

INSTITUT ZA HISTOLOGIJU I EMBRIOLOGIJU „PROF. DR ALEKSANDAR Đ. KOSTIĆ“ KROZ PRIZMU SUDBINE NJегоVOG OSNIVAČA POVODOM 100 GODINA OD OSNIVANJA INSTITUTA

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SAŽETAK

Institut za histologiju i embriologiju „Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić“ ove godine obeležava jedan vek postojanja. Osnivač Instituta, prvi profesor histologije i embriologije i prvi upravnik Instituta bio je prof. dr Aleksandar Kostić, jedna od poslednjih renesansnih ličnosti XX veka. Ogromnim trudom, zalaganjem i entuzijazmom je od prostorije u kojoj osim zidova, poda i plafona ničega nije bilo, doveo Institut do zgrade koja se krajem 1920-ih smatrala jednom od najmodernijih zgrada naučnih instituta u jugoistočnoj Evropi i koja je imala, za to doba, izvanredne uslove za obavljanje nastavne delatnosti, izuzetno posvećen kadar, ali i visoko razvijen istraživački potencijal, bogatu stručnu biblioteku, terminološki seminar i fotografsko odeljenje. Nakon bombardovanja Beograda i same zgrade Instituta 6. aprila 1941, Kostić je po drugi put podigao zgradu i postavio osnove za rad, a zatim, zbog ideoloških neslaganja, po sili zakona penzionisan i udaljen sa fakulteta. Moralno je rehabilitovan posthumno, zajedno sa grupom nastavnika Medicinskog fakulteta, na sednici Nastavno-naučnog veća održanoj 24. januara 2001. godine.

Ključne reči: istorijat, Institut za histologiju i embriologiju, prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić

Uvod

Institut za histologiju i embriologiju „Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić“ (stari naziv Histološki institut) ove godine obeležava prvi vek postojanja. Osnivač Instituta, dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić (slika 1), bio je prvi profesor histologije i embriologije na Medicinskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu i prvi upravnik Histološkog Instituta. Rođen je u Beogradu 19. marta (6. marta po Julijanskom kalendaru) 1893. godine. U Beogradu je završio osnovnu školu i Drugu mušku gimnaziju. Paralelno sa gimnazijom, pohađao je i Srpsku muzičku školu (klavir i kompoziciju), u kojoj je direktor bio Stevan Mokranjac, a nastavnici Petar Krstić, Stevan Hristić, Stanislav Binički. U septembru 1912. godine upisao je Medicinski fakultet u Nansiju (Francuska). Studije medicine je u dva navrata prekidaio, radi učešća u Balkanskim ratovima i u Prvom svetskom ratu. Diplomirao je i doktorirao 1921. godine na Medicinskom fakultetu u Strazburu (1,2)

Predlog za njegovo angažovanje na novoosnovanom Medicinskom fakultetu u Beogradu po-

tekao je od dr Miloša Đ. Popovića, lekara i prvog Srbina specijaliste stomatologa, osnivača Saveza trezvene mladeži i Saveza izviđača Srbije. Naime, krajem 1920. godine, prodekan Medicinskog fakulteta prof. Vojislav Subbotić je u razgovoru sa dr Popovićem izrazio zabrinutost zbog teškoća u pronalaženju profesora za predmet histologija (3). Dr Popović je tada predložio mladog studenta iz Beograda, koji uspešno privodi kraju studije medicine u Strazburu, i već pokazuje veliko interesovanje za histologiju. O tom razgovoru obavestio je i Kostića, koji je na njegovu inicijativu ubrzo stupio u kontakt sa prof. Subbotićem i započeo prepisku o pripremama za angažovanje na budućem Institutu za histologiju i embriologiju (3, 4, 5). U međuvremenu, dr Subbotić je sa nestrpljenjem očekivao odgovor i prof. Eugena Ludviga (nem. *Eugen Ludwig*) sa Univerziteta u Bazelu, kome je pisao sa molbom da prihvati poziciju profesora histologije i embriologije na Medicinskom fakultetu u Beogradu (6). U dostupnoj arhivskoj

INSTITUTE OF HISTOLOGY AND EMBRYOLOGY "PROF. DR ALEKSANDAR Đ. KOSTIĆ" THROUGH THE PRISM OF ITS FOUNDER'S FATE MARKING THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE INSTITUTE

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SUMMARY

The Institute of Histology and Embryology "Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić" is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year. The founder of the Institute, the first Professor of Histology and Embryology, and the first Director of the Institute was Professor Aleksandar Đ. Kostić, PhD, one of the last Renaissance figures of the XX century. Investing tremendous effort and enthusiasm he developed the Institute, from a bare room, with only four walls, a floor, and a ceiling, into a building which was, in the late 1920s, considered to be one of the most modern buildings housing a scientific institute in South-East Europe, which, for that time, had exceptionally good conditions for research and teaching, a very dedicated staff, but also a highly developed research potential, a rich library, terminology unit, and a photography department. After the bombing of Belgrade and of the Institute, on April 6, 1941, he rebuilt the building and reestablished the Institute, yet once more, during his lifetime, and then, due to ideological differences, he was forced into retirement and removed from the Faculty. He was morally rehabilitated posthumously, together with a group of teachers from the Faculty of Medicine, at the session of the Academic Council of the Faculty of Medicine held on January 24, 2001.

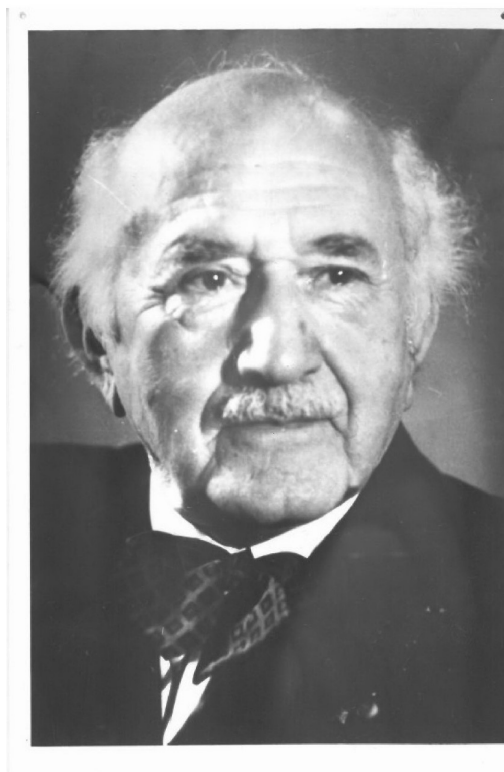
Keywords: history, Institute of Histology and Embryology, Professor Aleksandar Đ. Kostić

Introduction

The Institute of Histology and Embryology "Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić", previously the Institute of Histology, is celebrating its 100th anniversary. The founder of the Institute, Dr. Aleksandar Đ. Kostić (Photo 1), was the first Professor of Histology and Embryology at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Belgrade and the first Director of the Institute of Histology. He was born on March 19, 1893 (March 6, 1893, according to the Julian calendar), in Belgrade. He finished primary school and the Second Male Gymnasium in Belgrade. In parallel with high school, he attended the Serbian Music School (piano and composition), where, at the time, Stevan Mokranjac was the headmaster, while Petar Krstić, Stevan Hristić, and Stanislav Binički were teachers. In September 1912, Aleksandar Đ. Kostić enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine in Nancy (France). He interrupted his studies twice in order to take part in the Balkan Wars and the First World War. He graduated from

the faculty and defended his PhD thesis, in 1921, at the Faculty of Medicine in Strasbourg (1, 2).

