

Today's traces of Belgrade Between Two World Wars: Milutin Borisavljević's Disappearing Architectural Heritage

Irena Kuletin Čulafić

University of Belgrade Faculty of Architecture, Department of History and Theory of Architecture and Art, Belgrade, Serbia

kuletin@arh.bg.ac.rs, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7052-4596>

Abstract: Faced with contemporary environmental, social, political and economic challenges, architectural heritage of past centuries is the target of transformation and disappearance. The paper investigates the rapid disappearance of the architectural heritage created between the two World Wars on the example of the extremely large and valuable architectural work of the architect Milutin Borisavljević. Between 1927 and 1941, Milutin Borisavljević has built 123 buildings in Belgrade, of which 114 are examples of residential architecture that were made for private clients. Borisavljević's architectural oeuvre is recognized as a very valuable cultural heritage that inherits the principles of academicism - where the French Renaissance style and classicism prevail, respecting the principles of Borisavljević's scientific aesthetics of architecture - the original aesthetic theory conceived by Milutin Borisavljević in the twenties of the 20th century.

The main goal of the paper is to review the changes in the urban image of Belgrade today and in the time between the two World Wars - when Borisavljević built buildings at Neimar, Vračar, Stari grad, Senjak and Pašino brdo - forming authentic urban environments whose atmospheric essence still endures today.

The fact is that many of Borisavljević's beautiful houses built in these urban areas were demolished under the pretext that they were dilapidated buildings (low-rise buildings), and in their place were built high-rise buildings because of the economic profitability. In the last twenty years, more than 30 Borisavljević's building were demolished, while on the other hand, their aesthetic beauty was the main reason behind the purchase of these buildings by the private individuals and public companies that renovated the buildings, but often not in accordance with the cultural heritage protection measures, and also neglecting the principles Borisavljević's scientific aesthetics of architecture.

The paper discusses the irony and discrepancy of the ethical attitude of the architectural profession towards its historical cultural heritage, which is disappearing for various reasons, whether it is completely destroyed or transformed by the application of inadequate forms of reconstruction.

Keywords: urban heritage preservation, architectural heritage of Belgrade, Milutin Borisavljević, vanishing urban environments

1 Introduction

The main idea of this paper is focused on the research of the architectural heritage built by architect Milutin Borisavljević between the two world wars. One of the tasks of the paper is aimed at the examination of significance of the very extensive architectural oeuvre (123 buildings) that Borisavljević achieved in Belgrade by building architectural works in several urban parts of the city – Vračar (especially Neimar), Voždovac (especially Pašino brdo), Zvezdara (especially Lion), Palilula (especially Bulbuder), Stari Grad (especially Dorćol), Savski Venac (especially Senjak and Dedinje). The buildings of Milutin Borisavljević bear the authentic stamp of the author. His architecture is closely related to Borisavljević's theoretical, scientific and critical work, which in the research points to the application of a comprehensive research methodology during which Milutin Borisavljević's built architecture must be investigated in the context of other architectural disciplines that he tackled: theory of architecture (Borisavljević's idea of conceptualizing the scientific aesthetics of architecture), criticism of architecture (numerous critical texts that he published in daily newspapers and magazines) and the optical physiological perspective (a scientific discipline founded by Borisavljević).

By viewing the entirety of Borisavljević's creation in the domain of science, theory, criticism and built practice of architecture, it is only possible to reliably determine the importance of Borisavljević's architectural design work and explain why it is important to preserve the author's architectural works from disappearing, as a result of the pressure of the decades-long transformation of urban parts of Belgrade, during which the most beautiful examples of old historical architecture have vanished and have been replaced by new architecture without an aesthetic fit in the context of the urban environment.

The paper analyzes the entire architectural heritage achieved by Milutin Borisavljević and determines how many buildings have been demolished and reshaped (by upgrading and architectural interventions), highlighting the most beautiful examples of Borisavljević's architecture, the value of which is important to highlight and recognize in order to prevent its complete destruction in the future.

The research includes reliance on historiographical literature and archival materials related to architecture and urbanism between the two world wars (plans and photographs of architectural buildings, photographs of the current state and locations where Borisavljević's buildings were built, technical documentation preserved in the Belgrade City Archives, and documentation from the Museum of Science and Technology).

