

**MEMORY
OF THE CITY**

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OF THE CITY**
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PREOBRAŽAJI TRGA SLAVIJA U
BEOGRADU: ISTORIJA, SEĆANJE I
KONSTRUKCIJA IDENTITETA
**TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SLAVIJA
SQUARE IN BELGRADE: HISTORY, MEMORY
AND CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY**

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Urbana memorija predstavlja sastavni deo procesa utvrđivanja sistema vrednosti u društvu i konstruisanja kolektivnih identiteta. Kreiraju je mesta sećanja, koja upisana u topografiju grada stvaraju okvir unutar koga pojedinac uspostavlja odnos sa grupom, zajednicom, odnosno društvom kome pripada, ili od kojih se distancira. Analiza slojevitosti različitih nanosa memorije koji se zadržavaju nezavisno od institucionalnog i organizovanog promovisanja određenih sistema znakova, otvara prostor za razumevanje "simboličke istorije" i preko nje stvarnosti koja epizode prošlost pamti, izmišlja, odnosno (svesno ili ne) zaboravlja.

U topografiji Beograda centralnu gradsku osovinu kreiraju tačke Trg Republike – Terazije – Slavija. Oko njih je struk-

Urban memory is an inherent part of the process of establishing a system of values in a society and of constructing collective identities. It is created by places of memory that are inscribed in a city's topography. These places create a framework within which the individual establishes a relationship to the group, community or society she or he belongs to, or which she or he distances herself/himself from. The analysis of the layers created by different deposits of memory - retained independently from the institutional and organized promotion of certain sign systems, opens up a space for understanding a "symbolic history", and to that effect a reality which is remembered, imagined or forgotten (whether consciously or not).

In the topography of Belgrade, the city's central axis is created by the points Trg Republike, Terazije and Slavija. The city is

tuiran grad čije je širenje obeleženo usponima i padovima – spontanim, neretko haotičnim procesima, osmišljenim urbanističkim poduhvatima, ali i brojnim razaranjima. Iako se iz ptičije perspektive pomenuti trgovi jasno izdvajaju po svom položaju u gradu, sa promenom perspektive i analizom njihove strukture i sadržaja, utisak se menja. Glavni toposi Beograda izgledaju kao nezaokružena, nedovršena mesta — kao mesta zastoja. Čini se da su oni u procesu entropije i pored brojnih intervencija i dinamičnih promena.

Savremeno stanje ne implicira, međutim, zaključak da su prostorna ili fizička nedovršenost ovih trgova konstante. Nedovršenost se u nekim drugim periodima mogla čitati kao deo procesa izgradnje, postepene urbanizacije i konstituisanja društvenih vrednosti. Danas je, međutim, upravo pomenuta mesta moguće sagledati kao paradigme vremena i društva, i njihovog nejasnog odnosa prema prošlosti i, konsekvntno, prema recentnim sistemima društvenih vrednosti. Tokom poslednje decenije je, istina, otvoren prostor za diskutovanje dubioznih i problematičnih mesta neželjenih sećanja, ali je istovremeno propuštena prilika da se na nov način pročitaju stari simboli. Dijalog sa neželjenim istorijskim nasleđem je ostao na margini javnog prostora, ne uspevajući da proizvede nove simbole. Stoga je na primeru trga Slavija posebno intrigantno analizirati politiku sećanja i njihovo potiskivanje, preoznačavanje i supstituciju u javnom prostoru.

structured around them and its expansion is marked by their ups and downs; processes which are spontaneous and often very chaotic and which are characterised by urban enterprises and numerous destructions. From a bird's eye view, these three squares clearly stand out by their position in the city. However, with a slight change of perspective and through the analysis of their structure and content, this initial impression changes. Belgrade's main topoi look like places that were never rounded-off or finished - locations that were maintained in a state of stagnation. It seems as if they have remained in a process of entropy, despite the numerous interventions and dynamic changes that they have undergone.

Current conditions do not necessarily imply that the spatial or physical incompleteness of these squares are constants. In earlier phases, incompleteness was interpreted as part of a building process, an inevitable facet of gradual urbanisation and the establishment of social values. Today however, it is possible to look at these places as paradigms of time and society, with an unclear relation toward the past and consequently towards accepted social values. It is fair to say that during the last decade a space has opened up for the discussion of questionable and problematic places and as a result, of unwanted memories. However at the same time, an opportunity has also been missed to read these old symbols in a new way. The dialogue regarding unwanted historical heritage has remained on the margins of public space, failing thus to produce the new symbols. Therefore, in the case of a location like Slavija Square, it is very intriguing to analyze the politics of remembrance and its repression; the re-marking and substitution of public space.

Uprkos činjenici da predstavlja urbanističku žižu grada,¹ trg Slavija je u istoriji Beograda ostao paradigma nezavršenosti i marginalnosti. Nije problematična samo njegova fizička i prostorna nedovršenost, odnosno razgrađenost koja postaje uočljivija u kontekstu urbanističkog i arhitektonskog značaja tog prostora, kao ni njeni uzroci vezani za nerešene imovinske odnose i dubiozan proces denacionalizacije i restitucije. Problematična je i njegova složena ideološka baština, odnosno sistemi vrednosti koje je prostor konotirao u svojoj istoriji. Moglo bi se reći da je spletom tako kompleksnih odnosa trg Slavija postao jedan od centralnih označitelja tradicije koja je, sa više aspekata, danas postala nepoželjna.

Period nakon 2000. godine obeležio je niz organizovanih pokušaja konačog preobražavanja Slavije — u periodu socijalizma preimenovane u Trg Dimitrija Tucovića² - kao mesta periferne, proskribovane i nepoželjne tradicije. Funkcionalna, ali i vizuelna marginalnost grobnice i spomenika Dimitrija Tucovića, nasuprot centralnom položaju samog

¹ Iako ne nužno i centralno simboličko mesto. O nestabilnom značenju urbanih toposa u kontekstu postavljanja spomenika vidi: Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 307-330.

² Trg Dimitrija Tucovića bio je u novijoj istoriji Beograda više puta predmet arhitektonsko-urbanističkih projekata koji su predviđali njegovu rekonstrukciju. Najznačajniji od njih bio je projekat arhitekta Bratislava Stojanovića iz 1951. godine, u kome je naglašeno da ovaj prostor mora postati važan saobraćajni, kulturno-istorijski i trgovački centar. Projekat je u težištu imao tada već postavljen memorijal Dimitrija Tucovića, a predvideo je da se izgradi i Dom Dimitrija Tucovića u kome bi se nalazile prostorije Doma sindikata, Saveza boraca Srbije, Saveza kulturno-umetničkih društava Srbije, te bioskop i pozorište. Vidi: Bratislav Stojanović, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Tehnika*, br. 6 (1951), 329-338.

Despite the fact that it represents an urban focal point of the city,¹ Slavija Square has remained a paradigm of incompleteness and marginality in Belgrade's history. Its physical and spatial incompleteness are problematic mainly due to the visible disintegration of this important urban and architectural milieu and additionally, due to issues associated with unresolved property relations and questionable denationalisation and restitution processes. Its complex ideological heritage - the systems of values that were implicit to the area over the course of history, have also proven quite complex and fraught with problems. One might say that as a result of the combination of such intricate relations, Slavija Square has become one of the central markers of a tradition that for many reasons can today be considered as unwanted.

The period following the turn of the 20th century, was marked by a series of organized attempts to finalize Slavija's transformation. In earlier times, during the Socialist period, the square had been renamed as Dimitrije Tucović² Square, a place of peripheral, pro-

¹ Although not necessarily a central symbolic place. On the unstable meaning of topos in the context of erecting monuments see: Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 307-330.

² In recent Belgrade history, Dimitrije Tucovic Square has been a theme of architectural and urban design projects that have envisaged its reconstruction. The most important of them was the project by the architect Bratislav Stojanovic in 1951, in which it was emphasized that this space must become an important traffic, cultural-historical and trading center. The project had as its core the already installed Dimitrije Tucovic memorial and it also included building the Dimitrije Tucovic Center which would house the Syndicate association, the Veteran Association, The Association of art and culture societies of Serbia, as well as a cinema and a theater. See: Bratislav Stojanović, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Tehnika*, br. 6 (1951), 329-338.

trga u urbanoj i memorijalnoj topografiji Beograda, postali su presudni elementi u preduzimanju niza institucionalnih akcija kojima je pokušano redefinisavanje ovog prostora, kako u morfološkom i vizuelnom, funkcionalnom i saobraćajnom, tako i u vrednosnom i simboličkom smislu. Pri tome su kao argumenti da se trg temeljito rekonstruiše navođeni estetsko-vizuelni, funkcionalni i, naposljetku, ideološki kriterijumi. Najpre je problematično postalo samo ime trga, koje je uklonjeno 2004. godine iz javnog prostora na talasu sveobuhvatnog zahvata preimenovanja centralnih ulica i trgova u Beogradu,³ a potom je, kroz seriju instanci, u fokus dospelo i sam memorijal Dimitriju Tucoviću —grobnica i nadgrobni spomenik, delo skulptora Stevana Bodnarova, koji je postavljen na središte trga 1947. godine.⁴ Izmena naziva trga, fenomen naizgled bez šireg značaja koji, međutim, rečito oslikava ideološke pozicije političkih elita na vlasti, zapravo je predstavljala ključnu i odlučujuću instancu putem koje je moguće opsežnije sagledati vrednovanje odnosa prema simboličkom kapitalu trga Slavija.

Preimenovanje naziva javnih prostora, uključujući i imena trgova i ulica, društvenih institucija i objekata, ne samo da konstituiše nove i redefiniše postojeće ili nekadašnje veze između prošlosti i sadašnjosti, već predstavlja odlučujuće važnu instancu u ideološkoj konstrukciji

scribed and unwanted tradition. The functional but visual marginality of Dimitrije Tucović's tomb and monument, as opposed to the central location of the square in the urban and memorial topography of Belgrade, were key elements that were taken into consideration when it came to passing a series of institutional actions aimed at redefining the space in a morphological, visual and functional sense, as well as one which exemplified value and symbolism. The arguments in favour of the square's thorough reconstruction were constructed around a criteria that was aesthetic and functional, and finally ideological.

In 2004, in keeping with a trend that saw many of Belgrade's central streets and squares renamed,³ the appellative "Dimitrije Tucović Square" was replaced. The focus subsequently shifted to the Tucović memorial, a tomb and a tombstone that had been created by the sculptor Stevan Bodnarov and placed in the middle of the square in 1947.⁴ Re-baptizing the square, a phenomenon seemingly without wider importance, vividly depicted the ideological positions of the political elites in power at that time. In Belgrade, the move represented a key and decisive instance through which it became possible to form a more comprehensive view of the treatment of the symbolic capital of Slavija Square.

Renaming public spaces, including the names of social institutions and buildings, constitutes not only a new present,

³ Videti zvaničnu internet prezentaciju grada Beograda: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1235> (pristup internet stranici: 23. 10. 2011).

⁴ Bratislav Stojanović, "Za spomenik Dimitriju Tucoviću", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 55 (1979), 53; idem, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 66-67 (1982), 202.

³ See the official Internet presentation of the city of Belgrade: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1235> (last accessed: 23. 10. 2011).

⁴ Bratislav Stojanović, "Za spomenik Dimitriju Tucoviću", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 55 (1979), 53; idem, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 66-67 (1982), 202.

urbanog prostora i utvrđivanju poželjnih granica i sadržaja kolektivnih identiteta. Istovremeno, ova ideološka konstrukcija može postati sastavni deo procesa političke mobilizacije i ustanovljavanja simboličkih aspekata specifične političke kulture. Trg Slavija je, kako će docnije biti prikazano, školski primer tih procesa. Nova imena ulica i trgova koja su nakon 2000. godine izmenila u velikoj meri simboličku i ideološku topografiju Beograda, nesumnjivo predstavljaju "simboličke spomenike" koji u velikoj meri utiču na oblikovanje javne memorije i konstruisanje poželjnih društvenih identiteta.⁵ Kako to ističe Daniel Milo, imena ulica i javnih prostora razumeju se kao konstitutivni elementi "mesta sećanja" sa dve važne indicije: ta su mesta istovremeno "manifestacije kolektivne memorije zajednice" i, s druge strane, "vidljiv izraz ozloglašnosti".⁶ Uklanjanje starih i postavljanje novih imena u javni prostor zapravo uprostorava linije podela prema poželjnim, prihvatljivim i nepoželjnim vizijama zajednice uz pomoć simboličke prakse; nekadašnji junaci postaju negativne istorijske ličnosti i njihova se imena ceremonijalno uklanjaju ili — kako se to često dešava u različitim kontekstima — supstituišu novim nazivima. Pri tome se njihova pozicija pomera naniže, kako u fizičkom i temporalnom smislu (pomeranjem table sa nazivom

in which the relations between past and present are redefined along the way, but also a key instance in the ideological construction of urban space and in the establishment of desired limits and contents of collective identities. Simultaneously, this ideological construction might become an inherent part of political mobilization and the establishment of symbolic aspects of a specific political culture. Slavija Square, as it will be shown, is a textbook example of these processes. The new names of the streets and squares, which after 2000 significantly changed Belgrade's symbolic and ideological topography, undoubtedly represent "symbolic monuments" which significantly affect the shaping of public memory and the construction of desirable social identities.⁵ As Daniel Milo points out, the names of streets and public spaces are understood as constitutive elements of "places of remembering" with two important indications: these places are simultaneously "manifestations of the collective memory of the community", and "a visible expression of notoriety".⁶ Removing the old designations and introducing new ones to a public space, embodies the dividing lines that are in accord with desirable, acceptable and unwanted visions of the community with the help of symbolic practice: former heroes become negative historical persons and their names are ceremonially removed or substituted. Their

⁵ O nazivima urbanih prostora kao "simboličkim spomenicima" videti: Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-214; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", *Environment and Planning, Society and Space*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1996), 311-330.

⁶ Daniel Milo, "Street Names", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 365.