Dr. Miloš Đ. Popović, the first Serbian dental specialist and the founder of the Temperance Youth Association and the Scout Association of Serbia, was the one who proposed that Aleksandar Đ. Kostić should be invited to work at the newly founded Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade. Namely, near the end of 1920, in a conversation with Dr. Popović, the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Professor Vojislav Subbotić, expressed his concern regarding the difficulties of finding a professor for the subject - Histology (3). Dr Popović proposed a young student from Belgrade who was about to graduate from the Faculty of Medicine in Strasbourg and who had already shown a great interest in Histology. Dr. Popović informed Aleksandar Kostić about this conversation, whereupon, encouraged by Dr. Popović, Dr. Kostić soon made contact with Dr. Subbotić and started correspondence about



Slika 1. Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić, dokumentacija Instituta za histologiju i embriologiju „Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić”, zaostavština Foto-filmskog zavoda

dokumentaciji se ne nalazi odgovor prof. Ludviga, tako da razlozi njegovog neprihvatanja pozicije na novoosnovanom fakultetu ostaju nepoznati. Imajući u vidu tu činjenicu, prof. Subbotić je nastavio prepisku sa Kostićem, ali je pisao i prof. Polu Buenu (fran. *Pol Bouin*), profesoru histologije na Univerzitetu u Strazburu, sa kojim je Aleksandar Kostić već ostvario saradnju. On je, sa svoje strane, molio prof. Buena da pomogne Kostiću da se pripremi za nastavu citologije, histologije i embriologije, koja je planirana za letnji semestar 1922. godine (5). Inače, konkurs za „nastavnika za katedru Normalne Histologije na Medicinskom Fakultetu Beogradskog Univerziteta” Medicinski fakultet je objavio 21. decembra 1920. godine u Službenim novinama Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

U tekstu o istorijatu Histološkog instituta iz 1935. godine, objavljenom povodom 15 godina od osnivanja Medicinskog fakulteta, navodi se da je Histološki institut osnovan izborom dr Kostića za honorarnog profesora histologije i embriologije 29.10.1921. godine (7). Autor teksta je sam prof. Kostić koji je, možemo pretpostaviti, tekst pisao po sećanju i zato pogrešio, ili je do greške došlo prilikom pripreme rukopisa za štampu. U svakom slučaju, taj datum je široko zastupljen u različitim tekstovima jer su ga brojni autori kasnije direktno

preuzimali (8-12). Međutim, nedavnim istraživanjima došlo se do više dokumenata koji pokazuju da je ministar prosvete potpisao rešenje o izboru dr Aleksandra Kostića za honorarnog profesora histologije i embriologije na Medicinskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu 21. novembra 1921. godine (1,13-15) i da je on tog dana i zvanično stupio na dužnost (13-15). U svetlu novih saznanja, upravo ovaj datum bi trebalo usvojiti kao zvaničan datum osnivanja Instituta.

U vreme imenovanja za honorarnog profesora histologije i embriologije, Aleksandar Kostić je još uvek bio u Strazburu, radio kao saradnik prof. Buena, i po preporuci prof. Subbotića pripremao zbirku histoloških preparata koja je poslužila kao osnovno nastavno sredstvo prvoj generaciji studenata. Zahvaljujući podršci koju je dobio od prof. Buena, dr Kostić je uspeo da do kraja decembra 1921. godine pripremi kolekciju između 2000 i 3000 histoloških preparata različitih tkiva i organa (2,7). Bila je to prva tekovina i prvi inventar novog, Histološkog instituta.

Po povratku u Srbiju, u januaru 1922. godine, dr Kostić se javio na dužnost i dobio na raspolaganje prvu prostoriju za potrebe rada Instituta. Bila je to jedna soba u prizemlju upravne zgrade Glavne vojne bolnice (Danas Uprava Kliničkog

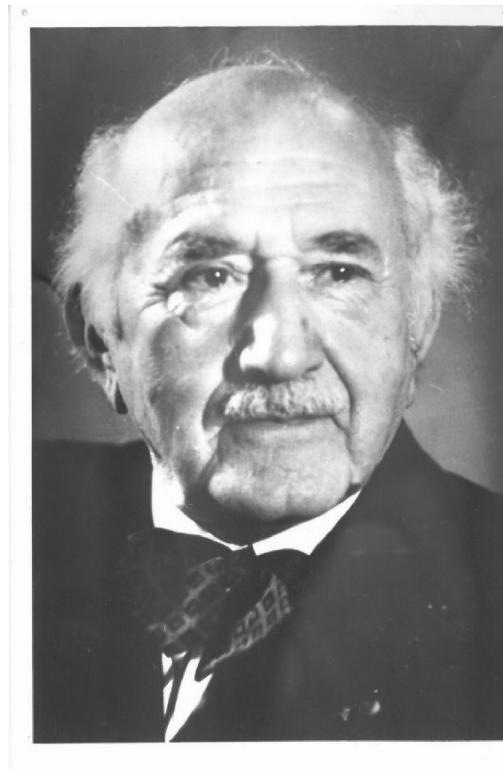


Figure 1. Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić, documentation of the Institute of Histology and Embryology "Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić", the legacy of the Photo-Film Institute

preparations for his engagement at the future Institute of Histology and Embryology (3, 4, 5). In the meantime, Dr. Subotić was impatient to receive a reply from Professor Eugen Ludwig of the University in Basel, whom he had written to with an appeal to accept the position of Professor of Histology and Embryology at the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade (6). The reply from Professor Ludwig is not in the available archive documents, and therefore, his reasons for not accepting the position at the newly established faculty remain unknown. Bearing this fact in mind, Professor Subotić continued his correspondence with Kostić, but he also wrote to Professor Pol Bouin, Professor of Histology at the University of Strasbourg, with whom Aleksandar Kostić had already collaborated. He appealed to Professor Bouin to help Kostić prepare for the curriculum of cytology, histology and embryology, which was planned for the summer semester of 1922 (5). The vacancy for "lecturer at the Department of Normal Histology at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Belgrade" was announced by the Faculty of Medicine on December 21, 1920, in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

A text about the history of the Institute of Histology, from 1935, which was published in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Faculty of Medicine, states that the Institute of Histology was founded when Dr. Kostić was appointed Adjunct Lecturer of Histology and Embryology, on October 29, 1921 (7). The author of the text was Professor Kostić himself, who, as we may assume, wrote this text from memory, and therefore, made a mistake, or the mistake was made during preparation for printing. In any case, this date is widely present in various texts, as numerous authors directly referenced the date from the above-mentioned text (8 - 12). However, several documents have been discovered in recent research showing that the Minister of Education signed the decision on appointing Dr. Aleksandar Kostić Adjunct Lecturer of Histology and Embryology at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Belgrade, on November 21, 1921 (1, 13 - 15), and also showing that he officially took up his duties (13-15) on the same day. In light of this new information, this date should be taken as the official date when the Institute was founded.

At the time when he was appointed Adjunct Lecturer of Histology and Embryology, Aleksandar

centra Srbije). Koliki napor i rad pojedinaca se u to vreme zahtevao i očekivao, u cilju osposobljavanja prostora za početak rada, uz svu neophodnu pripremu samih nastavnika i edukativnog materijala, može se zaključiti iz reči prof. Subbotića prilikom primopredaje prostorije „Dragi *amice*, evo, ovo je sada Vaš Institut. Za ostalo, *debrouillez-vous*¹ kako znate i umete” i komentara samog prof. dr Kostića zapisanog u spomenici Fakulteta iz 1935. godine „Primio sam sobu u kojoj osim četiri zida, poda i plafona, ničega nije bilo” (7). Prvu stolicu dobio je od obližnjeg Doma za sirotnu decu, a sto od komandira Dunavske bolničarske čete, sanitetskog kapetana Dimitrija Jovčića (7).

Neposredno pre početka nastave, u februaru 1922. godine, prof. Kostiću se javio student medicine Momčilo Milojević sa molbom da bude primljen i pomogne u praktičnom radu. Ova pomoć je u tom momentu bila dragocena, a Momčilo je bio prvi „pomoćni službenik” (16), iz perspektive današnjeg angažovanja studenata možemo reći demonstrator na Histološkom institutu. Na osnovu dostupnih podataka može se zaključiti da je bio angažovan samo u prvoj školskoj godini (Inače, Milojević je prerano preminuo, 1925. godine u Skoplju) (16). Fakultet je već 1. marta 1922. godine na Histološkom institutu zaposlio i prvo tehničko lice (najpre u zvanju služitelja). Bio je to Dimitrije Veličković, koji je naredne 23 godine, sve do penzionisanja 1945. godine, vršio dužnost domaćina Instituta (16,17).

Uprkos nedostatku osnovnih sredstava za rad, pripreme za početak nastave trebalo je obaviti do početka marta, odnosno, početka letnjeg semestra. Prof. Kostić je pozajmio klupe i radne stolove od Dunavske bolničke čete, koja se nalazila u krugu Glavne Vojne bolnice, a mikroskope sa Instituta za patologiju i Instituta za fiziologiju. Paralelno sa aktivnostima na nabavci neophodnog inventara, pripremio je i prvo predavanje, koje je održao 7. marta 1922. godine u slušaonici jedne od fakultetskih baraka na Guberevcu (nekadašnji naziv za padinu između kruga Opšte državne bolnice i ulice Kneza Miloša) (18). Prvom predavanju prisustvovali su, pored studenata i profesora Medicinskog fakulteta, i profesori Univerziteta u Beogradu. Ovim predavanjem praktično je počela nastava histologije i embriologije na Medicinskom fakultetu (7), o čemu je dekan Medicinskog fakulteta izvestio rektora Univerziteta u Beogradu

14. marta 1922. godine (18). Ubrzo po otpočinjanju nastave, ukazom od 2. maja 1922. godine, honorarni profesor Aleksandar Kostić postavljen je za docenta na Medicinskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu (1).

