

mention at the BNI award in 1993, owns a successful studio and recently, together with Wessel de Jonge, finished the renovation of the well-known Burgerweeshuis of Aldo van Eyck in Amsterdam; and –one more– Eline Strijkers, the co-founder of multidisciplinary and internationally working studio Doepelstrijkers, with a major focus on sustainability.<sup>18</sup>

The accomplishments of these women and their relations with the BNI are inspiring and beneficial for the furthering of interior architecture as a professional discipline in the Netherlands. It's no longer a 'simple interior design' they offer their clients, like the more traditional *binnenhuisarchitecten* (interior decorators), whose work consisted for a large part of designing homes for the wealthy elite, but they offer complete ideologies and multi-faceted spaces, working together with civil engineers and urban planners, and are well-informed on the newest innovations and technical advancements. While this paper barely scrapes the surface of everything that can be said about the BNI and all the inspirational women that are associated with it, I believe the statistics and stories presented here form a compact but straightforward view on the progress of women working as interior architects over the past fifty years. As a profession that was once perceived as 'suited for women', but until more recent years was still dominated by male practitioners, interior architecture provides an interesting point of view on the professionalization and acknowledgment of creative women.

	% women	% men
1958 (WBA	5	95
1974 (WBA)	8	92
1955 (GKf)	22	78
1960 (GKf)	23	77
1973 (BNI)	25	75
1983	28	72
1992	30	70
1999	32	68
2009	43	57
2013	45	55

Tab. 1

18 Intern 26, no. 4 (2010), 4–7 ; Intern 27, no. 1 (2011), 4–7; "Eline Strijkers – founding partner," Doepelstrijkers, <http://www.doepelstrijkers.com/en/team/> (accessed January 25, 2018).

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Building the Networks in Architecture:  
Serbian Women Architects 1900-1941

From the Periphery to the Centre: Education of Serbian Women Architects

The concept of centre and periphery provides insight into transformations present in a framework of the power network. The connecting networks represent dynamic categories, expressive of shifting political, economic, social, and cultural alignments.

Peripheral position of Serbian women shifted after 1909, when the first generation of girls graduated from the Gymnasium for Girls in Belgrade. In consequence, the number of female students entering the University of Belgrade (Univerzitet u Beogradu) significantly increased.<sup>1</sup> From the earliest admission into historically male-dominated engineering field, women trained in architectural schools<sup>2</sup> had the skills to push the boundaries.

Architect Jelisaveta 'Caja' Načić Lukaj (1878–1955)<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1) was one of the European pioneers.

1 IIAV00000533 – 133, Completed Questionnaires on the Status of University Women 1936–1937, Country Yugoslavia, Archive International Federation of University Women (IFUW), Atria, Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History, Amsterdam.

2 Many architects worked as unmarried women, and upon marriage assumed their husband's surname. That made them difficult to trace. Hence, in this paper, if available, the first mention of name is full: first name, 'nickname', birth surname, followed by married surname(s). After that, the name used is the one by which the architect is known for.

3 See Divna Đurić Zamolo, "Prilog poznavanju života i rada arhitekta Jelisavete Načić," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 36 (1989), 149–62; Divna Đurić Zamolo, "Građa za proučavanje dela žena arhitekata sa beogradskog Univerziteta generacije 1896–1940," in *PINUS zapisi* 5, edited by Aleksandar Kadjević (1996), 43–7; Jelena Bogdanović, "Jelisaveta Načić: The First Serbian Female Architect," *Serbian Studies* 18/2, (2004), 403–10; Divna Đurić Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815–1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada, 2011), 218–27; Bojana Ibrajter Gazibara, "Jelisaveta Načić: talentovana graditeljka Beograda," in *Žene u arhitekturi: Savremena arhitektura u Srbiji posle 1900*, edited by Milena Zindović, (Beograd: Centar za arhitekturu, 2014), 42–9; Aleksandra Ilijevski, "Breaking Ground. Pioneering Women in Serbian Architecture," in *MoMoWo: 100 Works in 100 Years: European Women in Architecture and Design: 1918–2018*, edited by Ana María Fernández García, et al. (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC; France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU, 2016), 258–61.

In 1896 Jelisaveta Načić enrolled at the Technical Faculty (Tehnički fakultet) of the Great School (Velika škola),<sup>4</sup> and in 1900 she graduated from the Architectural Department, as the first Serbian woman architect.