⁵ On names of urban spaces as "symbolic monuments" see: Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-214; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", *Environment and Planning, Society and Space*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1996), 311-330.

⁶ Daniel Milo, "Street Names", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 365.

ispod novopostavljenog imena), tako i u smislu hijerarhije društveno prihvaćenih vrednosti. Izmenom naziva ulica, kao svojevrsnom simboličkom detronizacijom, zajednica sankcioniše nov sistem vrednosti i rekonstituiše ontološko sopstvo. Stoga se topološka tranzicija od trga koji nosi ime Dimitrija Tucovića do trga Slavija može čitati kao sastavni deo sveobuhvatnijeg procesa ideološke tranzicije društva u Srbiji na početku XXI veka i uspostavljanja specifičnog sistema vrednosti u čijoj se srži neprestano odvija re-interpretacija prošlosti i ponovno ispisivanje istorije zajednice.⁷

Međutim, promena naziva imena trga Slavija bila je tek inicijalna, iako ne i nevažna, instanca u simboličkom preoznačavanju ovog prostora. Kada su 2003. godine započele pripreme za obeležavanje jubileja dvestogodišnjice Prvog srpskog ustanka i “dva veka moderne srpske države”, raspisan je arhitektonsko-urbanistički konkurs koji je predvideo da se na prostoru trga podigne spomen-obeležje Prvom srpskom ustanku. Sastavni deo konkursnih uslova bio je zahtev da se spomenik i grob Dimitrija Tucovića izmeste. U seriji predloga koji su govorili o novim potencijalnim lokacijama na koje bi spomen obeležje trebalo biti premešteno, posebno su bili zanimljivi, ali i posve simptomatični, stavovi vladajućih elita. Oni rečito govore

position is shifted downwards, both in a physical and temporal sense as well as in regards to the hierarchy of socially accepted values. By changing the street names, as part of a symbolic “dethronement”, the community sanctions the new system of values and reconstitutes an ontological selfhood. Thus, the topological transition of the square named “Dimitrije Tucović” to “Slavija Square” can be read as an inherent part of the ideological transition of society in Serbia at the beginning of the 21st century. It can also be understood as a process of establishing a specific system of values, the core of which consists of a continuous reinterpretation of the past and a rewriting of the community’s history.⁷

The changing of Slavija Square’s name was only an initial, although not unimportant, instance in the symbolic re-marking of this space. In 2003, when the preparations for celebrating the bicentenary of the First Serbian Uprising and “two centuries of a modern Serbian state” began, an architectural and urban design competition for a memorial of the First Serbian Uprising was launched. One of the competition’s conditions was to relocate the monument and tomb of Dimitrije Tucović. When it came to debating the proposals and the new potential locations that had been raised, the attitudes of the elite were noteworthy and symptomatic of the ideological predilections

⁷ Videti npr. primere preimenovanja javnih prostora u Nemačkoj i Izraelu nakon 1989. godine: Maoz Azaryahu, “German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin”, *Political Geography*, vol. 16, no. 6 (1997), 479-493; idem, “The Purge of Bismarck and Saladin: The Renaming of Streets in East Berlin and Haifa, a Comparative Study in Culture-Planning”, *Poetics Today*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1992), 352-367. Za primer post-komunističke Moskve videti: Graem Gill, “Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names”, *The Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2005), 480-503.

⁷ See for instance the examples of renaming the public spaces in Germany and Israel after 1989: Maoz Azaryahu, “German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin”, *Political Geography*, vol. 16, no. 6 (1997), 479-493; idem, “The Purge of Bismarck and Saladin: The Renaming of Streets in East Berlin and Haifa, a Comparative Study in Culture-Planning”, *Poetics Today*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1992), 352-367. As an example of post-communist Moscow see: Graem Gill, “Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names”, *The Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2005), 480-503.

ne samo o ideološkim predilekcijama protagonista političke tranzicije, već i o svojoj kompleksnosti njene ideološke dimenzije i, što je posebno važno, o mehanici uspostavljanja poželjnih vrednosti kroz manipulaciju značenja javnog prostora. Tako je, po mišljenju tadašnjeg predsednika gradske vlade, naglašeno da:

Kod premeštanja spomenika Dimitriju Tucoviću nema ideološkog problema. Mislimo da on treba da ostane u Beogradu, ali da spomeniku one veličine nije mesto na velikom trgu kao što je Slavija. Zato treba naći drugu dobru lokaciju. Što se tiče groba, on može da bude premešten u Aleju velikana na Novom groblju. Na svemu ovome mora da se poradi, a svesni smo da uvek ima i drugih razmišljanja. Radi se o tome da će ceo kompleks Slavije možda ličiti na beogradski Menhetn. Tu se gradi velika zgrada Narodne banke, na Mitićevoj rupi treba takođe da se podigne veliki objekat, kao i na parceli na kojoj je sada parking. Na takvom, modernom, gradskom trgu, ovaj mali spomeničić neće moći ni da se vidi. Zato je zamišljeno da tu bude veliko obeležje Prvom srpskom ustanku, koje bi imalo prirodnu vezu sa Hramom svetog Save, koji se vidi sa tog mesta. Tu bi bila i neka velika gradska fontana. I ulaz u Knez Mihailovu ulicu sa Terazija takođe treba da zablista, sa velikom fontanom i specijalnim svetlosnim efektima.⁸

Navedeni odlomak krajnje je indikativan budući da predstavlja gotovo lakonski iskaz ideoloških okvira u koje je memorijalni kapital trga Slavija trebalo da se uklo-

of the protagonists of the political transition. Their reactions presented further evidence of the complexity of the established ideological dimension and of the mechanics of establishing desirable values through the manipulation of meaning in public space. The debate can be better understood in the statement that was released by the then president of the city government:

The relocation of the Dimitrije Tucović monument bears no ideological problems. We think it should stay in Belgrade but that monuments of its size should not be on big squares such as Slavija. Therefore a new good location should be found. As for the tomb, it can be relocated to the Alley of the Greats in the New Cemetery. This all needs to be worked out and we are aware that there are other opinions. The thing is, the whole Slavija complex can look like Belgrade's Manhattan. A new National Bank building is being built there, another big building is to be raised on the Mitić Hole and one on the parcel where the parking lot is currently situated. This really small monument will not be even visible on such a modern city square. Therefore it has been decided that we shall erect a big memorial to the First Serbian Uprising there. It would have a natural connection to the Saint Sava Temple, which is visible from that place. Some big city fountain should be there as well. The entrance to Knez Mihailova Street from Terazije should also spark up with a big fountain and special light effects.⁸

The quoted excerpt is a typical laconic statement of ideological framework in

⁸ Dušica Radeka, "Slavija kao Menhetn", *Večernje novosti* (12. 07. 2003).

⁸ Dušica Radeka, "Slavija kao Menhetn", *Večernje novosti* (12. 07. 2003).

pi. S jedne strane, prepoznatljiv je pritisak centralnog nacionalnog narativa o kontinuitetu i naturalizaciji odnosa između crkve i države; s druge, očita je potreba da se akutna kriza identiteta prevaziđe na simboličkoj ravni usvajanjem seta simbola koji će konotirati specifičan sistem vrednosti zasnovan na stereotipnim slikama modernosti. Ideja o izmeštanju spomenika i groba Dimitrija Tucovića bila je, međutim, neupitna i pre zvaničnog raspisa konkursa, pri čemu je — sasvim simptomatično — sećanje na samog Tucovića postavljeno u novu ideološku perspektivu.⁹ Istovremeno, navođeni su predlozi da se zemni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića, zajedno sa spomenikom-bistom, premeste “sa Slavije u Aleju velikana”, da se vrate na “Vračje brdo ili u Užice, gde je prethodna dva puta bio sahranjivan”¹⁰ ili da se izmeste u obližnji Park Manjež.¹¹ Iako se navedeni predlozi mogu razumeti u kontekstu ideološkog procesa rekonstituisanja kolektivnih identiteta koji je nakon 1989. godine izmenio pejzaž istočnoevropskih gradova, raskid s prošlošću i uspostavljanje nove kulturne paradigme kao legitimacijskog instrumenta u Srbiji nije bio tako

which the memorial capital of Slavija Square was supposed to fit in. On the one hand, the recognizable pressure exerted by the central national narrative about continuity and the naturalization of the relationship between the church and the state; on the other, an obvious need to overcome the acute identity crisis in the symbolic plain through the adoption of a set of symbols which connote a specific system of values based on stereotypical images of modernity. The idea of relocating the monument and the tomb of Dimitrije Tucović was not questioned and simultaneously, quite symptomatically, the memory of Tucović was placed under a new ideological perspective.⁹ There were some suggestions to relocate the remains of Dimitrije Tucović, together with his bust “from Slavija to the Alley of the Greats”, or to return them to “Vračje Brdo or in Užice, where he was previously buried twice”,¹⁰ or to relocate them to the nearby park Manjež.¹¹ Although these suggestions can be understood through the prism of the ideological process of reconstituting collective identity (which after 1989 changed the landscape of the east European cities),

⁹ Tokom 1990-ih i 2000-ih godina simptomatični su bili pokušaji prevrednovanja i reinterpretacije nasleđa Dimitrija Tucovića koji su se kretali u pravcu prilagođavanja centralnom nacionalnom narativu obeleženom nacionalizmom, ksenofobičnošću i solipsizmom. U seriji pokušaja da se ukloni nasleđe socijalizma koje se tesno vezivalo za delatnost i sećanje na Tucovića, kao i da se memorija na ovu istorijsku figuru održi radikalnim supstituisanjem sistema valorizacije, posebno je ilustrativan članak novinara beogradskog NIN-a: “Srpska socijaldemokratska partija vodila je antiratnu politiku i glasala je protiv ratnih kredita. Uoči Prvog svetskog rata Dimitrije Tucović je boravio u Berlinu, gde je nameravao da doktorira. [...] Mi, danas, s pravom možemo da pomislimo kako Dimitrije Tucović ne bi išao u Brisel, kod [Havijera] Solane, da nam Solana piše zakone i ustave, nego bi ga, kao [Karla] Renera, nadgovorio moralom i znanjem”: Petar Ignja, “Spomenici na točkove”, *NIN*, br. 2744 (31. 7. 2003).

¹⁰ Slobodan Kostić, “Seobe Dimitrija Tucovića”, *Vreme*, br. 656 (31. 7. 2003).

¹¹ Ivana Kljajić, “Trg kao atraktivni downtown”, *Danas* (30. 07. 2004).

⁹ During the 1990 and 2000 there were some symptomatic attempts to reevaluate and reinterpret the heritage of Dimitrije Tucović. These were moving towards adjusting to the central national narrative marked by nationalism, xenophobia and solipsism. In a series of attempts aimed at removing the heritage of socialism, which was tightly related to work and memory of Tucovic, as well as at maintaining a memory of this historical figure with a radical substitution of the system of values, an illustrative article was written by a journalist of Blegrade's NIN: “Serbian Social-democratic Party ran an anti-war policy and voted against the war loans. Just before the WWI Dimitrije Tucovic was in Berlin, where he intended to finish his doctorate. ...We, today, can rightly think that Dimitrije Tucovic wouldn't go to Brussels, to (Xavier) Solana, so that Solana can write our laws and constitution, but he would have talked him off like (Carl) Renner, by morals and knowledge”: Petar Ignja, “Spomenici na točkove”, *NIN*, br. 2744 (31. 7. 2003).

¹⁰ Slobodan Kostić, “Seobe Dimitrija Tucovića”, *Vreme*, br. 656 (31. 07. 2003).

¹¹ Ivana Kljajić, “Trg kao atraktivni downtown”, *Danas* (30. 07. 2004).

drastičan.¹² O tome svedoči simbolička reaproprijacija trga Slavija kao jednog od centralnih mesta Beograda koja se faktički kontinualno odvija od 2000. godine. Ona ujedno predstavlja očito svedočanstvo složenosti, ambivalentnosti i performabilnosti političkog diskursa u Srbiji početka XXI veka.

Konkurs za arhitektonsko-urbanističko uređenje trga Slavija raspisan je krajem 2003. godine,¹³ ali su usled kontroverze oko autorstva prvonagrađenog rešenja rezultati konkursa ubrzo bili poništeni.¹⁴ Usled toga su, nepune dve godine docnije, Skupština grada Beograda, Direkcija za građevinsko zemljište, Društvo arhitekata i Društvo urbanista Beograda raspisali nov konkurs za arhitektonsko urbanističko uređenje Trga Slavija.¹⁵

the break up with the past and the establishment of a new cultural paradigm as a legitimizing instrument in Serbia was not, in fact, so drastic.¹² Evidence for this can be found in the symbolic reapropriation of Slavija Square as one of the central places in Belgrade, a move that has been taking place since the year 2000. It simultaneously represents an obvious testimony of the complexity, ambivalence and performability of the political discourse in Serbia at the beginning of 21st century.

The competition for a new architectural and urban arrangement of Slavija Square was announced at the end of 2003.¹³ However, due to a controversy about the authorship of the winning proposal, the results of the competition were subsequently cancelled.¹⁴ Because of this, less than two

¹² Videti: Monika A. Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 315-346; Zsolt K. Horváth, "The Redistribution of the Memory of Socialism. Identity Formations of the 'Survivors' in Hungary after 1898", Oksana Sarkisova, Péter Apor (eds.), *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 247-274; Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross. Excorising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments", *Past for the Eyes*, 275-306; Nikolai Vukov, "The 'Unmemorable' and the 'Unforgettable'. 'Museumizing' the Socialist Past in Post-1989 Bulgaria", *Past for the Eyes*, 307-334; idem, "Refigured Memories, Unchanged Representations: Post-Socialist Monumental Discourse in Bulgaria", Ulf Brunnbauer, Stefan Troebst (Hg.), *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie: Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa* (Köln, Wemar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 71-86; Zoran Terzić, "Erinnern als Vergessen. Zur Ästhetik des ideologischen Wandels", *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie*, 247-272.

