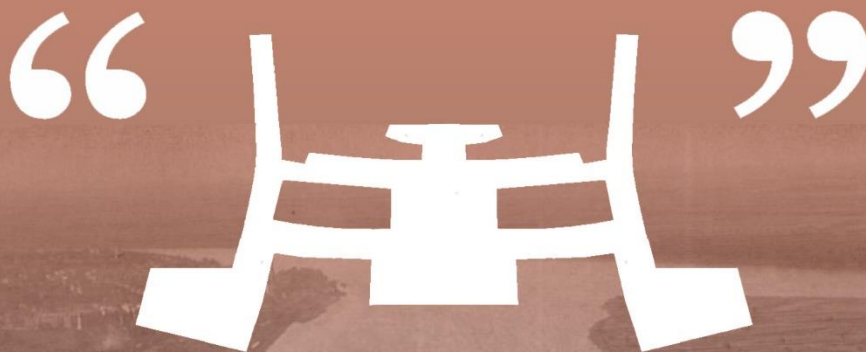Sonja Jankov

Understanding Intermedial Quoting
ARCHITECTURE OF YUGOSLAV MODERNISM
AS QUOTATION WITHIN CONTEMPORARY ART

Understanding Intermedial Quoting

Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism as Quotation within Contemporary Art

Sonja Jankov

Center for Contemporary Culture and Communication ArtKult

Cover image (front): The Presidency of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia / the Federal Executive Council / Palace of Federation / Palace of Serbia. Architects: Vladimir Potočnjak, Zlatko Neumann, Antun Ulrich, and Dragica Perak 1947; Mihailo Janković, 1956–61. Photograph: M. Pavlović, source: *Arhitektura urbanizam*, 2 (1960), p. 13

Cover image (back): Nigerian federal pavilion within the International Trade Fair complex, Lagos, Nigeria, 1974–1977. Architect: Zoran Bojović. Collaborators and architects of other pavilions: Predrag Đaković, Dragan Manasijević, Miodrag Cvijić, Aleksandar Raševski. Interior design: Ljiljana Bojović. Source: Bojana Radojković (ed.), catalogue for the 77 Architecture Salon (Nov. 25 – Dec. 11, 1977), Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti za samoupravnu interesnu zajednicu Salona arhitekture, 1977, p. 27

Dedicated to

*all ancestresses
and Sidney*

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Introduction

Poststructuralist research has recognized intertextuality as one of the main characteristics of contemporary art, as well as one of the main creative methods in contemporary artistic practices. Despite this, research on intertextuality still mostly focuses on text-based arts, while semiology tends to turn to various other sign systems rather than to artistic discourse. As a result, *intersemiotic* and *intermedial* intertextuality—inter-relations of works originating from different disciplines or arts—are slipping from the focus of interdisciplinary research on contemporary art or on intertextuality. Wondering whether intertextuality can include relations between modernist architectural heritage and art emerging in the 21st century, we initiated research on this topic that resulted in this book.

Intertextuality is a very broad term that includes various relationships between works (allusion, quotation, stylization, parody, travesty, pastiche, reminiscences, echoes), while interconnections between architecture and art go even further, beyond intertextuality. For the purposes of this research and book, we focused on only one type of intertextuality – *quotation*. We also focused on contemporary artistic practices after the year 2000 and limited ourselves to an occurrence in architectural history that we define as the *architecture of Yugoslav modernism*. We are deliberately not using the term 'Yugoslav architecture' because it does not belong only to Yugoslavs, nor was it built only on the territory of former Yugoslavia, nor did it cease to exist with the disintegration of Yugoslavia(s). We are also not using the term 'Yugoslav modernist architecture,' which is periodically broader, referring both to some examples of interwar architecture and architecture built after World War II.

Architecture of Yugoslav modernism was built during the period of economic prosperity that occurred between several crises, as part of a much wider process of modernization that went beyond architecture, and included inventions and achievements in agriculture, pharmacology, various branches of industry, trans-national solidarity, emancipation of the working class, education, culture, etc. It was built after the crisis caused by World War II, another crisis caused by the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the

Cominform in 1948,[1] and before the debt crisis, inflation and ideological crisis of the 1980s which resulted in the disintegration of the state in the 1990s wars. That architecture developed together with the unique Yugoslav "middle path" that was based on the anti-fascist struggle, a non-alignment policy, a peace-oriented position during the Cold War, workers' self-management and decentralization. As such, it was specific and different from the architecture of International modernism, Soviet architecture and modernist architecture*s* of other socialist countries that also had their own local specificities. The biggest challenge this architecture faces now is the question of its survival and perception outside the social and economic system that had built it and maintained it, which is now defunct and disintegrated; finished by wars.