Već u novembru iste godine Institut je preseljen u novu zgradu Univerziteta, u prostorije namenjene Fizičkom institutu Filozofskog fakulteta, gde su bili bolji uslovi za izvođenje nastave, a stigli su i novi mikroskopi, koje je prof. Kostić poručio još dok je bio u Strazburu (7,16). Pored toga, formirana je i laboratorija za izradu histoloških preparata. Međutim, nedostajala je literatura o praktičnom laboratorijskom radu i histološkim tehnikama na našem jeziku. Zbog toga je prof. Kostić pripremio i već sledeće, 1923. godine, objavio priručnik „Osnovi histološke tehnike”.

Po preseljenju, prof. Kostić je dobio i pomoć u radu sa studentima. Naime, dr Smilja Kostić-Joksić, njegova supruga, takođe francuski đak, postavljena je za prvog ukaznog asistenta histologije i embriologije oktobra 1922. godine (2). Na toj poziciji bila je sve do 1924. godine, kada je prešla na novoosnovanu Katedru pedijatrije, gde je kasnije, 1939. godine, izborom za docenta, postala prva žena u tom zvanju na Medicinskom fakultetu (2). Pored dr Smilje Kostić-Joksić, u izvođenju nastave pomagao je i student-demonstrator Stevan Vasojević (7). Na kraju zimskog semestra u vežbaonici Fizičkog instituta održan je i prvi ispit iz histologije, a ispitnom komisijom je predsedavao prof. Đorđe Joannović, tadašnji dekan Medicinskog fakulteta. Prof. Kostić je u spomenici Fakulteta iz 1935. godine zapisao svoju impresiju tim povodom „Uspeh je bio osobit” (7).

U iščekivanju završetka izgradnje namenske zgrade, Histološki institut se u januaru 1924. još jednom seli, ovoga puta u Školu za nudilje Društva Crvenog krsta. U novom prostoru prof. Kostić dobija i priliku da iskustvo u izradi mikrofotografija koje je stekao u Francuskoj dalje razvija. Naime, zahvaljujući boljim prostornim i tehničkim mogućnostima, upravo je 1924. godine u prostorijama Škole za nudilje počelo sa radom i fotografsko odeljenje (7,16). Glavna tekovina tog odeljenja i Kostićeve aktivnosti bio je Mikrofotografski atlas normalne histologije, koji je izašao iz štampe već sledeće, 1925. godine. Celokupan rad na pripremi preparata, kao i samih mikrofotografija, prof. Kostić je izneo sam. Samo tri mikrofotografije urađene su na osnovu histoloških preparata koje su pripremili

1 snađite se

Kostić was still in Strasbourg working as an assistant to Professor Bouin, and, in keeping with Professor Subbotić's recommendations, preparing the collection of specimens, which served as teaching aids for the first generation of students. Thanks to Professor Bouin's support, by late December 1921, Dr. Kostić managed to prepare a collection of between 2.000 and 3.000 specimens of different tissues and organs (2, 7). It was the first acquisition and the first property of the Institute of Histology.

When he returned to Serbia, in January 1922, Dr. Kostić took up his duties and was allocated the first premises for the needs of the Institute. It was one room on the ground floor of the administration building of the Main Military Hospital (today, the administration building of the Clinical Center of Serbia). How much effort was expected in the preparation of the premises for the beginning of work, as well as in completing all the necessary preparations of teachers and educational materials, one may conclude from Professor Subbotić's words, spoken when the premises were officially being handed over to the Institute: "Dear *amice*, here, this is your Institute now. For the rest, *debrouillez-vous*¹ on your own.", as well as from the comment written by Professor Kostić in the Faculty's commemorative volume from 1935: "I received a room with nothing in it but four walls, a floor and a ceiling" (7). He got the first chair from the nearby orphanage, and a desk from the Commander of the Danube Medical Company, Medical Corps Captain Dimitrije Jovčić (7). Before classes started, in February 1922, one of the medical students, Momčilo Milojević, approached Professor Kostić requesting to be engaged in assisting with the practical work. Such assistance was precious at that time, and Momčilo was the first "assisting employee" (16), one could say, from today's perspective of the way students are engaged, that he was the first student demonstrator at the Institute of Histology. According to available data, one may conclude that he was engaged only during the first academic year (Milojević passed away prematurely, in 1925, in Skoplje) (16). The Faculty employed the first member of support staff at the Institute of Histology, on March 1, 1922 (first as an attendant). It was Dimitrije Veličković, who served as the custodian of the Institute during the following 23 years, until he retired, in 1945 (16, 17).

Despite the lack of basic conditions, the preparations for the beginning of lectures needed to be made until the beginning of March, i.e., the beginning of the spring semester. Professor Kostić borrowed desks and benches from the Danube Medical Company, which was stationed at the Main Military Hospital, and microscopes from the Institute of Pathology and Institute of Physiology. In parallel with these activities, which included finding the necessary fixtures and fittings, he prepared the first lecture, which he delivered on March 7, 1922, at the lecture hall in one of the portable buildings belonging to the Faculty, on *Guberevac* (former name for the slope between the area of the General State Hospital and Kneza Miloša Street) (18). The first lecture was attended by students and professors from the Faculty of Medicine, as well as professors from the University of Belgrade. It is with this lecture that the Histology and Embryology classes commenced at the Faculty of Medicine (7), of which the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine informed the Rector of the University of Belgrade, on March 14, 1922 (18). Soon after this, Adjunct Lecturer Aleksandar Kostić was appointed Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Belgrade, by a decree issued on May 2, 1922, (1).

In November 1922, the Institute was moved to the new University building, to the premises intended for the Physics Institute of the Faculty of Philosophy, where the conditions for teaching were better, and where the new microscopes, which Professor Kostić had ordered while still in Strasbourg, also arrived (7, 16). In addition, a laboratory for making specimens was formed. However, there was a lack of literature about practical laboratory work and histological techniques, in the Serbian language. This is why Professor Kostić prepared and published the handbook *Basic Histological Techniques* (1923).

After the move, Professor Kostić got help in working with students. Namely, Dr. Smilja Kostić-Joksić, his wife, who had also studied medicine in France, was appointed the first Teaching Assistant of Histology and Embryology, in October 1922 (2). She occupied this position until 1924, when she transferred to the newly established Department of Pediatrics, where later, in 1939, she was elected for the position of Assistant Professor, becoming the first woman with that title at the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade (2). Together with Dr. Smilja

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njegovi saradnici, studenti Aleksandar Telebaković i Svetislav Popović (19). Pored njih dvojice, u periodu rada u Školi za nudilje, kao i nakon preseljenja u novu zgradu Instituta, prof. Kostiću su u radu pomagali studenti viših godina studija: Božidar Ristić, Georgije Pastelj, Stanojka Ivanović, Draginja Stojanović, Bosiljka Prljinićević (7).

Duboko uveren u značaj fotografije za nauku i nastavu, ne samo za potrebe histologije, već i Medicinskog fakulteta i Univerziteta, prof. Kostić je u projektu buduće zgrade Instituta, koji je u to vreme bio u pripremi, predvideo veliki prostor za Fotografsko odeljenje. Pored toga, na njegov predlog je 1. marta 1925. godine u službu primljen Aleksandar Šafranski, ruski vojni i avijatičarski fotograf (16,17), koji je značajno doprineo radu i daljem razvoju fotografskog odeljenja Instituta.

Kompletnu opremu za Fotografsko odeljenje prof. Kostić je nabavio od Znanstvenog zavoda prof. dr Breslera, sa kojim je i u kasnijim godinama nastavio saradnju, i koji je opremio i prostor Fotografskog odeljenja u novoj zgradi Instituta. Pored toga, Zavod prof. Breslera je, na osnovu negativa koje je pripremio prof. Kostić, napravio i veliku kolekciju crno-belih dijapozitiva (19). Dijapozitivi su korišćeni kao nastavna sredstva za vežbe i predavanja, a projektovani su iz posebnih komora.

Tokom 1924. godine prof. Kostić je pored svih navedenih aktivnosti napisao i nekoliko radova,

štampanih uglavnom u Srpskom arhivu, objavio je prevod svoje doktorske disertacije u Glasniku Ministarstva narodnog zdravlja, kao i Rečnik histoloških izraza (1924), prvi rečnik svoje vrste na srpskom jeziku. Istovremeno, bio je to i početak njegove aktivnosti vezane za medicinsku terminologiju, a sam Rečnik histoloških izraza bio je preteča prvog Medicinskog rečnika koji je objavio skoro trideset godina kasnije, 1956. godine. Sve navedeno doprinelo je njegovom unapređenju, te je ukazom od 23. maja 1924. godine postavljen za vanrednog profesora histologije i embriologije (1).