2 The importance of a rich cultural heritage: Milutin Borisavljević as an architect-designer, aesthetician, theoretician, critic and architectural scholar

Milutin Borisavljević (1889-1969) is an extremely interesting, prolific, insufficiently researched and almost forgotten figure in Serbian architecture. The complexity of Borisavljević's work is reflected in several fields he dealt with in the domain of architecture: design, theory, aesthetics, history and criticism of architecture, and a scientific-physiological perspective. We can conclude that Borisavljević was an unusual phenomenon in Serbian architecture between the two world wars, primarily in terms of his wide range of interests, from the conception of the original theoretical idea of the scientific aesthetics of architecture and the scientific conception of the optical-physiological perspective (18 books and nearly 170 scientific papers), through architectural and urban criticism in the daily press (several dozens of architectural and urban criticism), lectures on aesthetics at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, publication of the architectural magazine "Neimar", up to a very fruitful architectural activity characterized by over 130 completed buildings in Serbia in the period from 1927 to 1939. Borisavljević completed his architectural studies in Belgrade in 1913, and received his doctorate at the Sorbonne in Paris (*L'Université Paris-Sorbonne*) in the field of architectural aesthetics in 1925. In Paris, he was very well received as an architecture theorist, he taught aesthetics at the *École des hautes études sociales* and the *École spéciale d'architecture*, and he socialized with well-respected intellectuals, such as the famous French philosophers Henri Bergson and Etienne Souriot. The connections in scientific circles that he made in his youth greatly benefited him in his old age, when, in 1949, he emigrated to Paris, where he died in 1969. Despite the very promising prospects for a further scientific career in Paris, Borisavljević returned to Belgrade in order to convey to his environment acquired knowledge from abroad. Not only a gifted architect-theoretician, Borisavljević was an equally successful architect-designer. In 1926, he founded the independent architectural bureau "Parthenon" in Belgrade and achieved a very successful construction practice, designing houses mainly for private clients.

Along with intensive construction practice, Borisavljević stands out as one of the most agile critics, theoreticians and historians of architecture (he publishes texts in the daily newspapers: "Politika", "Pravda", "Vreme", as well as periodicals: "Misao", "Nova zora", "Život i rad", "Smena", "XX vek", "Srpski književni glasnik", "20. oktobar", "Umetnički pregled"). In 1930, Borisavljević started the professional journal "Neimar" – a monthly magazine for architects, contractors and homeowners, as editor-in-chief in cooperation with Cezar Kabiljo, the owner of the company "Imobilija".

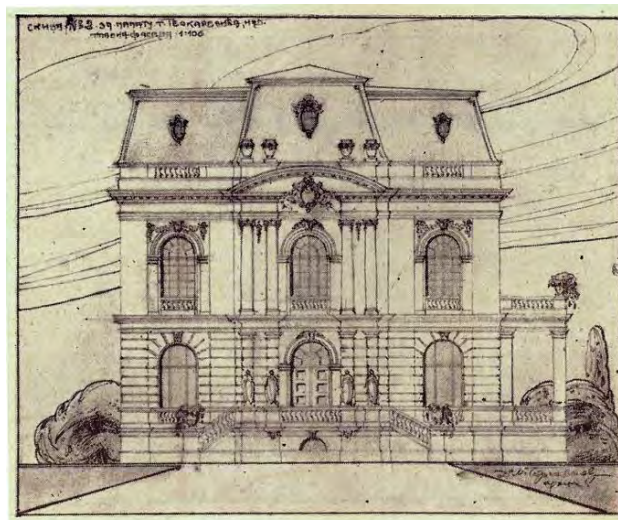


Figure 1 Teokarević Palace, project.

In his architectural design practice, Borisavljević created works of harmonious aesthetic values, which is particularly evident in the residential architecture of the villas he built in Neimar, Vračar, Dorćol and Senjak. These beautiful and compositionally architecturally sophisticated houses depict the unity of Borisavljević's

theoretical and critical views on architecture (Borisavljević, 1923), which rely on eurythmy, harmony, proportion conformity and rhythm that describes architecture as a temporal, not a spatial art – which is most evident in Borisavljević's books and scientific articles dedicated to scientific aesthetics of architecture (Kuletin Čulafić, 2012). Considering modernism, a passing fashion that began to appear in Belgrade between the two world wars, Borisavljević would remain consistent with his French roots and architecture, which observed the heritage of the French Renaissance and the compositional grace of the Louis XV and Louis XVI styles.

3 Urban development of Belgrade between the two world wars

Considering that the topic of the paper is narrowly defined on the buildings built by the architect Borisavljević and their disappearance during a period of time of approximately one century, the topic of the urban development of Belgrade is briefly addressed in the context of a clearer overview of the historical, social, political, economic, cultural and architectural-urban conditions that prevailed during the construction of Belgrade between the two world wars.