Other women followed in her footsteps and were awarded the degree in architecture. In the pioneering generation before the First World War were Milica Čolak-Antić Krstić (1887–1964; graduated 1910),<sup>5</sup> Milica Vukšić Karasinski (b. 1887; graduated 1911),<sup>6</sup> Angelina 'Anđa' Janković Nešić (died in 1975; graduated 1912)<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2), Jelena Tomić Bokur (1889–1961; graduated 1913),<sup>8</sup> and Jelena Golemović Minić (1890–1973; graduated 1914).<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, Kingdom of Serbia supported the education of its citizens at the Universities in Europe, and after 1882, women accounted for 5% of students.<sup>10</sup> Jovanka Bončić Katerinić (Ger. Bontschits Katerinitsch, 1887–1966),<sup>11</sup> began to study architecture in Belgrade, and as the Ministry of Civil Engineering fellowship holder in 1909/10 transferred to the Technical University Darmstadt (Technische Hochschule Darmstadt). Jovanka Bončić Katerinić completed her degree course on 18 July 1913, and was among the first women in Germany to hold the degree 'Diplom-Ingenieur'.<sup>12</sup>

After the war, Serbia became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS, from 1929



Fig. 1. Jelisaveta Načić (1878–1955), the first woman architect in Serbia, before 1913. Published in: *Srpkinja: Njezin život i rad, njezin kulturni razvitak i njezina narodna umjetnost do danas* (1913), 82.



Fig. 2. Angelina Nešić (died in 1975), one of the first women architects in Serbia, 1931. Courtesy of the Historical Archives of Belgrade (Istorijski arhiv Beograda, IAB-1119-K 46 3. 1. 357)

Yugoslavia). With the social changes, the number of women attending the University of Belgrade rose much more rapidly. In 1919–39, from the Architectural Department of the Technical Faculty 89 women gained their degree in architecture, making 21% of 420 graduates for the period in question.<sup>13</sup>

Among them were eight émigré students from the former Russian Empire: Irina K. Fomina (Ирина К. Фомина, b. 1905; graduated 1932), Ksenija Petrovna Belavenec Medvedeva (Ксения Петровна Белавенец Медведева, 1905–1980; graduated 1932), Marija A. Sinicina (Мария А. Сеницына, b. 1899; graduated 1934), Ljudmila Radionovna Kolčina Krat (Людмила Родионовна Колчина Крат, b. 1906; graduated 1935), Ljudmila Ivanova Poljuškina (Людмила Иванова Полюшкина, b. 1897; graduated 1935), Zoja Aleksandrovna Bikova Filipova (Зоя Александровна Быкова Филиппова, b. 1893; graduated 1936), Irina Vasiljevna Kotelnikova (Ирина Васильевна Котельникова, b. 1912; graduated 1936), and Irina Vladimirovna Komarova Halafova (Ирина Владимировна Комарова Халафова, Eng. Halafoff, 1908–2013; graduated 1937).<sup>14</sup>

### Power Network: Women as the State Architects

Traditional gender role ideology was embedded in the Civil Code of 1844, which stated that a married woman could not be engaged in public service without her husband's consent.<sup>15</sup> The doctrine of coverture restricted social position of Serbian women for a full century, compelling many to resign from public service employment after marriage.

Jelisaveta Načić had internship in the Ministry of Civil Engineering, institution considered to be the core of the power network that exercised legislative policies and disseminated architectural

4 The Great School in 1905 became the University of Belgrade.

5 See Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 42–3; Snežana Toševa, "Arhitekt Milica Krstić (1887–1964)," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 44 (1997), 95–114; Milena Zindović, "Milica Krstić: Arhitektka u državnoj službi," in *Žene u arhitekturi*, 69–78; Ilijevski, "Breaking," 258–61.

6 See Maja Nikolova, "Obrazovanje inženjera u Srbiji do Prvog svetskog rata," in *PINUS zapisi* 4 (1996), 99; cf. Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 8, 21–2 where the author states 1910 as a graduation year.

7 See Nikolova, "Obrazovanje," 99; Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 10, 47.

8 See Nikolova, "Obrazovanje," 99; Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 12, 49–51.

9 See Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 12, 23.

10 Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Planirana elita: O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. veku* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2003), 194.