U novu zgradu Histološki institut se preselio u januaru 1927. godine, i to je bilo poslednje i definitivno preseljenje (7,16). Institut se i danas nalazi na istom mestu, mada na različitoj adresi. Naime, tadašnja adresa Instituta bila je Resavska br. 92 (stari naziv Zrinjska), dok je danas adresa iste zgrade Višegradska br. 26. Zgradu je projektovao arhitekta Svetozar Jovanović. Plan je bio da se u njoj organizuje rad dva instituta: fiziološkog i histološkog. Zbog toga su u procesu projektovanja i gradnje, vrlo aktivno učestvovali i upravnici tih instituta, prof. Rihard Burijan i prof. Aleksandar Kostić (20). Tim povodom je 7. septembra 1923. godine potpisan i dogovor između prof. Burijana, prof. Kostića i prof. Đorđa Joannovića, tadašnjeg dekana, o rasporedu instituta u novoj zgradi koja bi imala zajednički amfiteatar i dva krila, za svaki



Slika 2. Zgrada Fiziološkog i Histološkog instituta podignuta 1927. godine, dokumentacija Instituta za histologiju i embriologiju „Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić“, zaostavština Foto-filmskog zavoda

Kostić-Joksić, a student demonstrator, Stevan Vasojević, also helped with the classes (7). At the end of the fall semester, the first Histology exam was held, in the classroom for practical classes of the Physics Institute. The Head of the Examination Committee was Professor Đorđe Joannović, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. In 1935, in the commemorative volume of the Faculty, Professor Kostić wrote his impressions of that occasion: "The success was remarkable." (7).

While waiting for the completion of the construction of facilities specifically designed for the Institute of Histology, the Institute moved once again, in January 1924, to the Red Cross Society Nursing School. At the new premises, Professor Kostić had the opportunity to further develop his experience of microphotography that he had gained in France. Namely, thanks to better spatial and technical conditions, in 1924, the Photography Department started its activities within the premises of the Nursing School (7, 16). The main legacy of that Department and Professor Kostić's activities was the Microphotographic Atlas of Normal Histology, which was published in 1925. The complete work on the specimens, as well as on the microphotographs, was done by Professor Kostić himself. Only three microphotographs were produced on the basis of the specimens that his

assistants, students Aleksandar Telebaković and Svetislav Popović had prepared (19). In addition to these two students, the following senior students assisted Professor Kostić while the Institute was housed at the Nursing School, and also after it was moved to the new building: Božidar Ristić, Georgije Pastelj, Stanojka Ivanović, Draginja Stojanović, Bosiljka Prljinićević (7).

Professor Kostić was deeply convinced of the significance of photography in science and teaching, not only for Histology, but also for the Faculty of Medicine and the University of Belgrade, which is why he included a large space for the Photography Department within the plans for the future building of the Institute. In addition to this, the Professor's proposal to engage Aleksandar Šafranski, a Russian military and aviation photographer, was accepted on March 1, 1925. Aleksandar Šafranski significantly contributed to the work and further development of the Photography Department at the Institute (16, 17).

Professor Kostić obtained the complete equipment for the Photography Department from Professor Bresler's Scientific Institute. He had continued cooperation with professor Bresler throughout the years, and Professor Bresler was the one who equipped the facilities of the



Figure 2. Building of the Institute of Physiology and Histology built in 1927, documentation of the Institute of Histology and Embryology "Prof. dr Aleksandar Đ. Kostić", the legacy of the Photo-Film Institute

od instituta (Fiziološki i Histološki) (1). Sam proces izgradnje tekao je u dve faze. U prvoj fazi je adaptirana Bolnica za tuberkulozne bolesnike, koju je projektovala Jelisaveta Načić (1912). Ona je ušla u sastav krila namenjenog Institutu za fiziologiju. U drugoj fazi je izgrađen amfiteatar i krilo namenjeno Institutu za histologiju (21). Nova zgrada Fiziološkog i Histološkog instituta omogućila je naj-savremenije uslove za rad sa studentima. Bila je prema inicijalnim preporukama i uputstvima prof. dr Subbotića, u to vreme „najmodernije zamišljena“ i „po svom uređenju ... najmodernija u Evropi“ (3) (slika 2).

U prizemlju Instituta je bila velika vežbaonica sa 90 radnih mesta. Dugački stolovi su bili orjentisani ka prozorima, a svaki naredni sto je u odnosu na prethodni bio za 20 cm na višem nivou, kako bi svetlost nesmetano dopirala do svih mikroskopa (22). Svako radno mesto bilo je opremljeno mikroskopom i lampom, a po dva susedna radna mesta su delila sudoperu i bateriju za bojenje preparata. Vežbaonica je dobila naziv Pol Buen. Nakon uvodnih časova projektovani su crno-beli dijapozitivi „*par transparence*“ iz komore koja se nalazila pored vežbaonice. Pored projekcija slajdova tokom uvodnih časova, studentima je prepoznavanje preparata olakšavao i veliki broj postera na zidovima. Ukupan broj preparata je postepeno rastao do broja od nekoliko hiljada (4).

U okviru vivarijuma bile su tri prostorije: jedna za čuvanje i razmnožavanje životinja, druga za životinje u eksperimentu i treća za operacije na životinjama. Kavezi su bili ugrađeni u zidove od armiranog betona, sa gvozdanim rešetkama i istovremeno su se vrlo lako mogli čistiti i dezinfikovati. Kapacitet vivarijuma je bio u to vreme za 1000 miševa, 500 pacova, 200 zamorčića i 20 zečeva. Sve životinje su sistematski obeležavane specijalnim pločicama na ušima u vidu „minduša“, žutih tj. mesinganih za mužjake i belih tj. cinkanih za ženke. Pored ovog obeležavanja, postojala je i detaljnija evidencija za svaku eksperimentalnu životinju (7, 16,22).

Odmah po useljenju, u jednoj od prostorija u prizemlju je obrazovana biblioteka, za koju je namenski izrađen impresivan nameštaj od hrastovog drveta, sa policama od poda do plafona i stepenicama koje se mogu pomerati duž polica (7,16). Do 1935. godine, u biblioteci već bilo oko 1.300 knjiga, preko 2.000 svezaka časopisa, uglavnom na nemačkom i francuskom, 850 separata, a postojao

je i uredni centralni katalog knjiga i časopisa svih ustanova Medicinskog fakulteta (7,16). Kartoni, koji sadrže osnovne podatke o svakoj bibliografskoj jedinici, uključujući i poziciju u ormanima i na policama čuvaju se i danas u biblioteci Instituta, mada je taj redosled davno narušen.

Kadar Histološkog instituta je u savremenim uslovima rada, po preseljenju u novu zgradu 1927. godine, stekao i mogućnost za intenzivan razvoj i napredovanje u svakom pogledu, i u skladu sa tim razvijao je i svaku od svojih aktivnosti: nastavnu, istraživačku, terminološku, fotografsku, bibliotečku.

Godine 1928. na Institutu su bila četiri asistenta-dnevničara: dr Nikola Mirjanić, koji je kasnije otišao na ginekologiju, kao i bivši demonstratori dr Aleksandar Telebaković, koji je prešao na hirurgiju, dr Bosiljka Milošević-Prljinčević, koja je postala profesor na Katedri ginekologije i bila upravnik Klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo i Evgenije Meljnikov, o čijem kasnijem profesionalnom radu nisu pronađeni podaci (17). Godine 1930. primljen je još jedan asistent, dr Branko Vlatković, koji je u proleće 1937. godine prešao na novoosnovani Veterinarski fakultet i počeo da razvija i unapređuje Katedru histologije i embriologije na tom fakultetu. Ogromnu pomoć i podršku u tom poslu pružio mu je prof. dr Kostić, koji je bio i jedan od osnivača Veterinarskog fakulteta 1936. godine (2,17). Pored asistentskog, proširen je i tehnički kadar Instituta prijemom novih laboranata, ali je i broj pomoćnog osoblja povećan. Po podacima iz službene arhive iz 1935. godine, na Institutu su bila dva laboranta-dnevničara: Đorđe Purković i Vladimir Sokolov, obojica inače studenti Medicinskog fakulteta. Pored domaćina Instituta Dimitrija Veličkovića, služitelji su bili Ivan Lazić i Jelisije Radojević (17). Većina zaposlenih, uključujući i sam bračni par Kostić, u to vreme je i stanovala u Institutu. Takođe, u periodu od 1. decembra 1931. do 1. juna 1932. u Fotografskom odeljenju je volontirala i Elfrida Grasl (17), koja se u kasnijim dokumentima službene arhive Instituta ne pominje.

Godine 1927. izašao je iz štampe i prvi udžbenik histologije prof. dr Kostića Osnovi histologije I deo: ćelije i tkiva. Ovaj udžbenik je u narednom periodu proširen, dopunjen i štampan pod nazivom Osnovi normalne histologije (1942), a doživeo je još 4 dopunjena i prerađena izdanja (1946, 1957, 1963. i 1968.).

Opšti trend razvoja i napretka Instituta i svih njegovih delatnosti u to vreme odrazio se i na

Photography Department in the new Institute building. In addition, Professor Bresler's Scientific Institute made a big collection of black and white diapositives, on the basis of negatives prepared by Professor Kostić (19). The diapositives were used as teaching aids for practical classes and for lectures and they were projected from special chambers.