With the formation of the joint state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, Belgrade as the capital of the newly formed state became its political, administrative, economic and cultural center. In the conditions of general modernization, Belgrade changed rapidly in the period between the two world wars (Marković, 1992). It lost the chaotic appearance of the former oriental town from the 19th century (Roter Blagojević, 2006), increasingly taking on the appearance of European capitals, both in terms of architectural style and urban planning, reflected in the construction of new streets, wide boulevards and central city squares. With the formation of the Kingdom of SCS and the significant expansion of the territory, the social structure also changed, and thus Belgrade became the place of a large population influx from different parts of the country. By 1930, the population of Belgrade had doubled compared to the period before the First World War. Belgrade was faced with the consequences of the destruction during the First World War, a large influx of population, a large demand for housing, which resulted in unplanned and legally unregulated construction („Politika“, 30. 12. 1930, p.5). The urban and infrastructural problems of Belgrade were tried to be solved by the General Urban Plan (GUP) of Belgrade from 1923, which envisaged the expansion of Belgrade to the left bank of the Sava, which was deserted and uninhabited (the area where New Belgrade is located today). The GUP from 1923 envisioned many advanced ideas: radical reconstruction of the traffic network with the construction of a railway station under the Belgrade ridge, with a freight station at the pier and a passenger station at Vračar, the construction of new highways, parks, bridges, the placement of close to 140 administrative, socio-cultural, school and children's institutions (Maksimović, 1973). However, most of the ideas of the GUP from 1923 remained unfulfilled, the greatest emphasis was placed on the arrangement of the central zone of the city, which extended from Kalemegdan to Slavija. The main shortcoming of the GUP was the unresolved issue of the urban development of the outskirts of Belgrade.

The process of urbanization was supposed to be regulated by the Belgrade Municipality and the Ministry of Construction within the framework of which the Architectural Department of the Technical Directorate acted as the main regulatory body responsible for the legally regulated construction of public and private buildings. However, under the onslaught of urgent issues and problems of the central areas of the city, spontaneous development peripheral settlements were tolerated. These technical services were mostly concentrated on the construction and arrangement of the central areas of the city (the stretch on the Kalemegdan-Slavija line), especially on the stretch of Kneza Miloša street where state monumental representative buildings were built in the spirit of academicism and historical eclecticism, such as the Main General Staff and the Ministry of the Army and of the Navy, the building of the Ministry of Forests and Mines. A large number of beautiful palaces, banks, embassies, hotels and shops were built in the central area of the city.

The consequences of the world economic crisis in 1929 affected Belgrade and its urban development. The recovery followed after 1935, which mainly related to large state architectural projects, while the construction activity for private financiers continued unhindered. This is evidenced by the fact that Milutin Borisavljević constructed the most buildings in the period between 1929 and 1936 (Kuletin Čulafić, 2012). In the period between the two world wars, Belgrade was mostly built through private capital investments, typically through loans from the State Mortgage Bank. With the economic recovery after the crisis, the construction of Belgrade began across the river as well, as the Sajmište complex was built in 1936 on the left bank of the Sava. In the period from 1929 to 1940, the municipality of Belgrade included Zemun and 13 other neighboring municipalities, creating the concept of "Great Belgrade" with over 300,000 inhabitants (Vuksanović Anić, 1969).

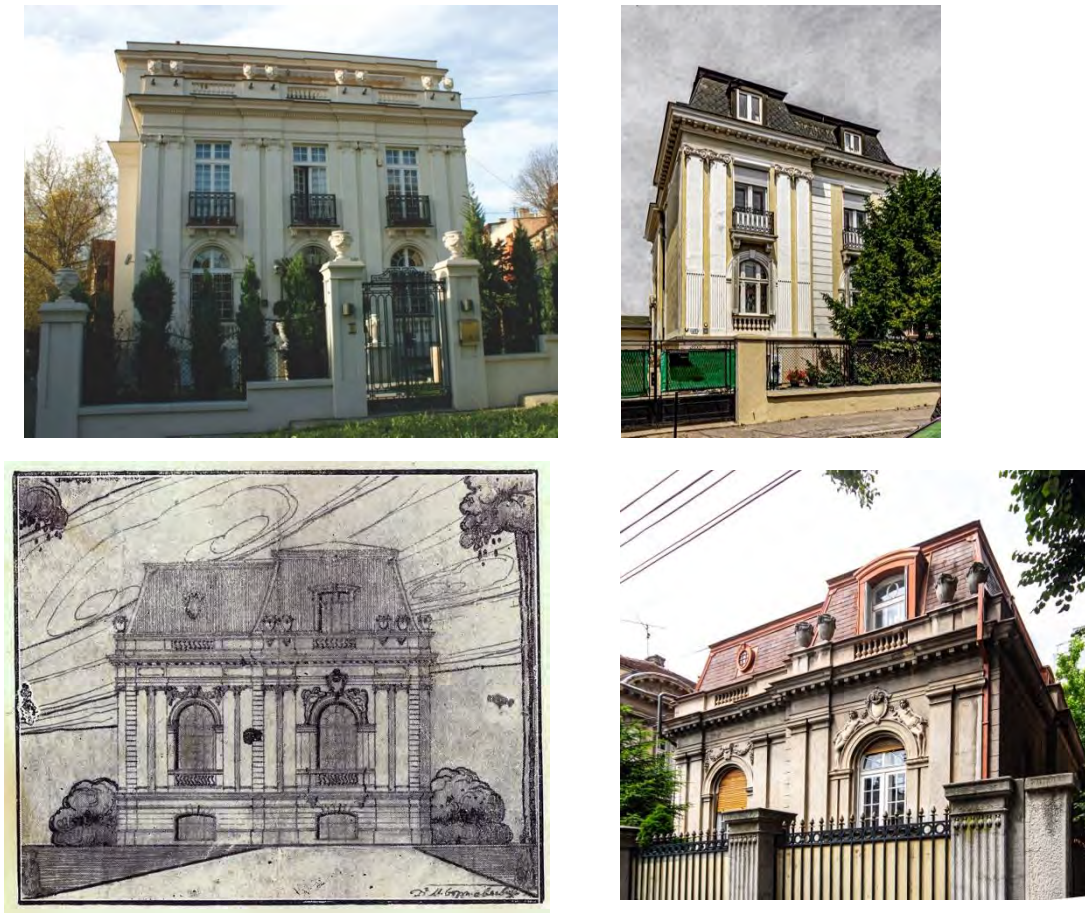
4 Kotež Neimar Settlement – the area where Borisavljević's buildings are best preserved