11 See Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 19–21; Draginja Maskareli, "O delatnosti arhitekta Jovanke Bončić Katerinić," *Leskovački zbornik* 43 (2003), 217–22; Đurđija Borovnjak, "Arhitektura dva školska objekta Jovanke Bončić Katerinić u Beogradu: Zgrade Ženske učiteljske škole i Veterinarskog fakulteta," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 55/56 (2008/9), 265–90; Ilijevski, "Breaking," 258–61.

12 See Jovanka Bončić's records (Jovanka Bontschits on her diploma), Universitätsarchiv, Technische Universität Darmstadt.

13 All data deduced by the author from *Imenik diplomiranih inženjera i arhitekata na Tehničkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu*, edited by Vojislav S. Marković (Beograd: Tehnički fakultet, 1939).

14 Names, and years edited by the author. For Russian émigré, if available, the full name is written as: first name, patronymic, birth surname, followed by married surname. See *Imenik*, 77, 94, 106, 108, 112, 123.

15 Ljubinka Trgovčević, "The Professional Emancipation of Women in 19th-Century Serbia," *Serbian Studies* 25, no. 1 (2011), 7–8.

influence. After passing her license exam, she was denied a position. Precisely, as a woman, she did not have compulsory military service. Soon afterward, with the Belgrade Municipal Court decree of 17 July 1902, the Council instated Jelisaveta Načić for the municipal architect on 30 December 1903.<sup>16</sup> She administered a wide range of architectural and urban design projects in the capital until 1916, when she was, as a civilian, taken to the Internment Camp in Nézsider (today Neusiedl am See). There she married Albanian politician Luka Lukai (Luk Lukaj), and had a daughter. Jelisaveta Načić subsequently left the architecture profession, and lived in Dubrovnik.

Jovanka Bončić Katerinić gained a position in the Ministry of Civil Engineering. She worked until 1914 when she married, and for a time, lived abroad. Before the First World War, architects Milica Krstić, Jelena Tomić Bokur, Milica Vukšić, and Jelena Minić were also employed by the state.

At the time, women could only be contract public employees. In 1919 Jelena Tomić Bokur became the first woman architect appointed for the permanent position. She became the head of the Technical Department at the Vršac Municipality, and retired in 1937 as a senior advisor.<sup>17</sup> Architect Milica Krstić had most imposing career in the Ministry of Civil Engineering (1914–41). In 1940 she reached the highest position, the rank of inspector.

Women were engaged as the state architects in ministerial, regional and municipal offices. Although they advanced in the workplace, gender connotations were prominent, and large-scale public projects were often work of male colleagues.

In the Section for Educational and Church Buildings of the Architectural Department women were entrusted the planning and standardizing school buildings. Milica Krstić, Danica Milovanović Kojić (1899–1975; graduated 1924),<sup>18</sup> Radojka 'Rada' Milivojević (b. 1892; graduated 1921), Desanka 'Šanka' Đorđević Manojlović Jovanović Pavličević (b. 1900; graduated 1924),<sup>19</sup> Živana 'Žanka' Bogdanović (b. 1897; graduated 1924), Stanislava Jovanović Hristodulo (b. 1901; graduated 1928), and Anđelija Pavlović Marković (b. 1899; graduated 1925) made exceptional small town and village schools, many with teacher housing facilities.<sup>20</sup> They were inspired by regional architecture, notably the Morava vernacular house.

In urban areas, educational buildings incorporated healthful learning environment. Milica Krstić's renowned schools in Belgrade were the Second Gymnasium for Girls (1928–35, today Nikola Tesla Electro-Technical Secondary School), and the First Gymnasium for Boys (1935–38, today the First Belgrade Gymnasium). Jovanka Bončić Katerinić designed the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of the University of Belgrade (1939–42).<sup>21</sup>

### Professional Network: Women in the Association of Engineers and Architects

Association of Serbian Engineers and Architects (Udruženje srpskih inženjera i arhitekata USIA) was reinstituted in June 1918 at the Macedonian Front in Thessaloniki, with aim to contribute to the post-war reconstruction. Among members were two women architects, Milica Vukšić, and Milica Krstić.<sup>22</sup>

With the formation of new Kingdom, the USIA was renamed the Association of Yugoslav Engineers and Architects – Section Belgrade (Udruženje jugoslovenskih inženjera i arhitekata UJIA – Sekcija Beograd). In 1923 architects formed the Architects' Club.