During 1924, in addition to the above-mentioned activities, Professor Kostić wrote several scientific papers, published mainly in the Serbian Archives of Medicine. He published the translation of his doctoral dissertation in the Gazette of the Ministry of People's Health, as well as the Dictionary of Histological Terms (1924), which was the first dictionary of its kind in Serbian. At the same time, this was the beginning of his activities related to medical terminology, while the Dictionary of Histological Terms was the forerunner of the first Medical Dictionary, published almost thirty years later, in 1956. All of the above-mentioned contributed to his promotion, and therefore, by a decree from May 23, 1924, he was appointed Associate Professor of Histology and Embryology (1).

The Institute of Histology moved to the new building in January 1927, and that was the last and definitive move (7, 16). The Institute is located in the same building today, although the address is now different. Namely, the address at that time was 92 Resavska Street (formerly Zrinjska Street), while today, it is 26 Višegradska Street. Architect Svetozar Jovanović drew up plans for the building. Two institutes were planned to operate there: The Institute of Physiology and the Institute of Histology. Therefore, the directors of these institutes, Professor Rihard Burijan and Professor Aleksandar Kostić, participated actively in the project and the building process (20). Thus, on September 7, 1923, an agreement was signed between Professor Burijan, Professor Kostić, and Professor Đorđe Joannović, who was Dean at the time, about the arrangement of the institutes in the new building – the institutes would be sharing a lecture hall, while each of them would have a separate wing (the Physiology wing and the Histology wing) (1). The building process evolved in two stages. In the first stage, the Tuberculosis Hospital, designed by Jelisaveta Načić in 1912, was adapted and incorporated into the wing intended for the Institute of Physiology. In the second stage, the lecture hall was built,

as well as the wing intended for the Institute of Histology (21). The new building was designed in such a way as to enable the most modern working and teaching conditions. It had, according to the initial recommendations and instructions, given by Professor Subbotić, „the most modern plan” and at that time it was “the most modern in all of Europe” (3) (Photo 2).

On the ground floor, there was a big classroom, with 90 seats, for carrying out practical classes. Long desks were oriented towards the windows, while each desk was elevated by 20 cm in relation to the one before it, so that light would reach each microscope (22). Each working place was equipped with a microscope and a lamp, while two workstations shared a sink and glass staining jars used for staining specimens. The classroom was named after Pol Bouin. After introductory classes, black and white diapositives “par-transparence” were projected from a chamber next to the classroom. In addition to the projection of slides, during introductory classes, a great number of posters enabled students to recognize preparations more easily. The total number of specimens gradually increased to several thousand (4).

There were three rooms within the vivarium: one for keeping and breeding the animals, the second for animal experiments, and the third for operations performed on animals. Cages were built into impregnated concrete walls, they had iron bars, and were designed in such a way as to make them easy to clean and disinfect. The capacity of the vivarium, at the time, was 1,000 mice, 500 rats, 200 guinea pigs and 20 rabbits. All the animals were systematically marked with special plates on the ears in the form of ‘earrings’ – yellow, i.e., brass for males, and white, i.e., zinc for females. In addition to this type of labelling, there was a detailed documentation for each experimental animal (7, 16, 22).

As soon as the move was complete, a library was created in one of the rooms on the ground floor, and striking oak furniture was made especially for this library, with shelves from floor to ceiling and steps that could be moved along the shelves (7, 16). Until 1935, there were around 1,300 books, more than 2,000 volumes of journals, mainly in German and French, 850 copies of articles, and there was a neatly organized central catalogue of books and journals of all the institutions of the Faculty of Medicine (7, 16). Catalog cards, which

status prof. dr Kostića. U tri mandata, u periodu od 1936. do 1939. godine, bio je na poziciji dekana Medicinskog fakulteta. Neposredno pre prvog izbora za dekana, Kostić je ukazom od 2. januara 1936. godine unapređen u zvanje redovnog profesora (1). Godine 1938. Institut je dobio još jednog ukaznog asistenta, dr Jovana Čankovića, a 1940. godine primljen je i dr Dragoljub Mršević, kao asistent-dnevničar (23). Upravo su dr Čanković i dr Mršević u posleratnom periodu izneli veliki teret nastave, posebno nakon udaljavanja prof. Kostića sa fakulteta. Godine 1940. prof. Kostić je dobio i orden Legije časti, kojim ga je odlikovao predsednik Francuske republike za doprinos u razvoju medicinske nauke (2).

Već sledeće, 1941. godine, ogroman potencijal Instituta i svih zaposlenih srušen je u jednom danu. Naime, 6. aprila 1941. godine, za vreme bombardovanja Beograda, pogođen je i Institut. Jedini deo zgrade koji je ostao neoštećen bio je centrali deo, u kome su se nalazili amfiteatar i fotografsko odeljenje. U te prostorije i podrume su krajem aprila službenici Instituta preneli biblioteku, mali deo preostalog neoštećenog inventara i 76 mikroskopa (24). Za vreme okupacije Medicinski fakultet je radio u značajno izmenjenom i smanjenom obimu (12), a Nemci su zaplenili sačuvane mikroskope i drugi sitan inventar (24).

Nakon tih nemilih događaja, usledio je još jedan. Naime, prof. Kostić je 1942. godine bio udaljen sa Medicinskog fakulteta. Često se u pojedinim tekstovima može naći pogrešna interpretacija dešavanja iz 1941. godine koja su tome prethodila. Pojedini autori navode da je profesor navodno udaljen sa fakulteta jer je odbio da potpiše Apel srpskom narodu (10,25), koji je obznanjen 13. avgusta 1941. godine u dnevnim novinama *Novo vreme*. Međutim, najveći broj nastavnika Medicinskog fakulteta, kao i prof. Kostić, nije potpisao Apel, i niko od njih direktno zbog toga nije udaljen. Inače, Apel srpskom narodu bio je jedna vrsta propagandnog pamfleta, odnosno, antikomunističkog proglasa, u kome se tražila lojalnost okupacionoj vladi, i koji je imao za cilj da smanji podršku srpske javnosti ustanku protiv okupatora (12,26).

Međutim, 16. oktobra 1941. godine Velibor Jonić, ministar prosvete u Vladi narodnog spasa Milana Nedića, doneo je Osnovnu uredbu o Univerzitetu. Prema toj uredbi, razrešeni su dužnosti i stavljeni na raspolaganje ministru prosvete svi

dosadašnji nastavnici, kao i sve osoblje Univerziteta. Cilj uredbe bio je da se sa Univerziteta uklone nacionalno i ideološki nepodobni nastavnici, jer se znalo za prisutnu komunističku i antifašističku aktivnost na Univerzitetu kako pre početka II svetskog rata, tako i za vreme rata (26). U skladu sa tim, na osnovu Osnovne uredbe o Univerzitetu, doneta je i Opšta uredba o Univerzitetu, kojom su definisani principi reorganizacije Univerziteta, a samim tim i Medicinskog fakulteta (12,26). Prema toj uredbi, tokom 1942. godine raspisivani su konkursi za prijem nastavnika i nenastavnog osoblja, ali su sve odluke prosleđivane ministru prosvete, koji je postavljao nastavnike bez predloga Univerzitetskog saveta, određivao i kontrolisao rad rektora i u potpunosti kontrolisao rad Univerziteta (26). Time je u potpunosti urušena autonomija Univerziteta, izbor nastavnika stavljen pod kontrolu ministarstva, i direktno otvoren put ka uklanjanju nepodobnih, bez obzira na sadržaj i zaključak referata.

Prof. Aleksandar Kostić se, takođe, javio na konkurs za izbor redovnog profesora histologije i embriologije. Za referente su određeni prof. Kosta Todorović i prof. Milovan Milovanović. U pripremljenom referatu su, pored pohvala na račun nastavnih i naučnih kvalifikacija prof. Kostića, izneli i kritike na račun njegovih tekstova iz oblasti seksologije, a koji su, kako oni navode, često bili tumačeni u javnosti kao pornografski i štetni za javni moral. Takođe, naveli su i da je prof. Kostić počeo da obrazuje „klike” u Savetu Medicinskog fakulteta, koje su štetile ugledu Medicinskog fakulteta i Univerziteta (12). U zaključku referata stoji sledeći tekst: „Ako bi se g. prof. A. Kostić obavezao da se ubuduće neće više baviti objavljivanjem popularnih članaka i publikacija ovakve vrste, osobito iz seksologije, i da od sada neće više obrazovati klike na Medicinskom fakultetu, onda bi mogao biti predložen za redovnog profesora” (27). Referat je potpisan 17. jula 1942. godine (2) i prosleđen Ministarstvu prosvete. Krajnji ishod cele procedure bilo je penzionisanje prof. Kostića u 49. godini života (2).