Between the two world wars, Belgrade was built in a very chaotic situation, there were constant conflicts and disagreements between the Technical Directorate of the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Transport, but also a large mismatch of interests of the central state administration and local self-government. Belgrade did not have a single body of experts who would deal with the urban and architectural problems of the capital. This is evidenced by Borisavljević's numerous critical texts in the daily press ("Vreme", "Pravda", "Politika"). For example, Borisavljević wrote about the numerous aesthetic problems of Belgrade and the general chaos that reigns in the arrangement of the inner city center, where the establishment of city squares, and then the surrounding architecture, monuments, etc., is an important issue (Borisavljević, 1938, p.5; Borisavljević, 1938, p.10). In May 1935, the *Construction Rulebook* was adopted, and in 1939, the conceptual solution of the new regulatory General Plan was formed with an expanded construction area that also included the outskirts of the city. In March 1940, the *Department for Studies* was formed as part of the Technical Directorate of the Ministry of Construction with the task of considering the urban problems of the development of Belgrade. In the end, the desired results were not achieved due to the lack of a consistent construction policy, so Belgrade developed in an uncontrolled and unplanned manner until the outbreak of the Second World War.

In the 1920s, the idea of a garden city appeared in the peripheral areas of Belgrade, which was very advanced and modern compared to the general chaotic and outdated urban planning practices in Serbia at that time. The idea of a garden city seemed very appropriate to many Belgrade architects, so Jan Dubovy, along with other members of the Technical Directorate of the Belgrade Municipality, created an urban plan for *Činovnička kolonija* (Clerks' Colony) at Voždovac, which was largely based on the ideas of a garden city in the sense of a modern, healthy and modern suburb. The garden city concept was a real refresher and gave new hope that Belgrade can develop like modern European cities. The very idea of Garden City originated in England in 1898 as an urban theory of urbanist Ebenezer Howard, and it found its international application in many, primarily highly industrialized countries. The main goal of the garden city idea was architectural construction that allows for as much air, light and greenery as possible, so many Belgrade architects found in it a way out of the uncontrolled urban crisis that gripped Belgrade between the two world wars (Dubovy, 1927; Stojadinović, 1930; Maksimović, 1932). Adapting the principles of the English and German garden cities to the urban, economic and social conditions of the Serbian environment, according to the principles of the garden city, settlements were created in Belgrade: *Kotež Neimar* (adopted plan in 1922, construction 1927-1940), *Profesorska kolonija* (construction from 1926-1940) and *Činovnička kolonija* (construction from 1931-1940). Although there were other settlements in Belgrade where the ideas of the garden city were partially applied, the mentioned residential colonies were created almost in one breath, were loaned by private persons of similar social status and represent examples where the principles of the garden city were applied to the greatest extent. Milutin Borisavljević built 12 houses in the *Kotež Neimar* neighborhood, and two in *Profesorska kolonija* (Professors' Colony).

The authors of the urban plan of the *Kotež Neimar* settlement are not known, some sources claim that it was designed by Viennese urban planners in 1922 (Ćorović, 2009). The owner of the land was the construction company "Neimar" D.D. after whom the settlement got its name. The plan was approved in 1924 within the construction area on the slope below *Vračar* that extended to the *Čuburski Potok* (today *Južni Bulevar Street*). Before the First World War, there were fields, orchards and vineyards on this terrain. The subdivision, construction of streets, infrastructure and the first houses – residential villas in the *Kotež Neimar* area began in 1927 and lasted until 1940 (Gašić, 2009). Very soon, in 1929, the *Neimar-Kalemegdan* bus line was introduced, which connected this part with the city center.

