with french surrealists. The most active members of Yugoslav Surrealism were: Aleksandar Vučo, Oskar Davičo, Marko Ristić, Milan Dedinac, Mladen Dimitrijević, Vane Živadinović Bor, Radojica Živanović Noe, Dušan Matić i Koča Popović.
- 6 Deroko took the exam for pilots in France on 7 November 1915 and received a French Ministry of Defense certificate. The French government awarded him with a significant order "Vieilles tuges" in 1978.
- 7 Deroko wrote autobiographical data on his childhood, youth and later life as the end of his long life was approaching, in exciting archaic language full of passion and beauty in books *A odak je letijo jeroplan nad Beogradom* [*An' Then a Plane Flew o'er Belgrade*] (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1983) and *Mangupluci oko Kalemegdana. Nova sećanja* [*Mischief around Kalimegdan: New Recollections*] (Belgrade, Opovo: Simbol, 1987).
- 8 Members of the *Commission for the Preservation of Historical Monuments* were prominent scientists: Dragutin Anastasijević, Nikola Vulić, Stanoje Stanojević, Vladimir Čorović, Vladimir Petković, Petar Popović, Momir Korunović and Dragutin Maslač.
- 9 Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e; XV et XVI siècles* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fontemoing et C. Éditeurs, 1916);

- Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, Librairie des Archives nationales et de la Société de l'École de Charles, 1910); Auguste Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez Byzantins* (Paris: Librairie de la Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1883).
- 10 Aleksandar Deroko, *A ondak je letijo jeroplan nad Beogradom* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1983), 141-170.
- 11 Unknown autor, "Svečano otvaranje vizantološkog kongresa," *Politika* (12.4.1927).
- 12 Unknown autor, "Beogradski univerzitet šalje u primorske krajeve g. Aleksandra Deroka da snimi umetničke spomenike prenamanjčskog doba," *Vreme* (8.8.1929).
- 13 Aleksandar Deroko, "Tri manastira srednjovekovnog Rasa," *Misao*, br. 10 (1922): 1673-1686; Aleksandar Deroko, "Povodom jednog S.O.S. apela," *Misao*, br. 12 (1923): 838-841; Aleksandar Deroko, "Skulptura Matere božije u Sokolici," *Pokret*, br. 8 (1924): 119-121; Aleksandar Deroko, "Jedna potrebna orijentacija u našoj umetnosti," *Pokret*, br. 43-46 (1925): 300-304; Aleksandar Deroko, "Pre tolikih stoleća," *Vreme* (6,7,8.01.1926); Aleksandar Deroko, "Rušenje Banove zadužbine u Gradcu zato što nije u 'stilu' pravoslavnih crkava," *Vreme* (2.10.1926); Aleksandar Deroko, "Izložbe naših vizantiskih umetničkih dela," *Politika* (12.4.1927); Aleksandar Deroko, "Monumentalno slikarstvo XIII veka," *Vreme* (1927.) Aleksandar Deroko, "Roždestvo u Svetome Spasu," *Vreme* (6,7,8,9.1.1929); Aleksandar Deroko, "Monumentalna arhitektura nemanjićska," *Vreme* (6.7.8.9. 01.1929); Aleksandar Deroko, "U mrtvim gradovima Duklje," *Vreme* (28.8.1929); Aleksandar Deroko, "Zlatno doba stare srpske arhitekture," *Raška*, I (1929); Aleksandar Deroko, "Srpski spomenici u okolini Skadra," *Srpski književni glasnik*, XXVIII (1929): 32-35.
- 14 Aleksandar Deroko, "Stara jugoslovenska umetnost," *Vreme* (6.7.8.9.01.1930); Aleksandar Deroko, Aleksandar Deroko, "Prvi dani jugoslovenske umetnosti," *Vreme* (6.01.1931); Aleksandar Deroko, "Naše starine," *Vreme* (11.12.13.14.04.1931).
- 15 On the ideology of Yugoslavia and its reflection in architecture, see: Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslav Architecture 1904-1941* (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2007).
- 16 Aleksandar Deroko, "The Old Yugoslav Art," *Vreme* (1930).
- 17 Aleksandar Deroko, "Naša folklorna arhitektura," *Umetnički pregled*, br. 3 (mart 1940): 72-79.
- 18 See: Aleksandar Deroko, "O estetici narodnog neimarstva," *Umetnost* br.1 (1949); Aleksandar Deroko, "Naše stare kuće i orijent," *Pregled arhitekture* (1955); Aleksandar Deroko, "Narod kao tehničar i pronalazač," *Tehničke novine*, n. 9 (1958); Aleksandar Deroko, "Iz materijalne kulture prošlosti," *Glasnik SANU*, CXII (1963); Aleksandar Deroko, *Folklorna arhitektura u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1964); Aleksandar Deroko, *Narodno neimarstvo, I i II* (Beograd: SANU, 1969).
- 19 See: Irena Kuletin Čulafić, "Teorija arhitekture u Srbiji između dva svetska rata," u *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji XX vek: Moderna i modernizmi 1878-1941*, Vol. 3, Editor Miško Šuvaković, (Beograd: Orion art, 2014).
- 20 See: Milutin Borisavljević, "Arhitekt ili inženjer?," *Pravda* (1928); Milutin Borisavljević, "Šta je to arhitekt?," *Pravda* (1929); Milutin Borisavljević, "Predavanje jednog inženjera o arhitekturi," *Pravda* (1929) "Jeste ili nije? G. Kojić nije arhitekt," *Pravda* (1930); Branislav Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvika arhitektonske struke u Beogradu: 1920-1940* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1979); Gorica B. Ljubenov, Mirjana Roter-Blagojević, "Disappearance of the Traditional Architecture – The Key Study of Stara Planina Villages," *SAJ – Serbian Architectural Journal*, Vol. 8 (2016): 45-46.
- 21 GAMP group of architects in 1929. arranged "First Exhibition of Architecture", in 1931 "First Yugoslav Exhibition of Architecture", and in 1933 "Second Yugoslav Exhibition of Architecture".
- 22 Besides a great number of scientific papers and articles Deroko also published important monographs and capital issues in the field of history and theory of architecture and protection of architectural heritage: Aleksandar Deroko, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Makedoniji i Crnoj Gori* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1950); Aleksandar Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura* (Beograd: Narodna