¹³ Stručni žiri koji je dodelio nagrade 2003. godine činili su: Branko Belić, tadašnji predsednik beogradske opštine Savski venac, akademik Radomir Reljić, istoričar umetnosti Kosta Bogdanović, arhitekta Vasilije Milunović, istoričarka Radina Vučetić-Mladenović, arhitekta Vladimir Macura, sociolog Sreten Vujović, arhitekta Borislav Petrović i istoričar umetnosti Miroslav Timotijević. Svoju odluku obrazložili su rečima: "Ovaj rad predstavlja najkompletniji autorski stav, kako u shvatanju same teme, tako i u odnosu prema kontekstu". Navedeno prema: M. Mićović, "Čija bruka pod tepihom?", *Press* (2. 03. 2007).

¹⁴ M. Mićović, op. cit.

¹⁵ Za razliku od prethodnog konkursa, u kome su učešće uzeli predstavnici stručne javnosti, profesori univerziteta i akademici,

¹² See: Monika A. Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 315-346; Zsolt K. Horváth, "The Redistribution of the Memory of Socialism. Identity Formations of the 'Survivors' in Hungary after 1898", Oksana Sarkisova, Péter Apor (eds.), *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 247-274; Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross. Excorising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments", *Past for the Eyes*, 275-306; Nikolai Vukov, "The 'Unmemorable' and the 'Unforgettable'. 'Museumizing' the Socialist Past in Post-1989 Bulgaria", *Past for the Eyes*, 307-334; idem, "Refigured Memories, Unchanged Representations: Post-Socialist Monumental Discourse in Bulgaria", Ulf Brunnbauer, Stefan Troebst (Hg.), *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie: Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa* (Köln, Wemar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 71-86; Zoran Terzić, "Erinnern als Vergessen. Zur Ästhetik des ideologischen Wandels", *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie*, 247-272.

¹³ The jury of experts who granted the prizes in 2003 consisted of: Branko Belic, then president of the Belgrade's municipality of Savski Venac, academic Radomir Reljic, art historian Kosta Bogdanovic, architect Vasilije Milunovic, historian Radina Vucetic-Mladenovic, architect Vladimir Macura, sociologist Sreten Vujovic, architect Borislav Petrovic and art historian Miroslav Timotijevic. They explained their decision in the following way: "This work represents the most completed author's attitude, both in understanding the theme and in relation to the context." Quoted according to: M. Mićović, "Čija bruka pod tepihom?", *Press* (2. 03. 2007).

¹⁴ M. Mićović, op. cit.

U tekstu raspisa konkursa potencirana je uloga ovog trga kao jednog od “najznačajnijih beogradskih prostora”:

*[U] kojima se prepoznaju njegov [beogradski] lik, duh i identitet i koji iz tih razloga zahtevaju poseban tretman [u cilju dobijanja] što kvalitetnijih, atraktivnih i ostvarljivih ideja za integralnu urbanističku regulaciju i arhitektonsko oblikovanje područja trga Slavija kao celovitog urbanog prostora, visokog potencijala i posebnog i prestižnog identiteta u ukupnoj strukturi Beograda.*¹⁶

Nasuprot navedenim stavovima koji predstavljaju odjek od ranije utvrđenih ideja,¹⁷ indiferentnost prema memorijalu Dimitrija Tucovića i, što je posebno važno, memoriji akumuliranoj u ovaj jedinstveni simbol, sasvim je indikativna. Tome u prilog govori i nepromenjeno kategoričan stav predstavnika Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, u kome se rezolutno ističe da bi za mesto memorijala i grobnice Dimitrija Tucovića “bilo koje rešenje, osim Slavije [sic!], bilo adekvatno”, uz ironično i nejasno obrazloženje da se spomenik nalazi u “okviru zaštićene celine ‘Stari Beograd’” i da “ništa ne sprečava da spomenik i grobno mesto budu izmešteni”.¹⁸ Predstavnici iste držav-

years later, the Assembly of the City of Belgrade, Belgrade Land Development Public Agency, Belgrade Architect Association and Town Planners Association Belgrade, launched a call for another architectural and urban design arrangement of Slavija Square.¹⁵ The text of this call went on to emphasize the role of this square as one of the “most important spaces in Belgrade”:

*“(a square) In which one can recognize its (Belgrade) character, spirit and identity and which, because of these reasons requires a special treatment (in order to get) the best, the most attractive and feasible ideas for the integral urban regulation and architectural shaping of Slavija Square, as a holistic urban space of high potential and special and prestigious identity in the overall structure of Belgrade”.*¹⁶

Contrary to the sentiment that echoes previously established ideas,¹⁷ indifference toward the Dimitrije Tucović memorial and also very importantly toward the memory accumulated in this unique symbol, has become quite symptomatic. An example of this can be seen in the categorical attitude of the representatives of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade who support the relocation by claiming that “any solution, except Slavija (sic!),

na ovom konkursu žiri su činili gotovo isključivo arhitekti: Đorđe Bobić, predsednik, i članovi: Vladimir A. Milić, Biljana Krmeta, Maja Joković-Potkonjak, Dušan Milanović, Emilija Tomaš, Marina Nešković, Bojan Kovačević, Vasa Perović, Vesna Zlatanović i Slobodan Ležajić. Videti: <http://www.dub.org.rs/arhiva.html>. Cf. http://beoland.com/ostalo/konkurs_slavija.html (pristup internet stranicama: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁶ Navedeno prema oficijelnom internet sajtu Društva urbanista beograda: <http://www.dub.org.rs/Slavija.pdf> (pristup internet stranici: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁷ Videti: M. Avakumović, V. Veličković, “Arhitekta na potezu: raspisan novi konkurs za rešenje Trga Slavija”, *Politika* (13.2. 2005).

¹⁸ Reči Lidije Kotur, službenice Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kul-

¹⁵ Contrary to the previous competitions, in which representatives of the expert public took part, e.g. university professors and academics, this time the jury consisted almost entirely of architects: Djordje Bobic, the president, and members: Vladimir A. Milić, Biljana Krmeta, Maja Joković-Potkonjak, Dušan Milanović, Emilija Tomaš, Marina Nešković, Bojan Kovačević, Vasa Perović, Vesna Zlatanović and Slobodan Ležajić. See: <http://www.dub.org.rs/arhiva.html>.

¹⁶ Quoted according to the official Internet site of the Town Planners Association Belgrade: <http://www.dub.org.rs/Slavija.pdf> (page last accessed: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁷ See: M. Avakumović, V. Veličković, “Arhitekta na potezu: raspisan novi konkurs za rešenje Trga Slavija”, *Politika* (13. 02. 2005).

ne institucije dodatno su obrazložili navedene kategoričke stavove determinišućim sudom, ističući da “gradski trg nije mesto gde treba da počivaju nečiji [sic!] ostaci”.¹⁹

Upravo je ovakva argumentacija krajnje simptomatična budući da, s jedne strane, ukazuje na neupitne, ali problematične koncepte i kriteririjume zaštite spomenika kulture. S druge strane, ista obrazloženja predstavljaju školski primer procesa paranaučne i stručne legitimacije preoznačavanja sistema društvenih vrednosti u kome se nepoželjna memorija uklanja, supstituiše ili preoznačava krajnje polemičnim i otvorenim konceptima zaštite spomenika kao što su “značaj graditeljskog nasleđa” ili “zaštićene celine”. Neretko, ovakvi i slični koncepti iza fasade profesionalne dedikcije i stručnosti kriju čitav arsenal ideoloških i vrednosnih sudova, ali i političkih predilekcija. U skladu s time, kulturno nasleđe istovremeno se razume kao sadržaj i reprezentacija identiteta, preko koga se na simboličkoj i pragmatičkoj ravni ostvaruju odnosi unutar društva, kao i odnosi prema unutrašnjim ili spoljašnjim “drugim”. Činjenica da se kulturno nasleđe definiše putem njegovog univerzalnog značaja i da se, legitimisano aumom univerzalnosti, potom nacionalizuje — samo je jedan od paradoksa u složenom procesu konstrukcije identiteta putem pozivanja na materijalne i nematerijalne tragove prošlosti koji se institucionalizuju kroz različite režime

would be adequate” as a location for both the memorial and the tomb of Dimitrije Tucović. The institute goes on to explain, ironically and vaguely, that the monument’s location is “within the protected urban core of ‘Old Belgrade’” and that “there is nothing preventing the relocation of the monument and the tomb”.¹⁸ Additionally, the representatives of this institution went on to explain their categorical statements by stating, “that the city square is not a place where someone’s (sic!) remains should be buried”.¹⁹

This very sort of argumentation is noteworthy given that, on one hand it hints towards unquestioned but problematic conceptions and criteria for the protection of cultural monuments; while on the other, these explanations represent textbook examples of the pseudo scientific process and experts’ legitimisation of the re-marking of the system of social values in which the unwanted memory is removed, substituted or re-labelled through extremely debatable and open conceptions of monument protection such as “the importance of the building heritage” or the “protected urban core”. Often, these and similar conceptions hide a whole arsenal of ideological and evaluative judgements behind a facade of professionalism and expertise. In this light, cultural heritage is simultaneously understood as both a content and a representation of identity, through which relations in society, as well as the relations toward the

ture grada Beograda. Navedeno prema: Boris Vuković, “Gradski trg bez duše i sadržaja”, *Blic* (29. 12. 2009).

¹⁹ Reči Lidije Kotur, službenice Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda. Navedeno prema: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 05. 2011).

¹⁸ Words of Lidija Kotur, employee of the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Quoted according to: Boris Vuković, “Gradski trg bez duše i sadržaja”, *Blic* (29. 12. 2009).

¹⁹ Words of Lidija Kotur, employee of the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Quoted according to: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 5. 2011).

produktivnije značenja.²⁰ Linije otklona, bliskosti i razlika poželjnog u odnosu na neželjeni identitet očituju se ne samo u stručnim kriterijumima, koji definišu koji spomenici mogu biti svrstani u kategoriju "nacionalnih spomenika kulture", i ne samo u hijerarhijama kulturnog nasleđa. Te se linije povlače prvenstveno putem izuzetno selektivnih, pred-stručnih i pred-naučnih diskursa koji valorizuju različite istorijske (ili kulturne) tradicije, promovišući samo neke od njih kao "nacionalne".²¹ U ovom procesu, koji se odvija kontinualno i dinamično, istorijsko i kulturno nasleđe, definisano i sistematizovano kao "nacionalno", "po definiciji mora ignorisati diverzitet sub-nacionalnih kulturnih i socijalnih iskustava",²² o čemu dobro svedoči problem u vezi imena i mesta trga Dimitrija Tucovića.²³

Nedavna inicijativa da se na trgu Slavija podigne Teslina kula ili Teslin toranj čini se da predstavlja pokušaj da se očit

inner and outer "other", are realised on a symbolic and pragmatic plain.

The fact that the cultural heritage is defined through its universal importance, that it is legitimised by an aura of universality and then nationalised, is only one of the paradoxes in a complex process of constructing identity by relying on material and immaterial traces of the past which are institutionalised through different regimes of production of meaning.²⁰ The lines of deflection - the similarities and differences of desirability in relation to unwanted identity, are embodied neither in the expert criteria, that defines which monuments can be classified in the category of "national monuments of culture" nor in the hierarchies of cultural heritage. These lines are drawn primarily through highly selective, pre-expert and pre-scientific discourses that valorise different historical (or cultural) traditions, promoting a few of them as "national".²¹ In this continual and dynamic process, historical and cultural heritage, defined and systematized as "national", "by definition must ignore the diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences".²² The issue of the name and place of Dimitrije Tucović Square is a testimony of this process.²³

²⁰ Deklaracije o kulturnom nasleđu definišu njegove tri kategorije: spomenike, ansamble i mesta koji svi imaju "univerzalnu i jedinstvenu vrednost" sa gledišta istorije, umetnosti ili nauke. Videti: Svetislav Vučenović, *Urbana i arhitektonska rekonstrukcija*, knj. I (Beograd: Društvo konzervatora Srbije, 2004), 19.

²¹ Videti, na primer, raspravu o konstrukciji nasleđa kao implicitnom i unapred smišljenom odrazu nazora elita: David Crouch, "The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage", Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality of the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 57-71.

²² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 30, 75.

²³ U tom smislu, karakterističan je i primer Starog Sajmišta, prostora u središtu Beograda kod koga je, prema Generalnom urbanističkom planu iz 2003. godine, "vrednost graditeljskog nasleđa", ali ne i sećanje na žrtve Holokausta u Srbiji, postala imperativ rekonstrukcije. U oba slučaja arhitektonska ili umetnička vrednost, kao i krajnje selektivno shvaćen fenomen onoga što se oficijelno imenuje kao "istorijski značaj", usvajaju se kao kriterijum zaštite spomenika i rekonstrukcije grada. Videti: Olga Manojlović Pintar, Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Prostori selektovanih memorija: Staro sajmište u Beogradu i sećanje na Drugi svetski rat", Thomir Cipek, Olivera Milosavljević, (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti* (Zagreb: Disput, 2008), 95-112.

²⁰ Declarations of cultural heritage define its three categories: monuments, ensembles and places that have "universal and unique value" from the standpoint of history, art or science. See: Svetislav Vučenović, *Urbana i arhitektonska rekonstrukcija*, knj. I (Beograd: Društvo konzervatora Srbije, 2004), 19.

²¹ See for example, the treatise on constructing heritage as implicit and a reflection conceived beforehand of the elite's worldview: David Crouch, "The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage", Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality of the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 57-71.

²² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 30, 75.