Milutin Borisavljević built houses of exceptional aesthetic and architectural value in the area of *Kotež Neimar*, and he remained famous for the very bitter polemic he led in the daily press with the owners of the company "Neimar" D.D. whom he accused of construction fraud during the sale of land. Otherwise, from an architectural, urban and aesthetic point of view, Borisavljević had only words of praise for this part of the city and referred to *Kotež Neimar* as "the garden of Belgrade" (Borisavljević, "Pravda", 1932). This is exactly where Borisavljević built his own house in 1931 at 66 *Kralja Zvonimira Street* (The street changed its name to *Ognjena Price*, and now it is *Đorđa Vajferta Street*). A year later, he moved to a new house that he built in 1932 on the corner of *Kralja Zvonimira* and *Kornelija Stankovića Streets* (address: 16 *Kornelija Stankovića Street*), known as *Villa Flašar*, which is the only architectural work by Borisavljević that is separately protected as a cultural monument by Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Belgrade (IAB, OGB-TD 22-11-1932).



Figures 2 Borisavljević's houses on Neimar: Villa Flašar at 16 Kornelija Stankovića Street; Villa at 65 Hadži Milentijeva Street; General Jovicic's house at 21 Rankeova Street: the project and the photograph.

The Kotež Neimar settlement was inhabited by richer and middle-rich residents, professors, architects, lawyers, doctors, civil servants, etc. Among the famous architects, Branislav Kojić, Milan Zloković, members of the Group of Architects of the Modern Direction (GAMP, 1928-1934) protagonists of modernism and avant-garde ideas in architecture built their houses there. The Kotež Neimar settlement was conceived mainly as individual housing, where every house on the plot was surrounded by a garden, the houses were lower floors, roughly GF+1 to GF+2, GF+2+1, the plan also provided for common cultural and entertainment facilities, especially smaller parks, i.e. common green areas.

Today Kotež Neimar is considered a very luxurious residential area, where the social structure of the population changed over time, firstly as a result of the nationalization of property after the Second World War, so many individual houses that had one owner were turned into houses with apartments with several owners. After the collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, especially from the year 2000 onwards, old houses on Neimar began to be demolished under the pretext of dilapidation and the impossibility of reconstruction, and modern residential buildings were built on this area, the number of floors often exceeding the permitted norms of urban planning conditions for this area. The social structure of the residents has changed in particular, so this part of Belgrade is colloquially regarded as a snobbish area inhabited by the nouveau riche, most of whom were not born in Belgrade, but have a great desire to become Belgraders, and by settling in Neimar, they consider themselves a reflection of the prestige provided by their large financial capital. However, despite all these challenges of modern society in transition, Neimar preserved the atmosphere and ambience of the garden city as the main idea on which it was built. It is a place of a quiet residential zone, low-rise houses surrounded by greenery, but with a threatening tendency that in the future more and more old houses shall be replaced by new ones that do not fit into the aesthetic and historical context of the urban whole of Neimar, which was built between the two world wars.

Through on-site analysis, it was established that the majority of originally preserved Borisavljević houses remained in the area of Neimar, which represent real pearls of architecture and, most importantly, they authentically testify to the appearance of architecture that was created between the two world wars. On the

other hand, these houses represent an important cultural and architectural heritage, as they materially bear witness to the stylistic, aesthetic, symbolic and architectural features of Borisavljević's design work. Although a great opponent of modernism, Borisavljević also built several houses in a modern style, such as the large multi-storey house at 12 Kornelija Stankovića Street (1934), for which he won first prize at the Competition for the most beautiful facade in Belgrade in 1935 (IAB, OGB-TD 20-9-1933).



Figure 3 House at 12 Kornelija Stankovića Street.

5. Disappearing architectural heritage – Borisavljević's buildings destroyed and transformed by renovation

Milutin Borisavljević founded an independent architectural bureau "Parthenon" within which he was engaged in building design and construction. Between 1927 and 1939, he built 123 architectural buildings, the largest number of which are houses designed for private clients. In Borisavljević's architectural oeuvre, only a few buildings made for state and city needs stand out, namely: the school building in Marulićeva Street (1931, today the "Kralj Petar Drugi Karađorđević" Elementary School), the gate and fence of the Student Park (1931), two chapels at the French military cemetery (1930), and a few other less important buildings.