Nakon penzionisanja prof. Kostića, za vršioća dužnosti upravnika Instituta, postavljen je doc. dr Branko Vlatković, Kostićev bivši asistent, a tada docent na Veterinarskom fakultetu (24). U ratnim okolnostima Institut je, kao i ceo fakultet, radio u redukovanom obimu, a ispiti su se održavali po dobijenoj saglasnosti Nemačke vrhovne komande (12,26).

contained the main data on each bibliographic unit, including its position in bookcases and on the shelves, have been kept until the present day at the library of the Institute, although that order was disrupted a long time ago.

After moving to the new building, in 1927, with the new, modern working environment, the employees of the Institute of Histology were given the opportunity for intensive professional development and progress in every sense, and thereby, they developed each of their activities related to teaching, research, terminology, photography, and the library.

In 1928, there were four teaching assistants: Dr. Nikola Mirjanić, who later transferred to gynecology, as well as former student demonstrators, Dr. Aleksandar Telebaković, who transferred to surgery, Dr. Bosiljka Milošević-Prljinčević, who became Professor at the Department of Gynecology and who was the director of the Clinic for Gynecology and Obstetrics, and Evgenije Meljnikov, about whose later professional work data were not found (17). In 1930, one more assistant was employed, Dr. Branko Vlatković, who transferred to the newly established Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, in the summer of 1937, where he went on to develop and improve their Department of Histology and Embryology. In this respect, he was given great help and support Professor Kostić, who was one of the founders of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, in 1936 (2, 17). In addition to the assistants, the number of technical personnel was increased, and new laboratory technicians were employed, as well as support staff. According to the data from official archives, from 1935, there were two laboratory technicians: Đorđe Purković and Vladimir Sokolov, students of the Medical Faculty. Apart from the Custodian of the Institute, Dimitrije Veličković, the support staff were also: Ivan Lazić and Jelisije Radojević (17). Most employees, including the Kostićes – husband and wife, lived in the Institute building, at that time. Also, from December 1, 1931 to June 1, 1932, Elfrida Grasl was a volunteer at the Department of Photography, however, she was not mentioned in later documents of the official archives of the Institute.

In 1937, the first Histology textbook, written by Professor Kostić, was published, under the title: Basics of Histology Part I: Cells and Tissues. This textbook was later expanded and published under

the title: Basics of Normal Histology (1942), with four revised and expanded editions (1946, 1957, 1963, 1968).

The general trend of development and progress of the Institute and all its activities also had an impact on Professor Kostić's status. He was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine during three terms, between 1936 and 1939. Kostić was promoted to the rank of Full Professor, by decree, issued on January 2, 1936, just before he was elected Dean (1). In 1938, the Institute employed one more permanent assistant, Dr. Jovan Čanković, while in 1940, Dr. Dragoljub Mršević was employed as an assistant (23). In the postwar period, Dr. Čanković and Dr. Mršević carried the burden of teaching after Professor Kostić was removed from the Faculty. In 1940, Professor Kostić was awarded the medal of the Legion of Honor by the president of France for his contribution to the development of medical science (2).

As soon as 1941, the immense potential of the Institute and of all its employees was destroyed in a day. Namely, on April 6, 1941, during the bombing of Belgrade, the Institute was hit. The only part of the building that was not damaged was the central part, where the lecture hall and Photography Department were located. In late April, the employees moved the library, the remaining undamaged materials and furniture, as well as 76 microscopes to these premises and to the basement (24). During the German occupation, the Faculty of Medicine significantly changed and reduced its scope of work (12), while Germans seized the preserved microscopes and other lesser items (24).

After these unfortunate events, came another. Namely, Professor Kostić was removed from the Faculty of Medicine in 1942. A misinterpretation of events from 1941, which preceded this removal, can often be found in different texts. Some authors claim that the Professor was allegedly removed from the Faculty because he refused to sign the Appeal to the Serbian People (10, 25), which was proclaimed on August 13, 1941 in the daily newspaper *Novo vreme*. However, a majority of teachers from the Faculty of Medicine, including professor Kostić, did not sign the Appeal and none of them were removed directly for that reason. Besides, the Appeal to the Serbian People was a form of propaganda pamphlet, i.e., an anticommunist proclamation, in which loyalty

Nakon oslobođenja Beograda, 20. oktobra 1944. godine, formirani su novi komunistički organi u gradu i na Univerzitetu, a prof. Kostić je vraćen na dužnost upravnika Instituta već 8. decembra 1944. godine. Ubrzo je otpočela obnova, izgradnja i rad Fakulteta (12,17,24). Nastava histologije se najpre održavala u garderobi očuvanog dela zgrade Histološkog i Fiziološkog instituta i na Veterinarskom fakultetu (24). Dogradnja i rekonstrukcija oštećene zgrade Instituta je završena 1948. godine. Oba krila zgrade i fasada su dobili potpuno nov izgled, u duhu tadašnjih pravaca u arhitekturi, čime su mnogo izgubili od svoje prvobitne lepote. Takođe, značajno je izmenjen i unutrašnji raspored, kvadratura i spratnost. Umesto nekadašnje vežbaonice Pol Buen, Institut je dobio manju vežbaonicu sa 60 mesta. Svoj prostor u obnovljenoj zgradi i salu za vežbe dobio je i Institut za humanu genetiku (raniji naziv Biološki institut). Pokretni inventar je u početku bio različitog porekla i ne uvek odgovarajućih dimenzija i namene. Deo je dobijen na poklon, a deo nameštaja, kao i oprema za fotografsko odeljenje su otkupljeni od privatnih lica. Tek su 1954. godine ugrađeni dugački radni stolovi u vežbaonici, po uzoru na predratne (24), a koji se i danas koriste. U tom periodu malobrojni kolektiv Instituta je proširen prijemom asistenta pripravnika dr Stevana Popovića 1950. godine i dr Olge Piletić 1954. godine (23,24).

Međutim, obnovljen rad Medicinskog fakulteta, pratila su i dalje turbulentna dešavanja na ideološkom i političkom planu, što je kulminiralo ponovnim udaljavanjem prof. Kostića sa fakulteta 25. marta 1952. godine (2). Toga dana je dobio rešenje po kome mu „prestaje služba po sili zakona”. Naime, on je u martu napunio 59 godina i time stekao jedan od uslova za penzionisanje, što je iskorišćeno kao osnova za navedeno rešenje. Međutim, razlozi za njegovo udaljavanje sa fakulteta su bili mnogo dublji. Naime, bili su političke prirode, a jedan od direktnih povoda za to je bio i dopis koji je uputio Savetu Medicinskog fakulteta 4. februara 1952. godine „O načinu izbora nastavnog osoblja” (1). U tom dopisu se zalaže za tajno glasnje pri izboru nastavnog osoblja i odbacivanje kriterijuma političke podobnosti (2). Prof. Kostić je inače bio okarakterisan kao najveći „neprijatelj” na Univerzitetu još od 1945. godine, jer nije bio spreman na kompromis sa novom vlašću, a smatralo se i da oko sebe organizuje „reakciju” (26).

U kojoj meri je Kostić smetao tadašnjem komunističkom rukovodstvu, govori i činjenica da je penzionisan uprkos velikom nedostatku kvalifikovanog naučnog i stručnog kadra. Da bi prevazišao takav deficit fakultet je ili ostavljao nastavnike da rade preko svih starosnih granica za odlazak u penziju, poput prof. oftalmologije dr Đorđa Nešića, upravnika Očne klinike, ili birao u zvanja profesora ljude bez odbranjenog doktorata. Za docenta na Institutu za histologiju i embriologiju je te iste, 1952. godine izabran dotadašnji asistent dr Jovan Čanković (23). On se, nakon demobilizacije, vratio na Institut i u periodu od 1946. do 1948. godine bio na stručnom usavršavanju u Sovjetskom Savezu, na Katedri histologije i embriologije II Moskovskog državnog medicinskog instituta (rus. *2-й Московский государственный медицинский институт*, danas *Российский национальный исследовательский медицинский университет имени Н. И. Пирогова*). Po povratku iz Moskve, publikovao je dva rada u Arhivu bioloških nauka 1951. godine, koji su bili osnova za izbor u zvanje docenta (23).

Dva dana po dobijanju rešenja o penzionisanju, tj. 27. marta, Kostić je razrešen dužnosti upravnika Instituta. Istog dana mu je dekan pismenim putem naložio da odmah ukloni „pismenu objavu” kojom poziva svoje studente na oproštajno predavanje, jer za „isto nije tražio prethodno odobrenje” (1,2).

Jedini koji se usudio da mu uputi oproštajno pismo zbog odlaska sa Medicinskog fakulteta, bio je njegov bivši student, tada upravnik Histološkog instituta u Sarajevu, prof. Radivoje Milin (1,2).