²³ In this sense, a characteristic example is the case of the

raskorak između nepoželjne memorije i poželjne vizije budućnosti, do koga je došlo u valorizaciji i percepciji ovog toposa, prevaziđe pozivanjem s jedne strane na univerzalni značaj nauke kao pokretača društva (doduše, u sasvim lapidarno postavljenoj perspektivi)²⁴ i, s druge, na simbolički potencijal nacionalnog heroja sa očitom namerom preoznačavanja lokalne memorije i sistema vrednosti koji ona podrazumeva.²⁵ U seriji predloga koji se nalaze u ideološkim okvirima postavljenim početkom prve decenije XXI veka, navodi se čak i zamisao da se u Teslinoj kuli na Slaviji “u srcu srpske prestonice i u neposrednoj blizini Hrama svetog Save” projektuju “freske iz drugih srpskih crkava i manastira”.²⁶ Upravo zbog svojevrzne bizarnosti, navedeni primer ilustrativna je demonstracija fenomena vrednosne i ideološke fleksibilnosti, odnosno situacionističke prirode kulturnog nasleđa.²⁷ U perspektivi podele na “nametnute” i “konstruisane” simbole prošlosti i identiteta koju je izložio Pjer Nora,²⁸ gde prvu grupu karakteriše institucionalno i organizova-

A recent initiative to erect the Tesla Tower on Slavija Square, seems to have been an attempt to overcome the obvious discrepancy between unwanted memory and a desirable vision of the future, with a reference to both the universal importance of science as a driver of society (although in a completely lapidary set perspective)²⁴ and the symbolic potential of a national hero with the intention of re-marking the local memories and the system of values which it assumes.²⁵ The discrepancy was a result of the valorisation and perception of this topos. In a series of suggestions, which belong to the ideological framework that was established at the beginning of the 21st century, there is a proposal to project “frescos from other Serbian churches and monasteries”²⁶ inside the Tesla Tower on Slavija, “in the heart of Serbian capital and in the vicinity of the Saint Sava Temple”. Exactly because of its bizarreness, this example is an illustration of the phenomenon

²⁴ “Predsednik Srbije Boris Tadić, predložio je danas tokom razgovora sa studentima Univerziteta u Beogradu i učenicima Matematičke gimnazije da se na Slaviji sagradi Teslin toranj, koji bi bio centar nauke u zemlji i priznanje ovom velikom naučniku. ‘Mi ne želimo da monopolizujemo Teslu, on je čovek sveta, ali ideja da se na Slaviji sagradi takav toranj je jako dobra. To mesto bi moglo da bude muzej nauke, koji bi popularizovao nauku - rekao je Tadić u muzeju Nikole Tesle.’ Navedeno prema: ‘Boris Tadić: Slavija je pravo mesto za Teslinu kulu’, *Blic* (9. 05. 2011).

²⁵ Videti: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 05. 2011).

²⁶ “Tadić: Slavija je mesto za Teslinu kulu”, *24 sata* (9. 5. 2011).

²⁷ “Nasleđe je istovremeno nešto daleko i odvojeno, dok se u isti mah razume i identifikuje, komunicira kao nešto što nam pripada. Nasleđe se označava, proizvodi i konstituše u kulturnim kontekstima; ono se komunicira kroz kulturnu medijaciju, konzumira, razume kao da poseduje konkretnu materijalnu egzistenciju i biva ‘čvrsto prigrinjeno’ oličavajući tako sam smisao pripadnosti”: D. Crouch, *op. cit.*, 57.

²⁸ Pierre Nora, “Introduction to: *Realms of Memory*”, vol. III, Piere Norra (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), IX-XII.

Staro Sajmište space in central Belgrade, in which, according to the General Urban design plan from 2003: “the value of the civic heritage” but not of the memory of the victims of the Holocaust in Serbia, become an imperative in reconstruction. In both cases, the architectural or artistic value, as well quite selectively understood phenomenon of what is officially named as “historical importance”, are adopted as criteria for monument protection and city reconstruction. See: Olga Manojlović Pintar, Aleksandar Ignjatović, “Prostori selektovanih memorija: Staro sajmište u Beogradu i sećanje na Drugi svetski rat”, Tihomir Čipek, Olivera Milosavljević, (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti* (Zagreb: Disput, 2008), 95-112.

²⁴ “The president of Serbia Boris Tadić, suggested during the talks with students from the University of Belgrade and with students of the mathematical grammar school, to build a Tesla Turret on the Slavija Square, which would be the country’s center of science and appreciation of this great scientist. “We can’t monopolize Tesla, he is a man of the world but an idea to build such a turret on the Slavija is very good. That place could be a museum of science, which would popularize the science - said Tadić in the Nikola Tesla museum”. Quoted according to: Boris Tadić: Slavija je pravo mesto za Teslinu kulu”, *Blic* (9. 5. 2011).

²⁵ See: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 5. 2011).

²⁶ “Tadić: Slavija je mesto za Teslinu kulu”, *24 sata* (9. 5. 2011).

no usvajanje određenih sistema znakova kao simbola zajednice, a drugu slojevitost različitih nanosa memorije, za trg Slavija može se reći da predstavlja mesto sećanja koje konstituišu oba ova simbola. Kroz ono što sam Nora i, s druge strane, Simon Šama nazivaju neprestanom sedimentacijom novih značenja,²⁹ urbani, politički i društveni prostor trga Slavija kao mesto sećanja i uprostoravanja identiteta, ukazuje ne samo na kontinuitete i diskontinuitete ideoloških i političkih sistema u modernoj istoriji Beograda i Srbije, već nesumnjivo predstavlja i način da se, kroz "simboličku istoriju", bolje razume nacionalna i politička istorija.

Za mesto koje je docnije nazvano "Slavija", kao i za okolni prostor istočnog Vračara, vezuju se prve ideje o urbanoj rekonstrukciji velikog Beograda, odnosno Beograda koji je sredinom XIX veka definitivno iskoračio izvan šanca.³⁰ Na preseku starih komunikacionih pravaca — pre svega Kragujevačkog i Carigradskog druma, u periodu između sredine i kraja XIX veka, na ovom su se prostoru ostvarile neke od važnih urbanističkih ideja oblikovanja prestonice nove države na, kako se tada govorilo, "evropski

of ideological flexibility, i.e. of the situationalist nature of cultural heritage.²⁷

In light of the divide on "imposed" and "construed" symbols of the past and identity that was put forth by Pierre Nora²⁸ - in which the first group is characterized by the institutionalized and organized adoption of certain systems of signs as symbols of the community and the second by the layering of different sediments of memory, one could say that Slavija Square represents a place of memory which is constituted by both of these symbols. This is through what Nora and Simon Schama called the constant sedimentation of new meanings,²⁹ the urban, political and social space of Slavija Square, as a place of memory and establishing identities which hints not only towards the continuities and discontinuities of ideological and political systems in the modern history of Belgrade and Serbia but that also represents a way to better understand national and political history through the "symbolic history".

"Slavija" and the surrounding area of the eastern Vračar, are connected to early ideas regarding the urban reconstruction of Greater Belgrade, i.e. the Belgrade that "stepped

²⁹ Videti: Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 7; Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 17.

³⁰ Videti još uvek klasične studije: Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291; Branko Maksimović i Branislav Kojić, *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1978); idem, *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda 1830-1941* (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 1983); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291.

²⁷ "The heritage is at the same time something distant and distinct, but also something that is understood and identified, and communicated as something that belongs to us. The heritage is marked, produced and constituted in cultural contexts; it is communicated through cultural mediation, consumed. It is understood as if it possesses concrete material existence and often being "tightly held" embodying in that way the sense of belonging". D. Crouch, *op. cit.*, 57.

²⁸ Pierre Nora, "Introduction to: *Realms of Memory*", vol. III, Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), IX-XII.

²⁹ See: Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 7; Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 17.

način". One su, razume se, svakako predstavljale tek deo obuhvatnijeg zahvata usvajanja, reprezentacije i manipulacije kulturnim, društvenim i političkim modelima moderne evropske demokratske i sekularne države u lokalnoj sredini druge polovine XIX stoleća. Paralelno i u tesnoj vezi sa procesom političke emancipacije Srbije, upravo je prostor oko trga Slavija postao ogledno polje za ostvarenje ideja modernog urbanizma koji je nedvosmisleno konotirao okvire identiteta države i društva kakvim su ih zamišljale srpske političke i intelektualne elite tog vremena. Tako se transformacija nekadašnjeg "Simićevog majura" iz livada i zaraslih voćnjaka u modernu gradsku četvrt sa ortogonalnom regulacijom, pravilnim blokovima i savremenom komunalnom mrežom, u čijem je fokusu bio sam trg, može razumeti kao jedan od verovatno najreprezentativnijih i najočitijih simbola društvene i kulturološke tranzicije sa čitavim nizom konotacija.

Poslednje dve decenije XIX stoleća trg Slavija i deo grada koji je postao poznat kao "Englezovac" — po Britancu Frensisu Makenziju koji je od Đorđa Simića, poznatog diplomate i političara, 1878. godine kupio čitavo imanje koje se prostiralo na površini oko današnjeg trga³¹ — počeo je da se konstituiše kao specifično i jasno prepoznatljivo mesto. Između 1882. i 1886. godine na prostoru koji se pružao od današnjeg trga Slavija ka Laudanovom šancu,

out of the ditch" in the mid 19th century.³⁰ At the intersection of old communication paths on the Kragujevac road and Constantinople road, in the period between the middle to the end of 19th century, the space witnessed a series of important urban ideas related to the shaping the capital of the new state in, what was at the time claimed as the "the European way". These represented part of an encompassing intervention in the adoption, representation and manipulation of the cultural, social and political models of the modern European democratic and secular state, in the environment of the second half of the 19th century. In parallel to a tight connection to the process of political emancipation of Serbia, the very space around Slavija Square become a test field for the realisation of ideas of modern urbanism. These undoubtedly connoted the framework of the state and society's identity, as they were conceived by Serbian political and intellectual elites of the time. In that sense, the transformation of the former "Simić Majur" from meadows and overgrown orchards into a modern city borough with orthogonal regulation, regular blocks and modern sewage system, which had as its focus the square itself, can be understood as one of the most representative and obvious symbols of this social and cultural transition.

³¹ Fransis H. Makenzi (1853-1895) bio je inženjer koji je iz Engleske došao u Beograd na nagovor supruge diplomate i istoričara Čedomilja Mijatovića. Engleskinje Elodije Loton-Mijatović. U Beogradu je ostao poznat kao "Englez", a njegovo imanje dugo je nazivano "Englezovac". Videti: Nestor Letopisac, "Postanak Englezovca i Makenzijeve ulice", *Vreme* (29. 6. 1923); Milan D. Milićević, "Iz uspomena Milana D. Milićevića", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXXIII, br. 7 (1931), 499.

³⁰ See some of the classical studies: Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291; Branko Maksimović i Branislav Kojić, *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1978); idem, *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda 1830-1941* (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 1983); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291.

ograničenom trima zrakasto postavljenim ulicama (Kragujevački drum, danas Bulevar oslobođenja; Avalska ulica, danas Svetog Save; i Oraška ulica; danas Makenzijeva), regulisano je i izgrađeno pet urbanih blokova pravilnog, pravougaonog oblika.³² Čitav prostor Englezovca bio je uključen u "građevinski rejon" Beograda, postavši tako sastavni deo prestonice kao prvi striktno i planski izgrađeni kvart.³³ Tim entuzijasta i inženjera, sa Makenzijem i inženjerom Svetolikom Popovićem na čelu, i uz stručnu pomoć arhitekta Františka Nekvasila,³⁴ preoblikovao je ovaj prostor po uzoru na engleska prigradska naselja tog vremena, oličavajući ne toliko personalne nazore samog Makenzija — koji su se kretali između hrišćanskog pijetizma do utopijskog socijalizma³⁵ — koliko potrebu da Beograd potvrdi civilizacijsku paradigmu koju su usvojile i pokušale da sprovedu elite. Makenzi je tokom osamdesetih godina XIX veka celokupno imanje podelio na pravilne parcele koje je prodavao na otplatu pod "izvesnim uslovima, među kojima su bili zahtevi o načinu izgradnje kuća, higijenskim uslovima".³⁶ Tako se Makenzi sam

During the last two decades of the 19th century, Slavija Square and the part of the city that became known as the "Englishborough" ("Englezovac") - after the Briton Francis McKenzie, who in 1878 bought the whole estate (from the famous Serbian diplomat and politician Đorđe Simić)³¹ - began to be constituted as a specific and clearly recognizable place. Between 1882 and 1886, in the area spreading from today's Slavija Square toward Laudan's Ditch, which was bounded by three radially placed streets (Kragujevac road, today Bulevar Oslobođenja; Avala street, today Svetog Save; and Oraška street, today McKenzie street), five urban blocks of regular rectangular shape³² were regulated and built. The whole area of Englishborough was included in the "building area" of Belgrade, becoming in that way an inherent part of the capital and representing the first strictly planned district.³³ A team of enthusiasts and engineers, working with McKenzie and the engineer Svetolik Popović as their leaders under the expertise of architect Frantisek Nekvasil,³⁴ reshaped this space

³² Videti: Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda, 1890 - 1914*. (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju 2008); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886. do 1914", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XXIII (1976), 175-217, pos. 177; Branko Maksimović, "Urbanistički razvoj Beograda od 1830. do 1914", *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 2 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Prosveta, 1974), 299-334, pos. 383-384.

³³ Videti: Branko Bojović, "Urbanizam Beograda u XIX i XX veku", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XLIX-L (2002-2003), 114.

³⁴ František Nekvasil bio je jedan od čeških inženjera i stručnjaka koji su bili angažovani u sprovođenju ovog urbanističkog, infrastrukturnog i arhitektonskog poduhvata. Pored samog Nekvasila, ovde su bili uposleni drugi Česi "iskusni građevinarci", kao što su npr. Gašpar Bekker i Perikle Zak. Videti: Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira u Beogradu", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 145.

³⁵ O Makenzijevom filantropizmu i intelektualnim nazorima videti: Miodrag Protić, "Slavija", *Delo*, vol. VI, br. 6 (1960), 738-743.

³⁶ Branko Vujović, *Beograd u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Beograd: Draganić 1994), 254.