As already explained in chapter 2, Borisavljević's houses represent a synthesis of his aesthetic and critical views on architecture and reflect the specificity of Borisavljević's architectural expression, which relies on the long French tradition of classicism from the Renaissance to the academicism of the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Borisavljević was an excellent connoisseur of the history of architecture and the evolution of stylistic forms, which is especially confirmed by his doctoral dissertation defended at the Paris Sorbonne (Borissavliévitch, 1925) and this is authentically recognized in the architecture of his houses. He designed each house with the same aesthetic ideals, whether it was small single-story modest houses or luxurious villas of the *hôtel particulier* (private manor house) type. He paid equal attention to each client and was guided by their financial capabilities, trying to achieve the maximum aesthetic effect with minimal resources, especially when it comes to the treatment of street facades. Small one-story houses (11 Sokolska Street, 27 Dobropoljska Street, 39 Niška Street, 46 Sazonova Street), regardless of the fact that their owners were train drivers or tailors of modest financial means, represent examples of refined and graceful architecture in a recognizable French spirit that Borisavljević is inspired to take inspiration in these small and modest design tasks from great works of architecture such as the famous French Petit Trianon built by neoclassical architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel. Borisavljević realizes this Trianon spirit, sense of harmony and flawless proportions in his entire architectural oeuvre, which allows us to immediately recognize Borisavljević's unique and original architectural handwriting.

It is interesting to analyze the diversity of occupations and social status of Borisavljević's clients. Borisavljević's clients include people from all walks of life, from the lower social classes: train drivers, farmers, printers to the middle and upper classes: teachers, booksellers, pharmacists, merchants, industrialists, lower and higher officials, inspectors, customs officers, professors, doctors, private company owners, entrepreneurs, bankers, colonels, captains, generals, marshals, royal viceroys, and others.

Most of Borisavljević's buildings were demolished in Vračar (excluding Neimar) and Voždovac (especially on Pašino brdo). These houses were mostly low-rise buildings and were replaced by the architecture of capitalist functionalism, whose only goal is to achieve as many square meters as possible, as many floors as urban conditions allow, and to make the selling price per m² as high as possible.



Figure 4 The newly built buildings on the site of Borisavljević's demolished houses at 35 Gvozdićeva Street and 1 Tetovska Street.

With the disappearance of buildings that were designed in the spirit of an urban unit, the memory is erased and the atmosphere of the architecture that creates a unique architectural environment is disturbed, as is the case with the urban unit on Neimar, where there are still many Borisavljević's houses that are threatened with demolition due to the low number of floors. In the future, they are likely to be replaced by more "cost-effective" architecture that has more square meters and more floors.

In this way, the urban matrix of Belgrade changes from decade to decade, as evidenced by the fact that from the time of construction until 2010, 14 of Borisavljević's buildings were demolished, and from 2010 to the present, as many as 25. This indicates a tendency for the entire architectural heritage to be for the work of Milutin Borisavljević becomes permanently endangered despite the great importance of aesthetic, historical and architectural values that it possesses.

On the other hand, especially the villas that Borisavljević built in Senjak and Dedinje due to the same values of beautiful architecture, refined aesthetics, rich symbolism and historical significance became a concept of prestige and luxury, so they were destined to be bought by financial magnates like Bogoljub Karić (35 Užička Street), Miroslav Mišković (36 Užička Street), soccer player Dragan Stojković Piksi (48 Mladena Stojanovića Street). Some of Borisavljević's villas are owned by the state and managed by DIPOS d.o.o. (Company for renting real estate to foreign diplomatic and consular missions) such as the Embassy of the Republic of Albania (25a Bulevar kneza Aleksandra Karađorđevića Street) and the Villa that Borisavljević built for Karlo Husnjik (26 Bulevar kneza Aleksandra Karađorđevića Street).

On the front page of the magazine "Neimar" no. 12 (1930) we can see what the Ćuković villa looked like, built in 1930 at 35 Rumunska Street (today Užička Street) on Dedinje. The owner of the villa was Ljubomir Ćuković, a well-off merchant-bookseller who chose for the house a plot surrounded by greenery in the context of which Borisavljević designed a work in the spirit of French neoclassicism that would fit into the French principles of garden art (*jardin français*). In the early 1990s, this villa was bought by Bogoljub Karić, who completely transformed the house architecturally by building a floor, expanding the entrance porch, adding unnecessary stylistic architectural elements and painting the facade in several colors. Karić turned Borisavljević's charming and refined villa into a terrible mess of collage fragments of different styles of architecture, which completely destroyed the main characteristics of Borisavljević's aesthetics and its recognizable architectural expression. In the surrounding garden, which once gave the impression of Le Notre's rules of landscape architecture, Karić filled that space with contents inspired by the American Disneyland and kitsch architecture: huge fountains, a gazebo in the shape of a Greek temple, various kitsch sculptures that interpret ancient Greek sculptures, etc. The house is surrounded by a high fence, so it is not visible from the street, and the gate represents the epitome of kitsch and a paraphrase of Palladianism (after Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio) with two replicas of huge ancient sculptures standing on the left and right of the entrance.



Figure 5 Ćuković's Villa at 35 Užička Street: the photograph presented in Borisavljević's book „Arhitektonski problemi iz monumentalne, nadgrobne, crkvene, javne, privatne i industrijske arhitekture“ (1931).