Milica Krstić was a long-time elected board member of the UJIA – Section Belgrade, and a treasurer of the Architects' Club.<sup>23</sup> When Milan Zloković (1898–1965) became the president of the Architects' Club in 1937, Ružica Ilić (1909–1992; graduated 1934), his assistant on many projects, was elected a secretary.<sup>24</sup>

Around 1930, Belgrade Architects' Club had 20 women members.<sup>25</sup> Many of them were state employees, notably from the Ministry of Civil Engineering. Interestingly, women made up around 26% of the Architects' Club that was slightly above the percentage of women graduates. These results agree that women represented around a quarter of the architecture workforce, a surprising figure for the time.

<sup>16</sup> *Beogradske opštinske novine*, January 2, 1904, 5.

<sup>17</sup> AJ-62, Personal file of Jelena Tomić Bokur, Personal files B: Bogdanović–Boš, F-6. Ministry of Civil Engineering Fond. Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

<sup>18</sup> See Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 40–2; Snežana Toševa, "Danica Kojić (1899–1975)," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 43 (1996), 109–21.

<sup>19</sup> As an unmarried woman, Desanka 'Šanka' Đorđević worked for the Ministry of Civil Engineering. She transferred to Belgrade Municipality, and used her married surname Manojlović. At some point she was married again, and in 1938 her surname was Jovanović. Later on, her third married surname was Pavličević. See footnote 42.

<sup>20</sup> See Snežana Toševa, "Arhitektonsko odeljenje Ministarstva građevina Kraljevine Jugoslavije i njegov uticaj na razvoj graditeljstva u Srbiji između dva svetska rata" (PhD dissertation, Arhitektonski fakultet, Beograd 2012), 137, 265–8.

<sup>21</sup> See Ilijevski, "Breaking," 259–60.

<sup>22</sup> "Spisak redovnih članova Udruženja srpskih inženjera i arhitekata," *Srpski tehnički list*, July 15, 1918, 10, 14.

<sup>23</sup> "Pitanje organizacije Ministarstva javnih radova," *Vreme*, February 25, 1929; "Skupština Kluba beogradskih arhitekata," *Vreme*, February 16, 1933, 5; cf. Branislav Kojić, *Društveni uslovi razvitka arhitektonske struke u Beogradu 1920–1940 godine* (Beograd: SANU, 1979), 46.

<sup>24</sup> "Skupština Kluba arhitekata," *Politika*, November 13, 1937, 17; cf. Kojić, *Društveni*, 46.

<sup>25</sup> See Kojić, *Društveni*, 51, 80.

### Invisible Network: Husband and Wife Architects, and Collaborative Practice

When both partners are architects, architectural history has to research intricate network that form a process of collaborative practice. With rare exceptions, notably Milica Krstić and Jovanka Bončić, the master narrative is evident: accomplishing husband architect, and a wife whose achievements are mostly forgotten. It is difficult, however necessary, to define to what extent the partner influenced, or contributed to accomplishments.

Jovanka Bončić Katerinić, and émigré Ukrainian architect Andreja Katerinić (1883–1968; graduated 1913) were colleagues from Darmstadt. After the Russian Revolution, they settled in Belgrade in 1923, and Andreja Katerinić became municipal architect. Both exceeded in educational buildings design.<sup>26</sup>

Many couples graduated from the Technical Faculty in Belgrade. Angelina Nešić was married to Milan Nešić (1886–1970, graduated 1909), civil engineer, and a professor at the Technical Faculty. Milica Krstić was the wife of architect Žarko Krstić (died in 1941; graduated 1912). He was first appointed to the Ministry of Civil Engineering, then the Belgrade Municipality,<sup>27</sup> where he administered urban policies.<sup>28</sup> Russian émigrés Ksenija Belavenec Medvedeva and Aleksandar Ivanović Medvedev (Александр Иванович Медведев, 1900–1984, graduated 1929) had a private architectural studio in Niš.<sup>29</sup> Ljudmila Kolčina Krat and Pavle Vasiljevič Krat (Павел Васильевич Крат, 1907–1969? graduated 1931) were also émigrés. Ljudmila Kolčina Krat was engaged in the studio of architect Josif Najman (1894–1951), and from 1939 she worked for the Belgrade Municipality.<sup>30</sup>