³¹ Francis McKenzie (1833-1895) was an engineer who came from England to Belgrade on the suggestion of the English woman Elodia Loton-Mijatovic, who was the wife of a diplomat and a historian Cedimir Mijatovic. He was known as the "Englishman" in Belgrade and his estate was for a long time called the "Englishborough" (Englezovac). See: Nestor Letopisac, "Postanak Englezovca i Makenzijeve ulice", *Vreme* (29. 6. 1923); Milan Đ. Milićević, "Iz uspomena Milana Đ. Milićevića", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXXIII, br. 7 (1931), 499.

³² See: Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda, 1890 - 1914*. (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju 2008); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886. do 1914", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XXIII (1976), 175-217, pos. 177; Branko Maksimović, "Urbanistički razvoj Beograda od 1830. do 1914", *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 2 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Prosveta, 1974), 299-334, pos. 383-384.

³³ See: Branko Bojović, "Urbanizam Beograda u XIX i XX veku", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XLIX-L (2002-2003), 114.

³⁴ Frantisek Nekvasil was one of the Czech engineers and experts who were engaged in the realization of this urban design, infrastructural and architectural enterprise. Apart from Nekvasil other Czechs, "experienced builders" were also em-

pobrinuo da "broj stanovnika u naselju bude ograničen, i da se voda u bunarima zaštiti od zagađivanja", kao i da se poštuju stroga pravila o obliku stambenih kuća i materijalima od kojih su one morale biti podignute.³⁷ U isto vreme, ovaj gradski kvart — koji je 1894. godine promenio naziv u "Savinac",³⁸ simbolički ukazujući na rastući pritisak kulture nacionalizma kao revers istog procesa kulturne emancipacije sredine³⁹ — dobio je apoteku, dućan i hotel.⁴⁰ Nazvan "Slavija" po istoimenoj gostionici u Pragu, gradu odakle je došao arhitekta hotela Nekvasil koji mu je, kako se veruje, i dao naziv, ovaj objekat koji se snažno isticao u urbanom pejzažu okružja ubrzo je postao središte okupljanja lokalnih građana.

Stoga se prostor Istočnog Vračara i trga Slavija koji je predstavljao njegovo simboličko središte može razumeti kao svojevrsni, konstruisani simbol ne samo urbanog preobražaja prestonice, već i društvene emancipacije lokalne zajednice koja se zasnivala na širokom rasponu savremenih emancipatorskih politika i ideologija. Novo naselje predstavljalo je paradigmatički primer novo ustanovljenih društvenih i komunalnih odnosa, "kako u domenu urbane, higijenske i društvene,

according to a model of English suburbs of that time, embodying in that way not so much the personal views of McKenzie - which ranged from Christian pietism to utopian socialism³⁵ - but rather Belgrade's need to endorse the civilizational paradigm that was aspired to by its elites. During the 1880s, McKenzie had divided the whole estate into regular parcels which he sold in instalments under "certain conditions, which included requirements about the ways in which to build houses and hygienic conditions".³⁶ In that way, McKenzie managed to "limit the number of inhabitants in the borough and to protect the water in the wells from contamination", as well as to impose strict rules about the shape of the houses and the materials which were used for construction.³⁷ At the same time, this city block, which in 1894 was renamed as "Savinac"³⁸ got a pharmacy, grocery store and a hotel.³⁹ The renaming of the city block reflects the ever-growing pressure of the culture of nationalism as a token of the process of the cultural emancipation of the community.⁴⁰ The hotel that had stood high in the urban landscape of its surroundings

ployed, for example Gaspar Beker, Perikle Zak. See: Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira' u Beogradu", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 145.

³⁵ With regards to McKenzie's philanthropic and intellectual views refer to: Miodrag Protić, "Slavija", *Delo*, vol. VI, br. 6 (1960), 738-745.

³⁶ Branko Vujović, *Beograd u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Beograd: Draganić 1994), 254.

³⁷ Fransijs Mekenzi, "Pismo predsedniku Opštine i opštinskom odboru varoši Beograda", *Beograd između stvarnosti i sna: izbor tekstova*, Urbanizam Beograda, br. 66-67 (1982), 13-17. Cf. Svetlana Nedić, "Sala mira", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XVLL (1995), 123.

³⁷ Fransijs Mekenzi, "Pismo predsedniku Opštine i opštinskom odboru varoši Beograda", *Beograd između stvarnosti i sna: izbor tekstova*, Urbanizam Beograda, br. 66-67 (1982), 13-17. Cf. Svetlana Nedić, "Sala mira", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XVLL (1995), 123.

³⁸ Zbog predanja koje govori da su mošti svetog Save upravo na ovom prostoru spaljene 1594. godine. Videti: "Rad Odbora opštinskog. 19. redovni sastanak 31. marta 1894. god." *Beogradske opštinske novine*, vol. XII, no. 17 (1894), 75.

³⁹ Videti: Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Između žezla i ključa: nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u 19. i prvoj polovini 20. veka", *Nasleđe*, vol. 9 (2008), 51-73.

⁴⁰ Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988), 68-72.

³⁸ According to a legend that the relics of the Saint Sava were burned exactly at this place in 1594. See: "Rad Odbora opštinskog. 19. redovni sastanak 31. marta 1894. god." *Beogradske opštinske novine*, vol. XII, no. 17 (1894), 75.

³⁹ See: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988), 68-72.

⁴⁰ See: Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Između žezla i ključa: nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u 19. i prvoj polovini 20. veka", *Nasleđe*, vol. 9 (2008), 51-73.

tako i lične kulture”.⁴¹ O tome, između ostalog, svedoče i privatne kuće i zgrade koje su po obodu trga Slavija podizane počev od 80-ih godina XIX veka i koje su odisale aurom “evropskog” — kao što je to, na primer, slučaj sa kućom porodice Vučo u Deligradskoj br. 2 (danas restoran McDonalds), izvedenoj prema projektu Dimitrija Leka 1893. godine.⁴² Ova i druge građevine u okruženju, oblikovane “u duhu evropske arhitekture istorijskih stilova”,⁴³ predstavljale su vizuelne i urbane reperi koji jasno ukazuju na procese kulturne emancipacije i mogu se čitati kao važni sadržaji identiteta građanske klase i flagrantni reperi usvojenih vrednosti demokratskog društva.

U okviru novog naselja podignuto je i posebno izdvojeno komunalno središte, svojevrsan hram bez religijskih znamenja i oltara, poznat pod nazivom “Sala mira” (slika 1).⁴⁴ Sam Makenzi bio je najviše zaslužan za njenu izgradnju, budući da je smatrao “da je Beograđanima potrebna zgrada za skupove koji nemaju veze sa kafanskim životom”.⁴⁵ Kao odgovor na javne napade da pokušava podići nazarensku crkvu, Makenzi je objavio odgovor u formi nezavisne publikacije pod naslovom *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenja svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali*

quickly became the centre for local gatherings. It was named “Slavija” after a tavern by the same name in Prague, the hometown of Nekvasil, the architect of the hotel.

The area of the eastern Vračar and Slavija Square, which represented its symbolic centre, can be understood as a unique and construed symbol of the urban transformation of the capital and of the social emancipation of the local community based on a wide range of modern emancipating policies and ideologies. The new borough represented a paradigmatic example of newly established social and communal relationships, “both in the domain of urban, hygienic and social, as well as personal culture”.⁴¹ Private houses and buildings at the fringes of Slavija Square built during the 1880s were in a similar vein; they had that “European” aura similar to, for example, the house of the Vučo family in Deligradska number 2 (a McDonalds restaurant today), which was built according to project by Dimitrije Leko in 1893.⁴²

The Vučo family residence and other buildings in the vicinity that were shaped “in the spirit of European architecture of historical styles”,⁴³ represented visual and urban reference points which clearly pointed towards processes of cultural emancipation. These can be read as important symbols of middle class identity and

⁴¹ Miloško Gordić, “Sala mira” u Beogradu”, *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 146.

⁴² Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1814-1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1981), 67; Mirjana Roter-Blagojević, *Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početkom 20. veka* (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu i Orion Art, 2006), 285-286.

⁴³ M. Roter-Blagojević, *op. cit.*, 285.

⁴⁴ Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*; M. Gordić, *op. cit.* Cf. David A. Norris, *Belgrade: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191.

⁴⁵ S. Nedić, “Sala mira”, 123.

⁴¹ Miloško Gordić, “Sala mira” u Beogradu”, *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 146.

⁴² See: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1814-1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1981), 67; Mirjana Roter-Blagojević, *Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početkom 20. veka* (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu i Orion Art, 2006), 285-286.

⁴³ M. Roter-Blagojević, *op. cit.*, 285.



SLIKA 1.: Trg Slavija sa Salom mira i Hotelom Slavija, razglednica iz 1890-ih godina

PICTURE 1.: The Slavija Square with the Hall of Peace and the Slavija Hotel, postcard dating from 1890s

mira na Englezovcu,⁴⁶ ukazujući na svoju prosvetiteljsku, a nipošto nazarensku misiju. Svetlana Nedić pisala je o tome kako je "[u] vreme kada je počelo zidanje Sale mira, u nekim beogradskim dnevnim listovima objavljeno [...] da Makenzi gradi nazarensku crkvu".⁴⁷ Ovo tvrđenje Makenzi je demantovao u septembru 1888, tekstom objavljenim u pet beogradskih listova, istakavši da je zgrada namenjena razvijanju kulturnog života Beograđana.⁴⁸

Sala mira bila je jednostavna pravougaona zgrada sa jednim brodom, koju je po zamisli samog Makenzija podigao Svetolik

reference points of the adopted values of democratic society.

Within the new borough, a special and a separate community centre was built, a kind of a temple but without any religious tokens and shrines, known by the name "The Hall of Peace" (picture 1).⁴⁴ McKenzie was responsible for the building, given that he thought, "that Belgraders needed a building for gatherings which had nothing to do with the tavern life".⁴⁵ Svetlana Nedic wrote that "around the time when the Hall of Peace was built, some Belgrade daily newspapers published (...) that McKenzie is building a Nazarene church".⁴⁶

⁴⁶ F[ransis] Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu* (Beograd: Štamparija Sv. Nikolića, 1892).

⁴⁷ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ O percepciji nazarena u srpskoj javnosti videti: Bojan Aleksov, *Nazareni među Srbima: verska trvenja u južnoj Ugarskoj i Srbiji od 1850. do 1914.* (Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike 2010).

⁴⁴ See: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*; M. Gordić, *op. cit.* Cf. David A. Norris, *Belgrade: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191.

⁴⁵ S. Nedić, "Sala mira", 123.

⁴⁶ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*

Popović 1888-1889. godine. Mekenzi je u Sali mira organizovao niz naučno-popularnih predavanja (kao npr. o astronomiji i biologiji),⁴⁹ tamo je bila ugrađena i savremena oprema za projekcije filmova,⁵⁰ a sama institucija predstavljala je svojevrsnu istorijsku preteču socijalističkih narodnih domova i socijalističkih domova kulture. Pored toga, u Sali mira i u pridodatom prizemnom aneksu⁵¹ održavala su se i predavanja profesora Učiteljske škole, koncerti Svetosavskog pevačkog društva, kao i časovi Muške večernje škole za nepismene, te privatne škole za ženski ručni rad.⁵² Navedene aktivnosti zadobile su sasvim specifično mesto u urbanoj kulturi Beograda, svedočeći o nazorima pojedinih delova elita i pokušajima socijalne i kulturne emancipacije zajednice putem filantropskih inicijativa i organizovanih prosvetnih aktivnosti. Pored toga, ove aktivnosti nedvosmisleno ukazuju na onaj sistem društvenih i političkih vrednosti (kulturna i društvena emancipacija, socijalna pravda, građan-

To this accusation McKenzie responded by an independent publication (September 1888) entitled: *On justifying and explaining everything that relates to Sunday school for Christian science in the Hall of Peace in Englishborough*.⁴⁷ The article, along with subsequent ones he published in different Belgrade papers, emphasised that his mission was one of enlightenment for the cultural development of the lives of Belgraders rather than one of Nazarene evangelization.⁴⁸

The Hall of Peace was a simple rectangular building with one nave, which was built, according to the McKenzie's original conception, by Svetolik Popović in 1888-1889. It was here that McKenzie organized a series of popular science lectures (for example on astronomy and biology)⁴⁹ and had equipment for projecting moving images installed.⁵⁰ The institution represented a historical predecessor of what was to become the socialist "People's Centre" or "Cultural Centre". Professors from the Teacher School would hold lectures in the Hall of Peace in the added annex⁵¹ on the ground floor, the Saint Sava Glee Society had concerts there, while the Men's evening School for the Illiterate and the private school for Women's Handcrafts⁵²

⁴⁹ F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Aneks u vidu jedne niže prostorije koja je uglavnom služila kao učionica podignut je 1890. godine. Videti: F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁵² Škola za ženski ručni rad, koju je Makenzi otvorio 1891. godine uz odobrenje Ministarstva prosvete i koja je bila poznata kao "Ženska radenička škola" ili "Radenička škola na Englezovcu", rečit je primer emancipatorskih ideja kao najvažnijeg obeležja aktivnosti koje su se odvijale u Sali mira. Građani koji su stanovali u naselju Englezovac podržali su otvaranje škole, dok je sam Makenzi delimično finansirao njen rad. Dok je za najsiromašnije polaznice škole (inače, devojčice uzrasta između 11 i 15 godina) pohađanje nastave bilo besplatno, imućniji građani su plaćali školarinu za svoju decu, a iznos školarine razlikovao se od slučaja do slučaja, shodno imovinskom stanju. Pored savladavanja različitih tehnika ručnog rada, učenice su dobijale poduku iz veronauke i higijene, dok su za nepismene bili organizovani posebni časovi na kojima se predavao srpski jezik. Videti: F. Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu*. Arhivska istraživanja Svetlane Nedić govore da su podaci o radu Ženske radeničke škole poznati zaključno sa školskom 1893/94. godinom: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125. Međutim, natpisi iz periodike govore da je škola radila i nakon te godine, videti npr. "Listići", *Domaćica*, vol. XVIII, br. 9 (1895), 250.

⁴⁷ [Fransis] Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu* (Beograd: Štamparija Sv. Nikolića, 1892).