Miroslav Mišković's house at 36 Užička Street is surrounded by a fence and very dense greenery, so it is impossible to see it from the street, and since it has GP+1 floor, we can assume that there were probably some alterations, superstructures and extensions that disturbed the harmony of Borisavljević's original project. The house was built for Dr. Ivo Perović, viceroy of King Peter II Karađorđević, in the archival documentation from the Museum of Science and Technology it is stated that Borisavljević designed the villa, the fence and the garage, unfortunately there is no file about this house in the Archive of the City of Belgrade, so we cannot know how it was she originally looked like.

The house at 48 Mladena Stojanovića Street (formerly Princa Pavla Street) in Dedinje, in the immediate vicinity of the Karađorđević Palace (IAB, OGB-TD 36-122-1931), was built by Borisavljević for Aleksandar Ignjatovski, a university professor and one of the founders of the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade. The house was bought by soccer player Dragan Stojković Piksi, and in the spring of 2024, the house was completely renovated, the facade kept its uniform color and the mansard roof was replaced. The analysis of the existing condition concluded that during the reconstruction of this house there were no significant discrepancies and transformations of Borisavljević's original work.

Finally, we should mention one of Borisavljević's most beautiful villas, which is located in Dedinje, at 26 Bulevar kneza Aleksandra Karađorđevića Street, built for the Czech Karlo Husnjik, the director of Prague Bank in Belgrade. It is a very sumptuous eclecticism that combines elements of the late Italian Renaissance based on the work of Andrea Palladio and elements of the French classicized Baroque. This work is one of the most luxurious, which deviates from Borisavljević's recognizable style, which was most inclined towards neoclassicism and the refined French Renaissance. It was probably the special requests of Karlo Husnjik who demanded a very lavish eclecticism. For Husnjik, Borisavljević built a large family house on Zvezdara at 3 Vojvode Bogdana Street, where baroque elements and greater use of sculptures and decorative plastic can also be recognized in the treatment of the facade.

One of Borisavljević's beautiful villas at 11 Avgusta Cesarca Street, built in 1932 in the neoclassical spirit of *Le Petit Trianon* in Versailles, had the unfortunate fate of being demolished in 2018, due to the arbitrariness of a new buyer who built a much larger house on the same plot.

The table below contains a list of Borisavljević's demolished buildings, while the entire list of Borisavljević's built architecture can be found in Irena Kuletin Ćulafić's doctoral dissertation (Kuletin Ćulafić, 2012).

| | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 1. | 28 Gvozdčeva Street, GF, 1929. | 21. | 70 Supilova Street, GF, 1933. |
| 2. | 70 Resavska Street, GF, 1929. | 22. | 39 Dalmatinska Street, GF+1, 1933. |
| 3. | 17 Đure Daničića Street, GF, 1929. | 23. | 14 Starine Novaka Street, GF+2, 1933. |
| 4. | 32 Novopazarska Street, GF, 1929. | 24. | 3 Nerodimska Street, GF, 1933. |
| 5. | 97 Štrosmajerova Street, GF, 1929. | 25. | 35 Cara Uroša Street, GF+1, 1934. |
| 6. | 11 Sokolska Street, GF+M, 1930. | 26. | 3 Gorička Street, GF, 1934. |
| 7. | 5 Braće Nedića Street, GF, 1930. | 27. | 26 Admirala Vukovića Street, GF, 1935. |
| 8. | 30 Mileševska Street, GF+1, 1931. | 28. | 17a Stojana Protića Street, GF+M, 1935. |
| 9. | 14 Dubljanska Street, GF, 1930. | 29. | 2 Ivankovačka Street, GF+2+M, 1936. |
| 10. | 64 Molerova Street, GF, 1930. | 30. | 23 Vajara Đoke Jovanovića Street, GF+1, 1935. |
| 11. | 46 Visokog Stevana Street, GF+1+M, 1931. | 31. | 8 Starca Milije Street, GF+M, 1936. |
| 12. | 18 Koče kapetana Street, GF, 1931. | 32. | 30 Kralja Milutina Street, GF+4, 1936. |
| 13. | 19 Hadži Ruvimova Street, 1931. | 33. | 111 Gospodara Vučića Street, GF, 1937. |
| 14. | 35 Gvozdčeva Street, GF, 1931. | 34. | 98 Knjeginje Zorke Street, GF, 1937. |
| 15. | 11 Augusta Cesarca Street, GF+1, 1932. | 35. | 8 Senjačka Street, GF+1, 1938. |
| 16. | 6 Stanoja Glavaša Street, GF+1+M, 1932. | 36. | 9 Timočka Street, GF+1, 1938. |
| 17. | 45a Kajmakčalanska Street, GF+1, 1932. | 37. | 18 Žanke Stokić Street, GF, 1938. |
| 18. | 64 Admirala Vukovića Street, GF+1, 1932. | 38. | 1 Bore Prodanovića Street, GF+M, 1939. |
| 19. | 1 Tetovska Street, GF, 1933. | 39. | 92 Bulevar kneza Aleksandra Karađorđevića Street, 1947. |
| 20. | 36 Sitnička Street, GF+1, 1933. | | |