knjiga, 1953); Aleksandar Deroko, *Arhitektura starog veka* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1964); Aleksandar Deroko, *Spomenici arhitekture IX-XVIII veka u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1964); Aleksandar Deroko, *Folklorna arhitektura u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1964); Aleksandar Deroko, *Srednjovekovni gradovi na Dunavu* (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1964); Aleksandar Deroko, *Sa starim neimarima* (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1966); Aleksandar Deroko, *Narodno neimarstvo, I, II* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1968).

23 Miloš Crnjanski, "Naše starine," *Vreme* (15.04.1934).

24 Dragoslav Adamović, "Ko je na vas presudno uticao i zašto?," *Politika* (1974).

25 About Deroko's affinity toward zenithism and surrealism see in: Moma Dimić, "Kuće i drugi neimarski dani," *Gradina* br. 8, 9 (1981).

26 See: Aleksandar Deroko, "Narodno neimarstvo: balkon-klupa i ograda-klupa u Raškome kraju," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, XIII (1933); Aleksandar Deroko, "Naša folklorna arhitektura: brvnara u Raškome kraju," *Godišnjak Tehničkog fakulteta Univeziteta u Beogradu*, (1935); Aleksandar Deroko, "Naša folklorna arhitektura: slamnjača, dubirog, krivača," *Godišnjak Tehničkog fakulteta Univeziteta u Beogradu* (1937).

27 Bogdan Bogdanović, *Aleksandar Deroko* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1981).

28 The originality and uniqueness of Deroko's architectural style was highly valued by one of his best students, Bogdan Bogdanović. From his professor Deroko young Bogdanović asorbed the magic formula of architecture and its philosophy, seen as a secret magic tradition that was transmitted within the architectural fraternity for centuries from Plato, through Palladio, Bernini, Piranesi, Ledoux to Deroko and Bogdanović. Each of these "cursed master builders" had a unique style whose essential features were respect for nature, tradition, history, culture and common human values. See further about Bogdan Bogdanović's particular style in: Vladimir Vuković, "Writing About Cities. Literary Works of Bogdan Bogdanović About Cities and Urbanism," *SAJ – Serbian Architectural Journal*, Vol. 3 (2011): 3, 9.