⁴⁸ On the perception of Nazarenes in Serbian public see: Bojan Aleksov, *Nazareni među Srbima: verska trvenja u južnoj Ugarskoj i Srbiji od 1850. do 1914*. (Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike 2010).

⁴⁹ F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Annex in a form of a lower room, which mainly served as a classroom, was built in 1890. See: F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁵² The School for Women hand crafts which McKenzie opened in 1891 with the approval of the Ministry of Education, and which was known as the "Ženska radenička škola" (Women

ska samosvest i odgovornost itd.) koji će još dugo ostati prepoznatljivo obeležje čitavog prostora trga Slavija, i u decenijama nakon smrti Makenzija i promena koje su usledile u inicijalnoj funkciji Sale mira koja je najpre postala sedište Srpske crtačke i slikarske škole Kirila Kutlika (1899-1900),⁵³ a potom i Srpska slikarska škola Riste i Bete Vukanović.⁵⁴

O emancipatorskoj auri Sale mira govori i njen izvorni arhitektonski identitet.⁵⁵ Sala je sagrađena kao slobodnostojeća prizemna zgrada sa istaknutim ulaznim pročeljem na kome su se izdvajali pseudo klasični timpanon i edikula sa lučnim otvorom za vrata flankiranim pilastrima i nadvišenim manjim trouglastim timpanonom koji ponavlja oblike velikog. Klasični elementi, jednostavna morfologija, prepoznatljiva klasicizirajuća spoljašnjost Sale mira i njena "dostojanstvena skromnost",⁵⁶ svakako su svedočili ne samo o prepoznatljivom i nesumnjivo jedinstvenom mestu ove građevine u arhitektonskoj slici Beograda,⁵⁷ već su na izvestan način korespondirali sa edukativnom i prosvetiteljskom ulogom Sale mira u društvenom životu grada. Redu-

were also known to hold courses in the building. These activities received a very specific place in Belgrade's urban culture. They are evidence of the views of certain sections of the elite and of the attempts that were put in place to increase the social and cultural emancipation of the community through philanthropic initiatives and organized educational programs. These activities point towards what was geared to be a system of social and political values (cultural and social emancipation, social justice, civic awareness and responsibility, etc), which for a long time remained a recognizable feature of the whole area around the Slavija Square.

Today we can find visible traces of the changes that took place in the role of the Hall of Peace in the decades that succeeded McKenzie's death. To begin with the building became the headquarters of the Serbian drawing and painting school of Kiril Kutlik (1899-1900),⁵³ and subse-

working school) or "Radenička škola na Englezovcu" (working school in the Englishborough), is an excellent example of the emancipating ideas as the most important feature of the activities that were taking place in the Hall of Peace. Citizens who lived in the Englishborough supported opening the school, and McKenzie himself financed its running. The poorest attendants (girls the age between 11 and 15) didn't have to pay any tuitions, more affluent citizens paid the tuition for their kids, and the amount differed from case to case, according to a financial status. Besides learning different techniques of hand crafts, the students also received a teaching in religious education and hygiene, while for the illiterate special courses in serbian language were organized. See: F. Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu*. According to the archival research by Svetlana Nedic there were records about the Women working school until the school year of 1893/4: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125. However, sources from the periodicals indicate that the school continued working even after that year, see for example "Listići", *Domaćica*, vol. XVIII, br. 9 (1895), 250.

⁵³ See: Zdravko Vučinić (et al.), *Kiril Kutlik — Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola* (katalog izložbe) (Beograd: Prodajna galerija Beograd, 2008); Lazar Trifunović, *Srpska crtačko-slikarska i umetničko-zanatska škola u Beogradu (1895-1914)* (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1978); Stanislav Živković, "Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola Kirila Kutlika", *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, vol. V (1969), 239-255.

⁵³ Videti: Zdravko Vučinić (et al.), *Kiril Kutlik — Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola* (katalog izložbe) (Beograd: Prodajna galerija Beograd, 2008); Lazar Trifunović, *Srpska crtačko-slikarska i umetničko-zanatska škola u Beogradu (1895-1914)* (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1978); Stanislav Živković, "Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola Kirila Kutlika", *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, vol. V (1969), 239-255.

⁵⁴ L. Trifunović, *op. cit.*, 115-120; Vera Ristić, *Beta Vukanović* (Beograd: Topy i Muzej grada Beograda, 2004); Mira Sofronijević, "Učiteljica brojnih slikarskih generacija: 25 godina od smrti Bete Vukanović (1872-1972)", *Književne novine*, vol. 49, no. 967 (1997), 13.

⁵⁵ Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125-131; Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira u Beogradu", 145-149; Radojka Božović Lopičić, "Restitucija 'Sale mira'", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 151-154.

⁵⁶ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 124.

⁵⁷ Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, "Najznačajnija raskrsnica grada", *Politika* (29. 3. 1980), 11.



SLIKA 2 :: Trg Slavija sa Socijalističkim narodnim domom, fotografija iz 1911. godine

Picture :: The Slavija Square with the Socialist People's Centre, photo dating from 1911

ni dom, postavši društveno i političko sedište socijalističkog i radničkog pokreta u Beogradu (slika 2). Sama zgrada nekadašnje Sale mira pretpela je rekonstrukciju, proširenje i zadobila je novi vizuelni identitet (sa istaknutim detaljima crvene boje).⁶⁰ Socijalistički narodni dom svečano je otvoren 7. septembra 1910. godine uz zvuke "Internacionale" i govor sekretara Srpske socijaldemokratske partije Dimitrija Tucovića, kao i sekretara Glavnog radničkog saveza Dragiše Lapčevića.⁶¹ Sve

in relation to the time after 1910 - when the Hall of Peace, and also the whole area of the Slavija Square, became places dedicated to spreading ideas of the spatial embedding of socialism, social democracy and the gradual forming of the labour movement in Belgrade. Activities that took place in the Hall of Peace and later in the Socialist People's Centre, can be viewed as aspects of a unique cultural paradigm, aimed at respecting justice, universal human rights, voting rights, gender equality and civil liberties.

After 1900, the Hall of Peace had a chequered history but its initial function held out for decades until it was sold to Vračarska Štedionica⁵⁸ in September of 1900, along with the building and

⁶⁰ Tako je, na primer, iznad ulaza u zgradu na mestu gde se nekada nalazila ploča sa imenom "Sala mira" postavljena crvena tabla sa natpisom "Socijalistički narodni dom"; prozorski ramovi na zgradi bili su obojeni crvenom bojom, a u samoj sali nalazile su se crvene zastave, kao i bista Karla Marksa.

⁶¹ "Socijalistički narodni dom", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Beogradskim radnicima i ostalim građanima", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Svečano otvaranje Socijalističkog narodnog doma", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 135 (11. 9. 1910).

⁵⁸ IAB 1292, f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125; M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

do 1914. godine Socijalistički narodni dom korišćen je za redovne sastanke i partijske kongrese; na istom mestu nalazila se redakcija "Radničkih novina", "Borbe" i "Jednakosti" (list žena socijaldemokrata), kao i naknadno sagrađena socijalistička knjižara.⁶² Pored toga, u Socijalističkom narodnom domu organizovana su javna predavanja i bogat kulturno-umetnički i kulturno-zabavni program nastavljajući, u izvesnom smislu, izvorne tradicije Sale mira.⁶³

Trg Slavija obeležili su brojni događaji iz istorije socijalizma i radničkog pokreta u Srbiji vezani za delatnost Dimitrija Tucovića, Vase Pelagića, Mite Cenića, Radovana Dragovića i Dušana Popovića. Upravo je na ovom trgu, 8. marta 1890. godine spaljena Pelagićeva prethodno cenzurirana knjiga *Narodna prava ili naše neodložne potrebe* (1889).⁶⁴ Trg Slavija bio je, osim toga, stecište građana koji su podržavali Socijaldemokratsku stranku i koji su se okupljali u Sali mira, u hotelskoj kafani, ili na samom otvorenom prostoru trga — kao npr. nakon državnog udara 1890. godine. Godine 1911. i 1912. prvomajске povorke koje je organizovala Srpska socijaldemokratska partija završavale su se zborovima na samom trgu, ispred Socijalističkog narodnog doma (*slika 3*).⁶⁵

⁶² Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127-128.

⁶³ U Socijalističkom narodnom domu održavala su se predavanja subotom, kao npr. predavanje Dušana Popovića o Lavu Tolstoju, koje je održano 11. 12. 1910. godine. Navedeno prema: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127, n. 34. Pored toga, u sali su organizovane bioskopske projekcije pod okriljem Narodnog bioskopa — institucije koju je osnovala Socijaldemokratska partija. U aneksu Socijalističkog narodnog doma je, sudeći po oglasima u *Radničkim novinama*, radio i restoran "pogodan da u njemu radničke porodice provode vreme": *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 202 (10. 9. 1911); *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 262 (19. 11. 1911).

⁶⁴ Navedeno prema: B. Vujović, *op. cit.*, 254.

⁶⁵ O tome svedoče fotografski prikazi prvomajskih parada. Videti:

surrounding objects. Ten years later, Vračarska Štedionica sold the Hall of Peace to Serbian Social-democratic Party and the Main Labour Association.⁵⁹ The Hall of Peace was then renamed into Socialist People's Centre, becoming in that way a social and political centre of socialist and labour movements in Belgrade (*picture 2*). The building of the former Hall of Peace underwent restructuring work, and an extension and gained a new visual identity (with distinguished details in red colour).⁶⁰ The Socialist People's Centre was officially opened on 7th of September in 1910 to the sounds of the "The Internationale" and was inaugurated with speeches by the Secretary of the Social-democratic Party Dimitrije Tucović and by the Secretary of the Main Labour Association Dragiša Lapčević.⁶¹ Until 1914 the Socialist People's Centre was also used for regular meetings and party congresses; the editorial boards of the "Radničke Novine", "Borba" and "Jednakost" (a journal of the women social-democrats) were in the same place, as well as at the subsequently built socialist bookshop.⁶² Besides that, public lectures and a rich artistic and cultural program were organized in the Socialist People's Centre, continuing in that way the original tradition of the Hall of Peace.⁶³

⁵⁹ IAB OGB-TD-GO-Φ XVIII-8-29.

⁶⁰ For example, above the building's entrance, on the spot where a plaque with the name "The Hall of Peace" used to hang, a red signboard "Socialistic People's Centre" was mounted; the windows frames on the building were painted in red, and there were red flags in the hall, as well as a Karl Marx bust.

⁶¹ "Socijalistički narodni dom", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Beogradskim radnicima i ostalim građanima", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Svečano otvaranje Socijalističkog narodnog doma", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 135 (11. 09. 1910).

⁶² Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127-128.

⁶³ In the Socialist People's Centre they held lectures on Sat-



SLIKA 3 :: Prvomajske demonstracije na trgu Slavija, fotografija iz 1912. godine (www.skyscrapercity.com)

PICTURE 3 :: The May Day parade on the Slavija Square, photo dating from 1912 (www.skyscrapercity.com)

Posle Prvog svetskog rata i stvaranja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, ovo mesto postalo je centar aktivnosti novoosnovane Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista), kasnije preimenovane u Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, koja je tu delovala sve do zabrane u decembru 1920. godine.⁶⁶ Uz nekadašnju Salu mira nalazila se i štamparija koja je nosila ime socijalističkog vođe Dimitrija Tucovića, koji je poginuo 1914. godine. Upravo je ime osnivača Socijaldemokratske partije Srbije, glavnog urednika lista "Borba" i jednog od najznačajnijih ideologa ne samo socijalističkog pokreta,

⁶⁶ "Sa majske demonstracije u Beogradu", *Radničke novine*, vol. XII, no. 91 (20. 4. 1912); Edib Hasanović (ur.), *Prvi maj u Srbiji (1983-1914)* (Beograd: Rad, 1954), fotografija objavljena posle str. 214.

⁶⁶ M. Protić, *op. cit.*, 738-743.

Slavija Square was marked by many events relating to the history of socialism and the Serbian labour movement that are connected to work of Dimitrije Tucović, Vasa Pelagić, Mita Cenić, Radovan Dragović and Dušan Popović. It was on this very square that they burned Pelgić's previously censored book: *People's rights or our irremissible rights* (1889)⁶⁴ on the 8th of March 1890. In addition to this, Slavija Square was a juncture for citizens who supported the Social-democratic Party and who would gather in the Hall of

urdays, such as for example a lecture by Dusan Popovic on Leo Tolstoy, which took place on 11.12.1910. Quoted according to: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127, n. 34. Besides that, in the Hall they also organised movie screenings under the tutorship of People's Cinema- an institution which was founded by the Social-democratic Party. Judging by the advertisements in the *Radničke Novine*, there was a restaurant "suitable for worker's families to spend time in it": in the annex of the Socialist People's Centre, *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 202 (10. 9. 1911); *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 262 (19. 11. 1911).

⁶⁴ Quoted according to: B. Vujović, *op. cit.*, 254.

već i jednog od nosilaca emancipatorskog zahvata u Srbiji postalo sinonim specifičnog seta ideja koje se mogu vezati za ovaj trg. Međutim, Trg Slavija i Sala mira nisu prestali da budu težište oko koga su se i u narednom periodu zabrane Komunističke partije okupljali oni koji su zastupali socijalističke ideje. Nakon ideoloških razilaženja u krugovima jugoslovenskih socijalista i osnivanja nezavisne Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista) 1919. godine, "Socijalistički Narodni Dom, Socijalističku Knjižaru i Štampariju zvanu 'Tucović' sa celim nameštajem i materijalom u Makenzijevoj ulici br. 3"⁶⁷ dobila je na korišćenje novoosnovana stranka zajedno sa Glavnim radničkim savezom, ponovo osnovanim iste godine. Paralelno sa radom štamparije, koja je bila smeštena u jednom od ranije dograđenih aneksa, u Socijalističkom narodnom domu održavala su se redovna predavanja naučno-popularnog karaktera.⁶⁸ U januaru 1929. godine, kada je zabranjena Socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije, Sala mira nastavio je da koristi Radnički savez sve do 31. decembra 1940. godine, kada je i ova organizacija raspuštena. Tokom turbulentnih 1930-ih obeleženih političkim sukobljavanjima, zabranama i oštrim ideološkim podelama, nekadašnja Sala mira data je u zakup najpre Potrošačkoj zadruzi, a potom je postala ugostiteljski objekat sa bioskopom. I pored toga, tokom demonstracija 27. marta 1941. komunisti su upravo na Slaviji držali zapaljive govore, za razliku od demokrata

⁶⁷ IAB 1292. f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁶⁸ O tome videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 128.