The Ministry of Civil Engineering, as mentioned earlier, was the core of the power network. Collaborative practice influenced the interaction between architects in the Architectural Department, and some formed personal relationships. Jelena and Milan Minić (1889–1961; graduated 1914) in 1923 resigned their posts, and Milan Minić founded a studio in Belgrade. The Majestic Hotel in Belgrade (1937) was collaborative work, where Jelena Minić was responsible for interior design. Danica and Branislav Kojić (1899–1987; graduated 1921) in 1928 opened a private studio in Belgrade, the same year Branislav Kojić became the founding member of the Group of Architects of the Modern Movement (Grupa arhitekata modernog pravca, GAMP). Over the time, Branislav Kojić

was involved in spatial and structural aspects of buildings, while Danica Kojić shifted her focus on interior design, a method they applied for the Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion in Belgrade (opened in 1928).<sup>31</sup> Stanislava Jovanović Hristodulo was an employee in the period 1928–37, and in 1936 she married Budimir Hristodulo (b. 1892).<sup>32</sup> Ljubica Lazarević Leko (1899–1977; graduated 1925) and Dimitrije M. Leko (1887–1964) collaborated on architectural design competitions, including Restaurant in Topčider, Belgrade (1931, second place).

### Social and Intellectual Networks: Women's Organizations and International Activism

At the end of the nineteenth century a growing network of women's voluntary organizations started to form. In times of war, women from the Jewish Women's Society (1874, Jevrejsko žensko društvo), the Belgrade Women's Society (1875, Beogradsko žensko društvo), the Princess Ljubica Society (1899, Društvo 'Kneginja Ljubica'), the Circle of Serbian Sisters (1903, Kolo srpskih sestara) became nurses and organised hospitals. After the First World War main activities were building healthcare and educational facilities, and taking care of orphaned, underprivileged and ill children.

Women's organizations were also dedicated to preserving the collective memory of fallen soldiers. After the Balkan Wars 1912–1913, for the Princess Ljubica Society architect Jelisaveta Načić designed the Saint Archangel Michael Memorial Church in Štimlje (damaged in the First World War, restored 1923). In 1933 the Society also erected the Church in Deligrad near Aleksinac, and architect Momir Korunović (1883–1969) revised and elaborated Jelisaveta Načić's architectural plans for the Štimlje Church.<sup>33</sup>

During interwar years a network of women's national and international organizations promoted gender equality. The Little Entente of Women (LEW, Mala Antanta žena, or Mala ženska Antanta) was founded in 1923 in Rome. The mission was to change socio-economic status of women in Kingdom of SCS (Yugoslavia), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and in Greece. The Association of University Educated Women (1927, Udruženje univerzitetski obrazovanih žena) was a member of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW). The Cvijeta Zuzorić Association of Friends of Art (1922, Udruženje prijatelja umetnosti Cvijeta Zuzorić) was created with aim to 'raise

26 See Žarko Krstić, "Školske zgrade za osnovnu nastavu u Beogradu," *Beogradske opštinske novine*, August 16, 1931, 1037–50; Ilijevski, "Breaking," 259.

27 "Spisak," 12. Žarko Krstić was killed in April 1941, as a reserve engineer captain, Ilijevski, "Breaking," 260.

28 See Žarko Krstić, "Školske," 1037–50.

29 See Aleksandar Kadijević, "O radu arhitekta Ksenije Belavenec-Medvedev," *Leskovački zbornik* 40 (2000), 115–23; Mihailo Medvedev, *Projekti i arhitektura ing. Aleksandra I. Medvedeva ovl. arhitekta* (Niš: Društvo arhitekata Niša), 2012.

30 IAB-OGB-Administrative Department. Personal file of Ljudmila Krat. Historical Archives of Belgrade, Belgrade.

31 Toševa, "Danica," 112–7; See Aleksandra Ilijevski, "The Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion as the Center for Exhibition Activities of Belgrade Architects 1928–1933," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 41 (2013), 238–9.

32 Đurić Zamolo, "Građa," 35.