29 See: Zoran Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900-1970* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1972); Aleksandar Kadijević, *Momir Korunović* (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1996).

30 See: Branislav Kojić, "Balkanska profana arhitektura," *Tehnički list* br. 1, 2 (Zagreb, 1935); Branislav Kojić, "Arhitektura našeg sela," *Tehnički list* br. 7, 8 (Zagreb, 1935); Branislav Kojić, "Simbolizam u arhitekturi," *Tehnički list* br. 15, 16 (Zagreb, 1939); Branislav Kojić, *Arhitektura srpskog sela: Razvoj od XVIII veka do danas* (Beograd: Tehnički fakultet, 1941); Branislav Kojić, *Stara gradska i seoska arhitektura u Srbiji* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1949); Branislav Kojić, *Arhitektonsko uređenje sela* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1954); Branislav Kojić, *Seoska arhitektura i rurizam: Teorija i elementi* (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 1958).

31 Aleksandar Deroko, "Estetika kuće u polju," *Umetnički pregled* br. 5 (februar 1938).

32 *Association for the Building of the Cathedral of Saint Sava* was founded by Metropolitan bishop Mihajlo and 100 distinguished Belgrade citizens, for details see: Branko Pešić, *Memorial Church of St. Sava on Vračar in Belgrade 1895-1988* (Belgrade: Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, 1988), 15, 16.

33 Designs by architects Svetožar Ivačković, Sava Dimitrijević and Dimitrije T. Leko were purchased, while two designs were eliminated because they did not fulfill the main design requirement of the Serbian-Byzantine style.

34 "Kakav će biti spomen-hram Svetog Save u Beogradu," *Politika* (2.1.1932).

35 Critical articles that were mostly published in the daily newspaper *Vreme* were written by various prominent Serbian architects, artists, writers, critics, scientists, historians, etc. We will list only some of them: Ivan Meštrović, Jan Dubovi, Milutin Borisavljević, Aleksandar Vasić, Kosta Strajnić, Dragiša Brašovan, Milan Zloković, Dimitrije Leko, Đurđe Bošković, Nikola Dobrović, Toma Rosandić, Milan Minić, Aleksandar Deroko.

- 36 Aleksandar Deroko, "Kako treba da izgleda budući monumentalni hram Svetog Save," *Vreme* (10.2.1932); Aleksandar Deroko, "Prvi monumentalni hram Beograda," *Srpski književni glasnik*, XXXVII (septembar, 1932): 630-631; Aleksandar Deroko, "Hram Svetog Save," *Vreme* (6.1.1933).
- 37 For more detailed information on works on the construction of the Cathedral of St. Sava, see: Branko Pešić, Memorial Church of St. Sava on Vračar in Belgrade 1895-1988 (Belgrade: Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, 1988).
- 38 Unknown autor, "Split dobija novu crkvu," *Vreme* (12.5.1935).
- 39 Explaining his church project in Split, Deroko stated: "Before the ancient Croatian Dalmatia was flooded by the West, and Serbia alternately by the West and the Byzantium, we all built in unusually similar manner... this method of construction had its own distinctive style. These buildings were full of religious mysticism, they were not just ghostly panoramas, they were real oratories." Ibid.)
- 40 Unknown autor, "Novi internat za studente Teološkog fakulteta," *Politika* (16.11.1939).
- 41 H, "Spomen-turbe Osmanu Đikiću," *Vreme* (16.3.1934).
- 42 The remains of the participants in the Sarajevo assassination were taken from prisons throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire and on 7 July 1920, they were buried together in the Orthodox cemetery in Sarajevo, which was located on the site of today's Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This cemetery was in a very neglected state for centuries, so it was decided to move the cemetery to a new location, with the remains of the Sarajevo assassins being exhumed and transferred to the new chapel of the Holy Archangels George and Gabriel, designed by Alexander Deroko.

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