Za novog upravnika Instituta 27. marta 1952. godine postavljen je profesor anatomije Siniša Radojević, ali je već 31. marta usledila promena rukovodioca – za vršioca dužnosti upravnika imenovana je prof. Marija Višnjić Frajnd sa Patološkog instituta. Sledeće, 1953. godine, 16. februara, za upravnika Instituta je postavljen docent Jovan Čanković (23,24). On je na toj poziciji bio do odlaska u penziju 1978. godine (23). Pored Čankovića, na Institutu je u to vreme bio i asistent Dragoljub Mršević, koji je 1954. godine odbranio habilitacioni rad i postao docent 1957. godine (23).

Pored udaljavanja sa Instituta, prof. dr Kostić je 27. marta 1952. godine razrešen i dužnosti upravnika Foto-filmskog zavoda. Zavod je nastao iz prvobitnog Fotografskog odeljenja, koje je početkom 1950-ih pripojeno stručnim službama fakulteta (2).

to the occupation government was demanded, and whose aim was to decrease the support of the Serbian public for the uprising against the occupiers (12, 26).

However, on October 16, 1941, Velibor Jonić, the Minister of Education in Milan Nedić's Government of National Salvation issued the Basic Ordinance on the University. According to this Ordinance, all former teachers and personnel from the University were released from duty and put at the disposal of the Minister of Education. The aim of this Ordinance was to remove unsuitable teachers, in terms of ideology and nationality, from the University, because communist and antifascist activity was present at the University even before the Second World War, as well as during the war (26). In keeping with the Basic Ordinance on the University, the General Ordinance on the University was also adopted, defining the principles of the reorganization of the University, and therefore, the Faculty of Medicine, as well (12, 26). According to this Ordinance, during 1942, the Faculty announced openings for teaching and non-teaching staff, however, all decisions had to be sent to the Minister of Education, who appointed teachers without the participation of the University Council. The Minister defined and controlled the mandate of the Rector and completely controlled the work of the University (26). Thus, the autonomy of the University was completely disrupted, the selection of teachers was controlled by the Ministry, and therefore, it was made possible to remove those deemed unsuitable regardless of the contents and the conclusion of the report on their qualifications.

Professor Aleksandar Kostić also applied for the position of Full Professor of Histology and Embryology. Professor Kosta Todorović and Professor Milovan Milovanović were appointed to be members of the selection committee. In the report that they wrote, besides commendations for Professor Kostić's teaching and scientific qualifications, they also criticized his texts in the field of sexology, which, as they claimed, were often interpreted by the public as pornographic and harmful to public morality. They also stated that Professor Kostić had started to create "cliques" within the Council of the Faculty of Medicine, which did harm to the reputation of the Faculty of Medicine and the University, as well (12). The following text was in the conclusion of

the report: "If Professor A. Kostić would pledge not to publish such popular articles and publications in the future, especially in the field of sexology, and not to form cliques at the Faculty of Medicine, then he might be proposed for the position of Full Professor" (27). The report was signed on July 17, 1942 (2) and sent to the Ministry of Education. The final outcome of the whole procedure was the retirement of Professor Kostić at the age of 49 (2).

After Professor Kostić's retirement, Assistant Professor Branko Vlatković, Professor Kostić's former assistant and Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at the time, was appointed to the position of Acting Director of the Institute (24). In the circumstances of war, the Institute, as well as the whole Faculty, reduced its scope of work, while exams were held when approval was obtained from the German Supreme Command (12, 26).

After the liberation of Belgrade, on October 20, 1944, new communist authorities were established not only at the level of the City of Belgrade but also at the level the University, and Professor Kostić was reinstated as the Director of the Institute on December 8, 1944. Soon, the reconstruction, rebuilding and renewal of regular operation of the Faculty began (12, 17, 24). The Histology course was held first in the cloakroom of the preserved part of the building of the Institute of Histology and Physiology and at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine. Building and reconstruction of the damaged building was completed in 1948. Both wings of the building had a completely new appearance, in keeping with the architectural style of that time, thus, losing a lot of its original beauty. Also, the inner arrangement, size and number of floors were significantly changed. Instead of the former classroom for practical classes named after Pol Bouin, the Institute got a smaller classroom with 60 seats. The Institute of Human Genetics (previously the Institute of Biology) got its space in the reconstructed building as well as a room for practical classes. The furniture and fittings were, at first, obtained from different places and they often did not meet the necessary requirements as to size and purpose. Some of it was received as a present, while other furniture and equipment for the Department of Photography was purchased from private persons. Long desks were built in the classroom in 1954, based on the model of the pre-war desks (24), which are used even today. In

Inače, Fotografsko odeljenje je u samom početku svoga postojanja daleko prevazišlo okvire Instituta. Fotografije je izrađivalo kako za potrebe medicinske dokumentacije i zaposlenih na celom Medicinskom fakultetu, tako i za potrebe Univerziteta u Beogradu, ali i drugih institucija širom zemlje. Podaci iz perioda pre Drugog svetskog rata ukazuju na to da je prof. Kostić pod okriljem Fotografskog odeljenja uspostavio saradnju sa čak 47 institucija u zemlji (7).

Nakon Kostićevog razrešenja sa svih dužnosti, uključujući i dužnost upravnika Terminološkog seminara, njemu je ipak učinjen jedan „ustupak“. Naime, nakon nekoliko molbi, 23. avgusta 1952. dekan mu je odobrio korišćenje jedne kancelarije u prostorijama Terminološkog seminara radi završavanja rada na započetom rečniku (1). Narednih sedam godina, sve do 17. januara 1959. godine kada je rešenjem dekana deo prostorija Terminološkog seminara, uključujući i tu kancelariju, ustupljen Institutu za epidemiologiju, Kostić je redovno dolazio u Institut (1,28). Pomenutim rešenjem prof. Kostić se za sve eventualne potrebe u vezi rečnika upućuje na Centralnu biblioteku u koju je planirano premeštanje sadržaja Terminološkog seminara (1,28).

Od tog datuma prof. Kostić više nije dolazio na Institut, niti na Medicinski fakultet, sve do marta 1982. godine, kada mu je uručena plaketa Medicinskog fakulteta u znak priznanja za dugogodišnji doprinos razvoju Medicinskog fakulteta i medicinske nauke (11). Ovaj presedan je učinio uprkos stavu koji je imao prema Fakultetu zbog dve decenije duge bezuspešne borbe protiv nepravde koja mu je naneta i na koju je stavio tačku pismom upućenim rektoru Beogradskog Univerziteta septembra 1971. godine sa godišnjeg odmora u Nici. U njemu je jasno stavio do znanja da njegova rehabilitacija mora da prethodi svečanosti pedesetogodišnjice osnivanja Medicinskog fakulteta, na kojoj on ne može da učestvuje „okaljana obraza“ (2). Nažalost, to nije doživeo.

Moralno je rehabilitovan posthumno, na svečanoj sednici Nastavno-naučnog veća Medicinskog fakulteta održanoj 24. januara 2001. godine, zajedno sa svojom suprugom i grupom nastavnika koji su doživeli sličnu sudbinu. Sednici je prisustvovao i njegov sin Vojislav Voki Kostić. Odluka Nastavno-naučnog veća kojom se stavljaju van snage sva rešenja, odluke i naredbe koje se odnose na odstranjivanje nastavnika Medicinskog

fakulteta u Beogradu u periodu od 1944. do 1953. doneta je jednoglasno (2,29).

Udaljavanje prof. dr Kostića bio je veliki gubitak za Institut i Fakultet. Za samog profesora Kostića bila je to samo prva u nizu nepravdi, koje su se nastavile najpre zabranom održavanja oproštajnog skupa sa studentima, zatim razrešenjem statusa saradnika na Institutu za fiziologiju razvića, genetiku i selekciju Srpske akademije nauka, zabranom održavanja solističkog koncerta u sali Kolarčeve zadužbine 1969. godine, oduzimanjem Vukove nagrade dan uoči same dodele priznanja 1973. godine i mnogih drugih zbog čega je sve do svoje smrti 19. januara 1983. godine živeo „život sa neprebolnim bolom u duši“.

Generacije nastavnika su radile i razvijale svoje potencijale, na čvrstim temeljima koje je uspostavio i ostavio za sobom prof. Kostić. Institut za histologiju i embriologiju, koji je osnovao i u dva navrata gradio iz temelja, od 1980. godine nosi njegovo ime.