33 *Almanah humanih društava*, edited by Siniša L. Sretenović and Božidar S. Nedeljković-Ročkoman, (Beograd, 1940), 121–2; cf. Aleksandar Kadijević, *Momir Korunović* (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1996), 73.

interest in arts and create conditions for its progress and development'.<sup>34</sup>

Angelina Nešić was board member of the Belgrade Women's Society, also the patroness of many charities in Belgrade, especially nursery schools.<sup>35</sup> Milica Krstić stands out in terms of betterment of the architectural profession, and campaign for gender equality. As a national delegate in 1925 she attended the Sixth Quinquennial Convention of the International Council of Women (ICW) in Washington D.C. She gave lectures on contemporary architecture, exhibitions and conferences she attended abroad. Milica Krstić and Jelena Minić were board members of the Association of University Educated Women. Danica Kojić was on the board of the Cvijeta Zuzorić Association of Friends of Art.<sup>36</sup>

### Artistic Network: Exhibitions and Professional Recognition of Women Architects

In 1912, when Jelisaveta Načić presented her acclaimed work, the King Petar I Primary School (1907) at the *Fourth Yugoslav Art Exhibition in Belgrade*,<sup>37</sup> she was the only woman among Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian architects.

From the beginning, the Cvijeta Zuzorić Arts Pavilion produced changes in society by promoting new cultural models. In June 1929 the GAMP organized the *First Salon of Architecture*.<sup>38</sup> Milica Krstić exhibited designs and the model of the Second Gymnasium for Girls, and Ljubica Todorović (b. 1899; graduated 1924) two villas in Belgrade. Draginja Petrović Petković (1899–1995; graduated 1924) in a team with Josif Mihailović (1887–1941) displayed Skopje Partial Plan, and the Belgrade City Plan. Among his work, Branislav Kojić also featured the Zamboni building in Belgrade, and a sketch of the Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion main hall. He omitted the mention of his wife Danica Kojić, the interior designer.

Women of the LEW gathered eminent painters, sculptors, and architects from Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia in the Cvijeta Zuzorić Arts Pavilion for the 1938 *Exhibition of Women Artists*

of the *Little Entente*.<sup>39</sup> Patrons were Queen Marija of Yugoslavia, Queen Marie of Romania and Hana Benešová, the wife of the president of Czechoslovakia. It was envisioned as an international traveling exhibition, with agenda to emphasize shared geopolitical and cultural sphere. Nine acclaimed architects were selected from Yugoslavia, and two from Czechoslovakia.

Jelisaveta Načić, in the catalogue highlighted as the first woman architect in Yugoslavia, exhibited the King Petar I Primary School in Belgrade. Dušana Šantel Kanoni (1908–1988; graduated 1932),<sup>40</sup> was the first woman architect to obtain a degree in Slovenia. Zoja Petrovna Nepenina Dumengjić (Зоя Петровна Непенина, 1904–2000; grad. 1927),<sup>41</sup> a Russian émigré who gained a degree from the Faculty of Technology in Zagreb, presented the Hygienic Institute. Ksenija (Xenia) Grisogono (1909–1997; grad. 1933) also graduated in Zagreb, and later studied in Prague. She displayed a Villa in Dalmatia. Milica Krstić exhibited the First Gymnasium for Boys, and Desanka Jovanović<sup>42</sup> the Queen Marija Primary School in Belgrade. Ružica Ilić presented the Labour Market building, and Jelena Minić her interior for the Majestic Hotel. Danica Kojić exhibited the Maison Particulière, and this time the catalogue stated that she collaborated with architect Branislav Kojić.

Milada Petříková Pavlíková (1895–1985; graduated 1921) graduated from the Technical University in Prague (České vysoké učení technické v Praze), and was the first woman architect in Czechoslovakia. She displayed the Czech Women's Club in Prague. Augusta Machoňová Müllerová (1906–1984) also studied in Prague, and took part at major public architectural competitions for hospitals and monuments.

Architectural exhibitions presented cross-section of the leading figures, and their productions, and were crucial factor in determining the directions of the contemporary architecture. Furthermore, they provided tangible evidence of women's presence and acknowledgement in the profession.

39 *La Petite Entente des Femmes: Exposition des femmes artistes des états de la Petite Entente: 1938 Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Bucarest, Cluj, Cernatuži, Praha, Brno, Bratislava* (Praha: Orbis, 1938), Exhibition catalogue; Ilijevski, "Breaking," 260–1.