Peace, in the hotel tavern, or on the square's open space. In the year 1911 and 1912, the May Day parades that were organized by the Serbian Social-democratic Party ended up in rallies on the square, in front of the Socialist People's Centre (picture 3).⁶⁵

After the First World War and the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Slavija Square became the centre of activity of the newly founded Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia (the communists), later renamed into Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which was active there until its ban in 1920.⁶⁶ Next to the former Hall of Peace, there was a printing office, which was named after the socialist leader Dimitrije Tucović, who died in 1914. The name of the founder of the Social-democratic party of Serbia, the editor in chief of the "Borba" newspaper and one of the most important ideologists of not only the socialist movement but also one of the bearers of the emancipatory intervention in Serbia, became a synonym of the specific set of ideas which can be tied to this square.

Slavija Square and the Hall of Peace never stopped being a centre of gravity, even during a period in which the communist party was banned. Both places remained gathering spaces for all those who professed socialist ideas. After the ideological divergence in the circles of Yugoslav socialists and the founding of the independent Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia (the communists) in 1919, "the Socialist Peo-

⁶⁵ Evidence of this one can find in the photographic newsreports about the May Day parades. See: "Sa majske demonstracije u Beogradu", *Radničke novine*, vol. XII, no. 91 (20. 4. 1912); Edib Hasanović (ur.), *Prvi maj u Srbiji (1983-1914)* (Beograd: Rad, 1954), fotografija objavljena posle str. 214.

⁶⁶ M. Protić, *op. cit.*, 738-743.

koji su se masi obraćali na Terazijama.⁶⁹ Uklanjanje simboličkih repera vremena socijalizma iz topografije Beograda tokom poslednjih decenija, zapravo je bilo samo sastavni deo složenih procesa koji su preoblikovali društvenu, političku i kulturnu paradigmu kroz nedvosmislen preokret sistema vrednosti. U tom smislu simptomatične su i neke istorijske paralele. Naime, kada je 1935. godine u kontekstu izmenjene društvene i političke klime u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji nekadašnja Sala mira postala ugostiteljski objekat, postojali su predlozi da se prilikom rekonstrukcije ove zgrade, koja je, kao “stara i preživela građevina”⁷⁰ prepoznata kao nepoželjni recidiv jednog specifičnog sistema vrednosti, temeljno prepravi uprkos, kako se tada isticalo, modernosti njenog izgleda. Sama zgrada je dograđena, njena fasada “modernizovana”, zaklanjajući kao kulisa samu Salu mira i sve dograđene prostorije. Novo arhitektonsko ruho, čiji su autori bili arhitekte Žarko Pajević i Svetomir Lazić, oblikovano u najboljoj tradiciji “modernog” idioma karakterističnog za sredinu četvrte decenije XX veka,⁷¹ konačno je iz javnog prostora uklonilo vizuelnu i značenjsku vezu nekadašnjeg socijalističkog doma i savremenog života Beograda. Simbol socijalističkih ideja i emancipatorskih ideologija je tada, baš kao i 1991. godine kada je Sala mira porušena do temelja, postao nepoželjno mesto sećanja u kome više nije bilo moguće održavati simbolički potencijal koji je sažimalo ime Dimitrija Tucovića.

ple’s Centre, the Socialist bookshop and the printing office called “Tucović” with all the furniture and material in McKenzie street number 3”⁶⁷ were given on disposal to the newly founded party, together with the Main Labour Association, founded again in the same year. Concurrently to the running of the printing office, which was located in one of the earlier built annexes, regular lectures on popular science would take place⁶⁸ in the Socialist People’s Centre. In January 1929, when the Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia was banned, the Labour Association continued to use the Hall of Peace until 31 of December 1940, when the organisation was disbanded. During the turbulent 1930s, marked by political confrontations, bans and sharp ideological divides, the former Hall of Peace was rented first to Potrošačka Zadruga and subsequently became a catering establishment with a cinema. Despite all that, during the demonstrations on 27 of March 1941, the communists held their fiery speeches at the Slavija Square, as opposed to the democrats who addressed the masses at Terazije Square.⁶⁹

Removing the symbolic socialist markers from the topography of Belgrade during the last decades is only a part of complex processes that have reshaped the social, political and cultural paradigm through an unambiguous reversal of the system of values. In that sense, some historical parallels are symptomatic, namely when in 1935, in the context of the changed social and

⁶⁹ Desimir Tošić, “Jedno viđenje studentskih političkih kretanja pred Drugi svetski rat”, *Tokovi istorije*, no. 3 (2006), 229-267.

⁷⁰ M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁷¹ O arhitektonskoj intervenciji iz 1934-35. godine videti: M. Gordić, *loc. cit.*; S. Nedić, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ IAB 1292. f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁶⁸ About that see: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 128.

⁶⁹ Desimir Tošić, “Jedno viđenje studentskih političkih kretanja pred Drugi svetski rat”, *Tokovi istorije*, no. 3 (2006), 229-267.



SLIKA 4. :: Trg Slavija, razglednica iz prve polovine 1970-ih godina

PICTURE 4. :: The Slavija Square, postcard from the first half of the 1970s

Nakon oslobođenja 1944. godine celokupno imanje je prešlo u ruke organizacije Jedinствeni sindikati Srbije, koja je u Sali mira otvorila bioskop sa prvim radničkim domom kulture u Beogradu,⁷² na čiju je fasadu 1958. godine postavljena spomen-ploča koja je prolaznike podsećala da je ta zgrada bila Socijalistički narodni dom.⁷³ Bioskop, koji je od 1947. godine radio pod imenom "Bioskop Radničkog doma kulture", a potom postao komercijalna sala poznata pod imenom "Bioskop Slavija", održao se sve do početka poslednje decenije XX veka (slika 4).

Nekadašnja Sala mira konačno je porušena u junu 1991. godine, simptomatično označavajući urušavanje i sistema vred-

political climate in the Yugoslav Kingdom, the former Hall of Peace became a catering establishment there were some suggestions to thoroughly reconstruct this building despite its modern looks. The building was labelled as "old and antiquated"⁷⁰ and seen as an unwanted recidivate of a specific value system. The building was thus upgraded: its façade was "modernized" and in that way covered as a coulisse the Hall of Peace and all the annexed rooms. The new architectural attire, designed by the architects Žarko Pajević and Svetomir Lazić, was shaped in the best tradition of "modern" idiom, characteristic of the fourth decade of 20th century.⁷¹ This finally removed from public space the visual and semantic relation between the former socialist House

⁷² IAB OGB-TD-GO XIX-28-1931. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷³ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷⁰ M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁷¹ On architectural intervention from 1934-25 see: M. Gordić, *loc. cit.*; S. Nedić, *loc. cit.*

nosti socijalističkog društva i jugoslovenske zajednice u ratu koji je započeo nepunih mesec dana kasnije, uprkos činjenici da je deset godina pre toga ovaj objekat bio proglašen za spomenik kulture.⁷⁴ Jedna od velikih ironija istorije je da je u Detaljnom urbanističkom planu, koji je i sankcionisao rušenje Sale mira, bilo izričito naglašeno da se ova građevina mora rekonstruisati “u svom istorijskom, izvornom izgledu”. Nedavna ideja da se porušeni objekat Sale mira proglasi za spomenik kulture najvišeg značaja čini se da predstavlja zadocneli, iako ne i nevažni omaž ovom specifičnom mestu sećanja čije je mesto u memorijalnoj topografiji Beograda sasvim jedinstveno.

Međutim, u brojnim slojevima kulturnoškog i ideološkog nasleđa Slavije, posebno se izdvaja simbolika polaganja posmrtnih ostataka Dimitrija Tucovića novembra 1949. godine.⁷⁵ Na izbor Slavije kao mesta koje će poneti njegovo ime i dobiti njegovu bistu, uticao je svakako dugi istorijat trga. Polaganjem Tucovićevih kostiju, centralni gradski trg je dobio nov aktivni sadržaj, koji se temeljio na ideji izgradnje kontinuiteta socijalističke misli i prakse u Beogradu. Polaganjem posmrtnih ostataka, najznačajnijeg socijalističkog mislioca sa ovih prostora (pored Svetozara Markovića) i odlučnog kritičara srpskog nacionalizma i ekspanzionizma, na simboličnoj ravni

and modern life in Belgrade. This symbol of socialist ideas and emancipatory ideologies had then, as in 1991 when it was finally razed to the ground, become an undesirable place of memory, in which it was no longer possible to maintain the symbolic potential that was the essence of the name Dimitrije Tucović.

After liberation in 1944, McKenzie's estate went into hands of the United Syndicates of Serbia organisation, which opened a cinema in the Hall of Peace housing the first Labour Cultural Centre in Belgrade.⁷² On its façade, in 1958, a memorial plaque was mounted, a reminder to passer-bys that this building was a Socialist People's Centre.⁷³ The cinema, which operated under name “The Cinema of the Labour Cultural Centre” until 1947 when it became a commercial hall known as the “Cinema Slavija”, held up until the last decade of the 20th century (*picture 4*).

The former Hall of Peace was finally torn down in June 1991, symptomatically marking the collapse of the socialist value system and the Yugoslav community, despite the fact that ten years previously the building had been declared a listed building.⁷⁴ One of the big ironies of history is that in the Detailed Urban Plan, which sanctioned tearing down the Hall of Peace, it was explicitly stated that this building must be reconstructed “in its historical, original looks”. A recent motion to declare the demolished building of the Hall of Peace a “listed build-

⁷⁴ Videti: “Odluka o proglašavanju određenih nepokretnosti za kulturna dobra”, *Službeni list grada Beograda*, vol. XXVIII, no. 19 (1981), 913.

⁷⁵ Na trgu Slavija sahranjeni su posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića, tvorca modernog radničkog pokreta u Srbiji, videti natpis u dnevnom listu *Politika* (21. 11. 1949).

⁷² IAB OGB-TD-GO XIX-28-1931. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷³ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷⁴ See: “Odluka o proglašavanju određenih nepokretnosti za kulturna dobra”, *Službeni list grada Beograda*, vol. XXVIII, no. 19 (1981), 913.

istovremeno je brisano neželjeno sećanje na vojnike Crvene armije koji su tu sahranjeni pet godina ranije, ali i mnogo toga više.⁷⁶

U prvim posleratnim danima, naime, na nekoliko beogradskih trgova obeležena su mesta na kojima su sahranjeni vojnici Crvene Armije. Prvo spomen — obeležje palim crvenoarmejcima podignuto je na nekada Pozorišnom, danas Trgu Republike. 28. oktobra 1944. Upravo je ovde održana velika sahrana sovjetskih vojnika na kojoj su bili prisutni generali Crvene Armije i NOV-a. U neposrednoj blizini Vukovog spomenika u Beogradu, sahranjeni su vojnici Crvene armije koji su poginuli u Mađarskoj i kako je isticano u novinama neposredno po oslobođenju „u skladu sa svojom poslednjom željom sahranjeni u Beogradu”.⁷⁷ U zimskim danima iščekivanja i strepnji štampa je prenosila njihove izjave koje je trebalo da osnaže osećaje bliskosti između građana Jugoslavije i Crvene Armije.⁷⁸ Spomenici poginulim crvenoarmejcima koji su nicali širom Srbije, sjedinjavali su krst i petokraku i predstavljali prve primere uprostoravanja komunizma u Srbiji. Mapi-rali su pejzaž sećanja u kome su pali vojnici Crvene Armije označeni kao heroji i martiri nove zajednice u nastajanju. Pored dva pomenuta prostora, u Beogradu su grobovi palih vojnika obeleženi i na trgovima Slavi-

ing of the outmost importance” seems like a late, if not irrelevant homage to this place of memory, whose place in the memorial topography of Belgrade is quite unique.

In the numerous layers of cultural and ideological heritage that are represented in Slavija Square, the burying of the remains of Dimitrije Tucović in November 1949 still maintains an important symbolism.⁷⁵ The square's long history was one of the main factors that influenced the decision to pick the Slavija Square as a place that would carry his name and get his bust. By burying Tucović's remains, the central city square received a new active content, based on the idea of building a continuity of socialist thought and practice in Belgrade. Laying to rest the remains of one of the region's most important socialist thinkers (besides Svetozar Marković) and a resolute critic of Serbian nationalism and expansionism, erased the unwanted memory - in the symbolic plain, of the Red Army soldiers who were buried there five years earlier as well as of the tumultuous events that it had witnessed up to that date.⁷⁶

In the first days after the war, in several squares around Belgrade, places in which the Red Army soldiers had been buried were marked. The first memorial to the fallen Red Army soldiers was erected on the 28th of October 1944 in the former Theatre Square, known today as the Square

⁷⁶ Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića su preneti iz Lazarevca, preko Arandjelovca i Mladenovca u Beograd 35 godina posle njegove pogibije. Videti: "Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića preneseni su juče u Beograd", u *Politika*, (20. 11. 1949), 3.

⁷⁷ Videti: Olga Manojlović Pintar, "Široka strana moja rodnaja": Spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944-1954", u *Tokovi istorije*, no. 1-2 (2005), 134-145.

⁷⁸ Posebno je isticana navodna izjava kapetana Striževa: "Biću Nemce bez milosti, ali nijednu granatu neću da pustim na slovenski Beograd" kao dokaz bliskosti koju su vojnici Crvene Armije imali prema Beogradu i njegovim građanima. *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ The remains of Dimitrije Tucovic, the founder of modern labor movement in Serbia, were buried on the Slavija Square, see the article in the daily newspaper *Politika* (21.11.1949).