U periodu od udaljavanja prof. Kostića do danas, rad Instituta je unapređivan u skladu sa razvojem nauke i tehnologije. Na inicijativu prof. Milorada Japundžića, 1979. godine formirana je Laboratoriju za obradu tkiva za elektronsku mikroskopiju, a prof. Japundžić je bio i direktor Laboratorije za elektronsku mikroskopiju na Univerzitetu. Angažovanjem prof. Vesne Lačković, Foto-filmski zavod je vraćen u sastav samog Instituta 1998. godine, ali je na veliku žalost zaposlenih u januaru 2006. godine ugašen. Bio je to danak širokoj dostupnosti i jednostavnosti korišćenja savremenih fotografskih tehnologija, a Medicinski fakultet nije našao način i rešenje za modernizaciju, osavremenjavanje i nastavak rada ustanove sa tako velikim istorijskim značajem, potencijalom i skoro vekovnom tradicijom. Stari mikroskopi su zamenjeni 1979-1980. binokularnim mikroskopima, 1997. je uvedena zdravstvena delatnost za potrebe elektronsko-mikroskopske analize, ali je kasnije ukinuta, istraživački rad je osavremenjen nabavkom elektronskog i konfokalnog mikroskopa. Članovi katedre su bili angažovani na brojnim važnim pozicijama na Fakultetu i Univerzitetu, akademik Vladimir Bumbaširević je bio dekan i u dva mandata rektor Univerziteta u Beogradu. U duhu savremenih trendova u edukaciji studenata, na inicijativu prof. Miloša Bajčetića i asistenta Kirila Gligorovskog, na Institutu se počelo sa realizacijom *online* nastave još početkom 2000-ih. Upravo

that period, the small group of employees at the Institute was enlarged when teaching assistants Dr. Stevan Popović, in 1950, and Dr. Olga Piletić, in 1954, were employed (23, 24).

However, the work of the Faculty of Medicine was still disturbed by turbulent events, related to ideology and politics, which again culminated in the removal of Professor Kostić from the Faculty, on March 25, 1952 (2). On that day, he received the decision, according to which his duty ended 'by force of law'. Namely, since, in March of that year, he turned 59, thus fulfilling one of the conditions for retirement, this was used as the basis for the aforementioned decision. However, reasons for his removal from the Faculty ran a lot deeper. Namely, they were political in nature, and one of direct motives was the letter that the Professor sent to the Council of the Faculty of Medicine on February 4, 1952 "about the manner of selecting the teaching staff" (1). In this letter, he advocated secret voting in the selection of the teaching staff and the rejection of the criterion of political suitability (2). Professor Kostić was characterized as the biggest "enemy" of the University since 1945 because he was not ready to make a compromise with the new authorities, and it was deemed that he organized "reactionist activity" around him (26).

To which extent Kostić disturbed the communist authorities at that time was clear when he was retired although there was a lack of qualified scientific and professional personnel. In order to overcome such lack in staff, the Faculty allowed teachers to work over the age limit for retirement, as was the case with Professor of Ophthalmology Dr. Đorđe Nešić, Director of the Ophthalmology Clinic, or even appointed persons who had not defended their PhD thesis to the position of Professor. Dr. Jovan Čanković, former assistant was appointed the position of Assistant Professor at the Institute of Histology and Embryology, in 1952. After he was demobilized, he returned to the Institute, and from 1946 to 1948 was away for advanced professional development in the Soviet Union, at the Department of Histology and Embryology of the II Moscow State Medical Institute (*2-й Московский государственный медицинский институт*, today – *Российский национальный исследовательский медицинский университет имени Н. И. Пирогова*). After he returned from Moscow, he published two research papers in the Archives of Biological

Sciences, in 1951, which were the basis for his being appointed Assistant Professor (23).

Two days after he had received the decision on retirement, i.e., on March 27, Kostić was released from his duty of Director of the Institute. On the same day, the Dean ordered him, in written form, to remove his "written announcement" which invited his students to his farewell lecture because "he did not ask permission for it" (1, 2).

The only one who dared send him a farewell letter was his former student, Professor Radivoje Milin, who was the Director of the Institute of Histology in Sarajevo (1, 2).

The Professor of Anatomy, Siniša Radojević was appointed to the post of the new Director of the Institute on March 27, 1952, but as soon as March 31, he was replaced by Professor Marija Višnjić Frajnd from the Institute of Pathology, who was appointed Acting Director. In 1953, on the February 16, Assistant Professor Jovan Čanković was appointed the position of Director of the Institute (23, 24). He occupied this post until he retired in 1978 (23). Together with Jovan Čanković, Assistant Dragoljub Mršević was employed at the Institute at that time, and, in 1954, he defended the habilitation thesis and became Assistant Professor in 1957 (23).

In addition to his removal from the Institute, on March 27, 1952, Professor Kostić was released from the duty of Director of the Photo-Film Institute. The Institute originated from the initial Department of Photography, which was adjoined to the professional services of the Faculty, in the early 1950s (2).

The Department of Photography exceeded the scope of the Institute even at the beginning of its existence. It developed photographs for medical documentation and for employees at the level of the entire Faculty of Medicine, as well as for the University of Belgrade and other institutions across the country. Data from before the Second World War indicate that Professor Kostić had established cooperation with as many as 47 institutions in the country (7).

After Kostić's release from all of his duties, including the duty of the Director of the Terminology Unit, the Professor was allowed one 'concession'. Namely, after repeated requests, the Dean allowed him to use one office in the Terminology Unit in order to complete his work on the dictionary he was writing (1). Over the

ovo iskustvo i već razrađen *online* kurs bili su od ključne važnosti u aktuelnoj epidemiološkoj situaciji, a sama Katedra je bila primer mnogim drugim institutima i katedrama.

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following seven years, until January 17, 1959, when by the Dean's decision, one part of the premises of the Terminology Unit, including the said office, was given to the Institute of Epidemiology, Kostić used to come regularly to the Institute (1, 28). In the above-mentioned decision, Professor Kostić was referred to use the Central Library, for all his future needs, and this was where the contents of the Terminology Unit were planned to be moved (1, 28).

As of that day, Professor Kostić ceased coming to the Institute and to the Faculty of Medicine altogether, until March 1982, when he received an award from the Medical Faculty, in recognition of his long-standing contribution to the development of the Faculty of Medicine and of medical science (11). He made this precedent in spite of his attitude towards the Faculty, which was the result of his twenty-year long and unsuccessful struggle against the injustice inflicted upon him. He put an end to it with the letter he sent to the Rector of the Belgrade University which he wrote while on holiday in Nice, in 1971. In that letter he clearly stated that his rehabilitation should precede the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Faculty of Medicine, which he could not take part in with a 'tarnished reputation' (2). Unfortunately, he did not live to see his name cleared and his reputation restored.

He was morally rehabilitated posthumously, together with his wife and a group of teachers who shared a similar fate, at the session of the Academic Council of the Faculty of Medicine, held on January 24, 2001. His son Vojislav Voki Kostić was present at this session. The decision of the Academic Council of the Faculty of Medicine, which revoked all decisions, acts and orders relating to the removal of teachers from the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade from 1944 to 1953, was made unanimously (2, 29).

The removal of Professor Kostić from the Faculty was a great loss for the Institute as well as for the Faculty. For professor Kostić it was the first in a series of injustices, which continued, first with the prohibition of his farewell meeting with students, then with his dismissal from the status of Associate at the Institute of the Physiology of Development, Genetics and Selection of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, followed by the prohibition of a solo concert at the concert hall of the Kolarac Endowment, in 1969, as well as

with the withdrawing of the 'Vuk' Award, one day before the prize awarding ceremony, in 1973, and continuing with many other injustices, due to which he lived with an "everlasting pain in his soul", until his death, on January 19, 1983.

Generations of teachers worked and developed their potential on the firm foundations laid by Professor Kostić. The Institute of Histology and Embryology, which he founded and built from the ground, twice, has borne his name, since 1980.

The work of the Institute has improved, in accordance with the development of science and technology, since the Professor's removal. The Laboratory for Tissue Analysis and Electron Microscopy was formed on the initiative of Professor Milorad Japundžić, in 1979, and Professor Japundžić himself was the Director of the Laboratory for Electron Microscopy at the University. At the initiative of Professor Vesna Lačković, the Photo-Film Institute was reinstated within the Institute in 1998, but was closed in January 2006, to the regret of all the employees. This was the consequence of the wide availability and simplicity of using modern photographic technologies, and the Faculty of Medicine did not find ways and solutions for modernizing and maintaining an institution of such great historical significance, such potential and a tradition lasting almost a whole century. Old microscopes were replaced between 1979 - 1980 with binocular microscopes. In 1997, a health service for the needs of electron-microscopic analysis was introduced and later cancelled, and research work was modernized with the purchase of an electron and a confocal microscope. The members of the Department of Histology and Embryology were engaged in numerous important positions at the Faculty and University, while academician Vladimir Bumbaširević was elected the Rector of the Belgrade University, twice. In light of modern trends related to students' education, at the initiative of Professor Miloš Bajčetić and Teaching Assistant Kiril Gligorovski, online courses started in the early 2000s. It is precisely this experience and an already developed online course that were of great significance in the current epidemiological situation, where the Department served as an example to other Institutes and Departments.

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