Table 1 Borisavljević's demolished buildings.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, the main goal aimed at determining the current state and detection of Borisavljević's destroyed buildings was achieved, while research was carried out in the field and in the Archive of the City of Belgrade, with an insight and analysis of primary written material authored by Milutin Borisavljević. In the paper, the importance of Borisavljević's rich architectural oeuvre is determined, while considering the architectural, aesthetic, symbolic, historical and cultural values of Borisavljević's authentic architecture. The overall conducted research contributes to raising public awareness of the importance of Borisavljević's architectural heritage, as well as other Belgrade architectural heritage that was built between the two world wars and which is jeopardized in the context of contemporary urban developments, as it is threatened with disappearance. In this context, the paper raises an important question about the attitude towards the architectural heritage and the preservation of the urban ambient units of the city, which bear witness to the historical and cultural trends of Belgrade's development.

The contemporary architectural profession should be aware of the value of the historical architectural heritage that needs to be protected, and not disinherited and removed under the pretext of physical dilapidation. Architectural heritage is an important segment of cultural heritage and is related to tangible and intangible forms of heritage precisely because it leaves a special mark on the city and testifies to what our architecture was like in the past, what our culture was like and what was considered a parameter in certain times architectural values. The conducted research of Borisavljević's built heritage in Belgrade establishes the preservation of that heritage as an important task, since in this way the importance of architecture in the course of culture and history is brought to light, what was preserved, and it is adapted to use in the present in an adequate way that does not endanger the historical, architectural and aesthetic integrity of historical architecture, given that heritage is the culture of memory and a great pledge for a richer and more essential future. We can conclude that the research that was carried out and which showed how many of Borisavljević's buildings have been demolished so far, is a result that can be of great importance for future researchers, the education of experts in the field of architecture, protection of cultural heritage and all those who deal with the phenomena of urban transformations of the city, such as historians, philosophers and sociologists.

References

- Borissavliévitch, M. (1925). *Essai critique sur les principales doctrines relatives à l'esthétique de l'architecture - Thèse pour le doctorat de l'université présentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris*. Paris: Payot.
- Borisavljević, M. (1938) 'Estetički problemi Beograda', *Vreme*, 1.2.1938, p. 5.
- Borisavljević, M. (1938) 'Jedan estetički zločin protiv Beograda', *Vreme*, 19.1.1938, p. 10.
- Borisavljević, M. (1932) 'Kotež 'Neimar'', *Pravda*, 11.11.1932.
- Borissavliévitch, M. (1923). *Prolégomènes à une esthétique scientifique de l'architecture*. Paris: Fisbacher.
- Ćorović, D. (2009). *Vrtni grad u Beogradu*. Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević.
- Dubovi, J. (1927) 'Budući veliki Beograd', *Savremena opština*, br. 6-7, pp. 1166-1171.
- Gašić, R. (2009) 'Urbanizacija međuratnog Beograda. Primer naselja Kotež-Neimar'. *Istorija 20. veka*, 2/2009, pp. 53-66.
- Istorijski Arhiv Beograda (IAB), Opština grada Beograda Tehnička direkcija (OGB-TD), Fascikla (F) 36-122-1931.
- IAB, OGB-TD, F 22-11-1932.
- IAB, OGB-TD, F 20-9-1933.
- Maksimović, B. (1973) 'Kritika urbanističke perspektive Beograda iz 1948. godine', *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XX, pp. 429-443.
- Maksimović, B. (1932). *Problemi urbanizma*. Beograd: Geca Kon.
- 'Koliko je u Beogradu podignuto zgrada posle rata?', *Politika*, 30. 12. 1930, p. 5.
- Kuletin Ćulafić, I. (2012). *Estetička teorija arhitekture Milutina Borisavljevića* (doktorska teza). Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Marković, P. (1992). *Beograd i Evropa 1918–1941: evropski uticaji na proces modernizacije Beograda*. Beograd: Savremena administracija.
- Roter-Blagojević, M. (2006). *Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početnom 20. veka*. Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet.
- Stojadinović, D. (1930) 'Grad u vrtu', *Opštinske novine*, br. 1, pp. 20–22.
- Vuksanović Anić, D. (1969) 'Urbanistički razvitak Beograda u periodu između dva svetska rata (1919–1941)', *Istorija XX veka, zbornik radova*, IX, Beograd 1969, pp. 447–510.