⁷⁶ The remains of Dimitrije Tucovic were transported from Lazarevac, via Arandjelovac and Mladenovac to Belgrade, 35 years after his death. See: "Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića preneseni su juče u Beograd", in *Politika*, (20. 11. 1949), 3.

ja i Autokomanda, u blizini raskrsnice ulica Nemanjine i Miloša Velikog.

Narodnooslobodilačka vojska koja je od 1944. godine, odnosno posle uspostavljanja dijaloga sa Čerčilom i nastavka zvaničnih razgovora sa Staljinom etablirana na međunarodnom planu kao jedna od saveznica antifašističke koalicije, podsticala je manifestacije i simbole kojima je isticana uloga Crvene Armije u oslobodjenju zemlje. Preimenovanjem ulica 1946. godine u javnom prostoru su se našla imena Generala Ždanova i Maršala Birjuzova. Kroz prikaz bliskosti sa Sovjetskim Savezom, jugoslovensko komunističko rukovodstvo je pokušavalo da osnaži svoje pozicije u samoj zemlji, dokazujući istovremeno moćnoj saveznicu svoju principijelnu i faktičku odanost. Veoma je interesantna činjenica da su brojne akcije podizanja spomenika crvenoarmejcima, iako inicirane od samih građana, uvek koordinirali narodno-oslobodilački odbori, čijem se uspostavljanju Staljin odlučno suprotstavio još na samom početku rata. Poginuli vojnici Crvene Armije su svečano sahranjivani u prisustvu građana, uz opela sveštenika Srpske pravoslavne crkve i govore političkih komesara.

Iako je kult Crvene armije brižljivo negovan od prvih dana oslobođenja, kroz niz komemoracija koje su u centar javnog polja postavile figuru crvenoarmejca kao oslobodioca i velikog saveznika, partizanska vojska je i u tim prvim danima jasno isticana kao nosilac revolucionarnog preobražaja društva. Postepenim uobličavanjem ratnog narativa sve je jasnije kreirana predstava kontinuiteta socijalističke revolucionarne misli i borbe. U javnom

of the Republic. In this very place, a large burial of soviet soldiers took place and was attended to by the generals of the Red Army and NOV (People's Liberation Army). In the vicinity of the Vukov Spomenik in Belgrade, the press reported that after liberation the soldiers of the Red Army who died in Hungary were laid to rest "according to their last will to be buried in Belgrade".⁷⁷ During those dark winter days, the newspapers published statements that were supposed to strengthen the feeling of closeness between the citizens of Yugoslavia and the Red Army.⁷⁸ Monuments to the fallen Red Army soldiers sprouted all over Serbia, uniting a cross and a red star that represented the first examples of the spatial embedding of communism in Serbia. They mapped the landscape of memory in which the fallen soldiers of the Red Army became denoted as the heroes and martyrs of a new society in its forming. Besides the two already mentioned spaces in Belgrade, the graves of the fallen soldiers were also marked on the Slavija and Autokomanda squares and in the vicinity of the junction between Nemanjina and Miloš Veliki streets.

From 1944, while a dialogue with Churchill had been established and talks with Stalin were proceeding, the People's Liberation Army arose on the international plain as one of the allies of the anti-fascist coalition. It encouraged demonstrations and symbols that emphasized the role of the Red Army in the liberation of the Country.

⁷⁷ See: Olga Manojlović Pintar, "Široka strana moja rodnaja": Spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944-1954", in *Tokovi istorije*, no. 1-2 (2005), 134-145.

⁷⁸ An alleged statement by the Captain Srtizev was especially emphasized: "I will fight Germans mercilessly, but I won't drop a single grenade on the Slavic Belgrade" as a proof of closeness that red Army soldiers had for Belgrade and its citizens. *Ibid.*

prostoru to je, međutim, postalo uočljivo tek posle političkog razlaza jugoslovenskih i sovjetskih komunista 1948. godine. Tada je, naime, započela organizovana praksa podizanja spomenika i spomenploča koji su slavili partizanske žrtve i ideju autentičnog čitanja marksizma jugoslovenskih komunista.

Slavija kao mesto sećanja koje je oktobra 1944. godine jasno obeleženo sahranjivanjem poginulih crvenoarmejaca, pet godina kasnije je dobila novi aktivni sadržaj postavljanjem groba Dimitrija Tucovića. Na simboličnoj ravni on je afirmisao ideju kontinuiteta i autohtonog jugoslovenskog puta u socijalizam, negirajući predstavu socijalizma u Jugoslaviji kao importa Crvene armije. Država je gradila tradicije koje je trebalo da jasno istaknu revolucionarnu inicijativu jugoslovenskih komunista. Ritualni su interpretirali ratno iskustvo i davali mu jasna tumačenja tokom decenja postojanja socijalističke Jugoslavije.

Istorijske predstave (stvarne, ali i imaginarne) zauzimaju simbolička mesta i kreiraju društveni i kulturni identitet zajednice, koja sebe zamišlja i konsekventno gradi kroz različite reprezentativne forme. Na prostoru Slavije se tokom čitavog XX veka kristalisalo nasleđe koje je u svojoj osnovi imalo ideju socijalne pravde i ravnopravnosti i koje je indirektno utemeljivalo ideje socijalizma u zajednicu. Današnje derutno stanje trga i nemogućnost konstituisanja narativa koji bi ga uobličio, analizirano na simboličnoj ravni, čini se da proizilazi iz pokušaja negiranja memorije prostora. Sve inicijative za preimenovanje i promenu koncepta trga Sla-

By renaming the streets in 1946, the names of General Ždanov and Marshal Birjuzov emerged in the public space. Through a depiction of closeness with the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav communist leadership tried to strengthen its position in the country, proving to its powerful ally its principal and factual loyalty. It is noteworthy that on the numerous occasions in which citizens initiated the erecting of monuments for the Red Army soldiers, these were always coordinated by people-liberation assemblies, whose founding Stalin decisively opposed from the beginning of the war. The dead soldiers of the Red Army were ceremonially buried in the presence of citizens, with a requiem by the priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church and speeches by the political commissars.

The cult of the Red Army was carefully nourished from the first days of liberation, through a series of commemorations that presented the figure of a Red Army soldier as the liberator and a big ally to the public. Nevertheless, the partisan army was always depicted as a bearer of the revolutionary transformation of the society. By the gradual shaping of the war narrative, an image of continuity with regards to socialist revolutionary thought and struggle was created. In public spaces, this only became visible after the political split between the Yugoslav and Soviet communists, when the organised practice of erecting monuments and mounting memorial plaques that celebrated the partisan sacrifice and the idea of an authentic reading of Marxism by the Yugoslav communists was born.

Slavija's importance as a place of memory was initially marked by the burial of the



SLIKA 5 :: Naslovna strana reprinta knjige Dimitrija Tucovića iz 1913. godine: "Srbija i Arbanija: jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije" (Beograd: Radnička štampa, 1974).

PICTURE 5 :: Cover of the reprint of the book "Srbija i Arbanija: jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije" (Belgrade: Radnička štampa, 1974) written by Dimitrije Tucović in 1913

vija, odnosno Dimitrija Tucovića, polazile su, kao što je već rečeno, od ideje brisanja sećanja koju nosi nasleđe Tucovićeve misli u Srbiji. Savremeno društvo je pokušalo da izgradi distancu prema radikalnoj kritici nacionalne politike koju je artikulirao Tucović, pre svega u delu *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (1914) (slika 5). Njegove analize balkanskih političkih realnosti, sublimirane u stavu da je "Srbija rdavom politikom odgurnula albanski narod u mržnju prema svemu srpskom", predstavljale su potpuno odbijanje pro-

Red Army soldiers in October of 1944 and five years later, by the setting up the Dimitrije Tucović tomb. In the symbolic plain, the tomb asserted the idea of continuity and an autochthon Yugoslav path into socialism, negating the image of socialism in Yugoslavia as an import of the Red Army. The state was building traditions that were supposed to clearly single out the revolutionary initiative of the Yugoslav communists. The rituals were interpreting the war experience and in so doing, giving it unequivocal interpretations of the identity of socialist Yugoslavia.

Historical representations (real or imaginary) occupy symbolic places and create the social and cultural identity of a community, in the process of which it is imagining and consequently building itself through different symbolic forms. In the Slavija area, during the entire 20th century, a heritage that had at its base an idea of social justice and equality was crystallised and thus indirectly paved the way for theories of socialism in the community. The current state of disorder of the square and the impossibility to construct a narrative that can shape it, seems a consequence of attempts to negate the memories of the space. All the initiatives to rename and change the conception of Slavija, i.e. Dimitrije Tucović square, began with the idea of erasing the memory of the heritage that bears the thought of Tucović in Serbia.

Contemporary society has tried to distance itself from the radical critique of national politics that was articulated by Tucović, above all in the work *Serbia and Arbania, a contribution to the critique of the imperialistic politics of the Serbian bourgeoisie* (1914) (picture 5). His analyses of Balkan

jekata državnog širenja. Danas posle sto godina, Tucovićeve tumačenja ostavljaju snažan utisak. Ističući da je Srbija "htela izlazak na more i jednu svoju koloniju, ali je na kraju ostala bez izlaska na more, a od zamišljene kolonije stvorila krvnoga neprijatelja", posmatrane iz istorijske perspektive i sa vremenske distance otvaraju prostor za nove analize i tumačenja prošlosti. Otvaraju pitanje: koliko su i danas određeni procesi još uvek snažni na ovim prostorima.⁷⁹

Tucovićevo rešenje problema na Balkanu nastalih povlačenjem Turske, polazilo je od ideje grupisanja i razvijanja uzajamnosti zemalja i naroda Balkana. Za njega je to bio jedini put koji je mogao rezultirati privrednim, nacionalnim i političkim oslobođenjem. Ideja Balkanske federacije koju je promovisao, polazila je od stava da sve "balkanske države hoće pristaništa i teritorije (...) a ne vide da to svi mogu imati samo u zajednici". On je bio među rodonačelnicima ideje nužnosti objedinjavanja balkanskog prostora, kao jedinog preduslova i mogućnosti za razvoj.

U evropskoj tradiciji i u vremenskoj i u prostornoj perspektivi trg označava mesto susreta i razmene, dijaloga ideja i dobara. Zaokružena celina trga otvara mogućnost uspostavljanja kulture dijaloga i konsekventno izgradnje ideala tolerancije. Traganje za načinom koji će Slaviju kao mesto sećanja preobraziti u moderni trg XXI veka, ostaće bez rezultata sve dok se slojevi memorijalnog nasleđa ne odvijaju i kritički ne preispitaju. Uključivanje

political realities, condensed in the claim that "through bad politics, Serbia has pushed Albanian people into hatred of everything Serbian", represented a complete rejection of the project of state expansion. Today, after hundred years, Tucović's interpretations give a powerful impression: they observe that Serbia "wanted an access to the sea and a colony but ended up with no access to the sea and made a sworn enemy out of an imagined colony". The statement opens up space for new analyses and interpretations of the past while begging the question: to what extent are certain processes still strong in this region.⁷⁹

Tucović's solution for the problems in the Balkans, generated by the retreat of the Turks, started off with the idea of grouping and developing reciprocity between the countries and nations that make up the Balkans. For him, this was the only approach that would result in economic, national and political liberation. The idea of a Balkan federation which he promoted, was based on an idea that all "Balkan little states want harbours and territories (...) but can't see that they could all have it only when in a community". Tucović was one of the founders of the notion that there was a necessity of uniting the Balkan region and that this was the only condition necessary to forward development. In European tradition and from a perspective of time and space, a square denotes a place of meeting and of dialogue, of exchange of ideas and of goods. The completeness of a square opens up a possibility for establishing a culture of dialogue and consequently building up an ideal of toler-

⁷⁹ Videti: Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Beograd: Nova štamparija S. Radenkovića i Brata, 1914).

⁷⁹ See: Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Beograd: Nova štamparija S. Radenkovića i Brata, 1914).

neželjene, a zapravo potisnute memorije preduslov je kreiranja kontinuiteta kao osnova funkcionisanja prostora kroz nove sadržaje. Od načina na koji će jugoslovensko iskustvo socijalizma, kao i preispitivanje međunacionalnih odnosa na Balkanu biti uključeno u promišljanje savremenog trenutka u Srbiji, zavisice i sistem vrednosti zajednice. Na primeru Slavije postaje jasno da funkcionisanje društva nije moguće bez uspostavljanja istorijskih kontinuiteta. To je, čini se, moguće samo kritičkim i konstruktivnim odnosom prema prošlosti, a ne njenim brisanjem, zaboravljanjem i stavljanjem u zgrade.⁸⁰

ance. A search for the ways in which Slavija as a place of memory could be transformed into a modern square of the 21st century, will remain without a result until the layers of the memorial heritage unroll and until they are critically examined. Including the unwanted but suppressed memory is a condition for creating continuity as a basis for the space's functioning through new contents. The system of values of the community will depend on the ways in which the Yugoslav experience of socialism, as well as examining inter-national relationships in the Balkans, will be included in the thinking of a contemporary moment in Serbia. The case of Slavija Square makes it clear that society cannot function without establishing historical continuities. That, it seems, is only possible through critical and constructive relation toward the past, not by erasing it, forgetting it or putting it in brackets.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Ovaj tekst je rezultat rada na projektima "Srpska umetnost XX veka — nacionalno i Evropa", br. proj. 177013, i "Tradicija i transformacija — istorijsko nasleđe i nacionalni identiteti u Srbiji u XX veku", br. proj. 47019, koje finansira Ministarstvo prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije.

⁸⁰ This text is a result of the work in the framework of the projects "Serbian art of the 20th century — national and Europe", Project No. 177013 and "Tradition and transformation — historical heritage and national identities in Serbia in the 20th century", Project No. 47019, which are financed by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.



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