40 See Alenka Di Battista, "Slovenian Women's Magazines and the Development of the Modern Home Concept in the Thirties," *Women Designers, Craftswomen, Architects and Engineers between 1918 and 1945*, edited by Marjan Groot, Helena Seražin, Caterina Franchini and Emilia Garda (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2017), 176–95, doi.org/10.3986/wocrea/1/momowo1.10

41 See Zrinka Barišić Marenić, "Arhitektica Zoja Dumengjić: osobitost djela u kontekstu hrvatske moderne arhitekture," (PhD dissertation, Arhitektonski fakultet, Zagreb 2007); Aleksandar Kadijević, "Arhitekti emigranti iz Rusije i hrvatska arhitektura 20. stoljeća," *Prostor* 25/2, 54, (2017), 358–71.

42 Desanka 'Šanka' Đorđević Manojlović Jovanović Pavličević. See footnote 19.

34 Article two, *Udruženje prijatelja umetnosti Cvijeta Zuzorić: Pravila* (Beograd, 1927). See Radina Vučetić Mladenović, *Evropa na Kalemegdanu: Cvijeta Zuzorić i kulturni život Beograda 1918-1941* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2003).

35 IAB-1119-K 46 3. 1. 357. Glavinić Family Fond. Historical Archives of Belgrade, Belgrade.

36 *Prosvetni glasnik*, April 1933, 386.

37 *Četvrta jugoslovenska umetnička izložba: Beograd 1912* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1912), 45, Exhibition catalogue.

38 See Kojić, *Društveni*, 187–94; Ilijevski, "The Cvijeta Zuzorić," 241; Ivona Fregl, "Draginja Petrović-Petković 1899–1995: prilog proučavanju dela žena arhitekata u Srbiji, *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 14–15 (2004), 94–6.

## Rebuilding the Lost Connections

Serbian women architects from their initial 'peripheral' position, by the end of interwar period created a network of influence that led to career progression and professional recognition. How did it happen that these pioneering women became invisible, and their milestones of advancements erased?

The historiography was oriented toward a star system that only credited individual. Oftentimes, women architects were engaged in large state-owned offices, worked in partnership with their husbands, or were assistants in private architectural practices. Their contribution did not appear in official accounts, and consequently, women architects were marginalized in scholarly research.

Furthermore, upon their marriage(s), women architects can be traced under more than one surname in the archives, primary sources and historiography. That made the professional women's biographies, and their work, difficult to reconstruct.

The reality of social networks constitutes the field most capable of reshaping the lost unity of the subject's praxis and the rise of political entities and power relations.<sup>43</sup> In that broader framework of interdisciplinary research, broken connections become apparent. Within the overlapping networks and connections women architects have made, they again become visible, active participants who altered social dynamics and produced changes in architectural profession, and Serbian society.

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Women Who Build:  
Giulia De Appolonia, Ulla Hell, Elisa Burnazzi

## Introduction

Twenty years ago, there were just a few female architects largely known; today there are a multitude: you can find not just female 'archistars' but also female professionals, who carry out their work every day, vigorously and naturally at the same time.

This is a report of the roundtable 'Future Architecture – Women who build' (promoted by the Architects' Order of Trento), focused on three young female architects, which took place on 13 October 2016 in Trento (Italy) as part of the national event *Festival delle Professioni*; architects Ulla Hell, Giulia de Appolonia, Elisa Burnazzi were invited to show their projects and to talk about their professional and personal life, inseparable from one another.

The event is presented by members of Architects' Order Council: President Susanna Serafini tell us that women architects 'find it difficult to reconcile work and family life having at the same time a satisfying income; in Trentino region women are 35% of the Order members (compared with an average of 42% in Italy). Testimony of several successful women helps to encourage other women'. Vice President Ugo Bazzanella reminds architects' crisis in Italy:

Crisis means not only lack of work but also prejudices and vilification; as members of the Order we undertake to defend the dignity of profession. The public body equalizes architects' job with any firm providing services, without assigning any value to intellectual work, to creativity; procurement processes based on the lowest offer are not fear. In other countries, like Germany and Sweden, professional fees are defended.

<sup>43</sup> Demetrios Stamatopoulos, "From Machiavelli to the Sultans: Power Networks in the Ottoman Imperial Context," *Historein* 5 (2005), 77.