In comparison to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, contemporary art is in many respects a different discipline and phenomenon. Therefore, seeing them in intertextual relation raises many questions, such as: Is it possible to approach analytically contemporary art and the architecture of Yugoslav modernism as signs/signifiers/language/*texts*? By which creative methods can artists quote the architecture of Yugoslav modernism? What is the relationship between architecture and semiology? What are the main characteristics of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism that make it a specific occurrence in the history of modern architecture? How has the paradigm changed in the reception of such architecture since the 1990s? How is the architecture of Yugoslav modernism changing in the process of *intermedial* quoting? How can the analyzed contemporary artistic practices be classified according to the type of quotation they embody? Does contemporary art create knowledge about the architecture of Yugoslav modernism? Are contemporary artists

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[1] Cominform is the commonly known name of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Информационное бюро коммунистических и рабочих партий). It was established in 1947 by purpose of subordinating European communist parties to directions of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and together with it the Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste, were expelled in 1948 due to Yugoslavs' ideas that differed from Joseph Stalin's, making Yugoslavia less subordinated than expected. Cominform included communist and workers' parties of Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland and Romania. It was dissolved in 1956 during the process of de-Stalinization.

internationally presenting Yugoslavia and its heritage when quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism?

The answers to these questions were given in a dissertation that was part of the fulfillment of a PhD in Art and Media Theory, defended at the University of Arts in Belgrade in 2021. This book represents most of those results, with additional chapter "*Intratextual Type* of Intertextuality and Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism" which hasn't been previously published, and with additional examples of artistic works within which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism has been quoted. The book also includes new information regarding the changed status of some buildings that have been reconstructed or changed in other ways in the meantime. The reason for making it available to the wider public lies mostly in the noticed interest in contemporary art, architecture of Yugoslav modernism, intermedial intertextuality, methodology of practice-based artistic research, semiology of architecture, poststructuralist approach to art as a *text*, culture of memory, politics of forgetting, as well as in general relations between architectural heritage and arts.

The book is structured in three parts. The first part presents a theoretical consideration and argumentation that contemporary artistic practices are a system of signs and processes that can quote architecture, another system of signs and processes. In this context, quotation is established as a theoretical research field within which art is not defined as a closed work with specific values and meanings, but as an open *text* whose meanings and relationships to other *texts* are constituted through the act of reading, that is, viewing, reception, presence, participation. After approaching contemporary art through text theories and architecture through theories of semiology, we have defined the two basic modes of quoting architecture in contemporary artistic practices: 1) methods of architectural-like presentation, among which scale modeling is most commonly used, and 2) site-specificity in narrow sense, resulting in *in-situ* art. They are both recognized as temporary, ephemeral acts that can reanimate forgotten meanings and/or add new meanings to selected architectural objects. This part of the book is most recommended to those interested in theories of intertextuality, previous research on intertextuality in visual arts, the semiology of architecture, artistic methods that enable quoting, and specificities of contemporary art.

As with any intertextual analysis, the book pays great attention to the analysis of the quoted text, in order to understand better the complexity of new artistic works within which that older text has been quoted. Therefore, the second part of the book is devoted to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, with special focus on its representational role and its changing symbolism over time. This part also presents the socio-economic context of the creation of such architecture, that is, what made Yugoslavia different from other socialist countries. Some of the issues presented in this section are that the architecture of Yugoslav modernism was not built only on the territory of Yugoslavia, that it played a significant role in the emancipation of non-aligned countries with which Yugoslavia cooperated, that this heritage was damaged by war destruction or neglect in other countries as well, not only in the area of the former of Yugoslavia. Since architecture played a significant role in the international representation of Yugoslavia, we aim to present all its complexities, approaching it as a signifier of changeable signification.

For this purpose, in this part, we identify and briefly analyze six models of international representation of the "Yugoslav middle path" through architecture: 1) New Belgrade, envisioned as a new capital of the new state, 2) engagement and participation of Yugoslav construction companies and architects in the Western Block, Eastern Block and non-aligned countries, 3) architecture built for the purposes of international trade fairs, 4) tourist resorts, 5) buildings of cultural institutions and faculties, 6) hybrid sports-business-cultural complexes. This part also includes a chapter on the semantic shift that occurred due to a series of socio-political, economic and legal changes that occurred since the construction of this architecture, because of which it has been significantly altered, damaged and/or neglected. The entire second part is most recommended to all interested in the architecture of Yugoslav modernism and its representational capacities that enabled it to communicate what Yugoslavia was, but also how this architecture created habits, processes, and connections. This part is also recommended to those interested in the history of Yugoslavia.

The third part of the book comprises poststructuralist analyses of selected contemporary works of art, with a focus on the meanings created by quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. It also shows what happens to the quoted architecture in such a process. The entire section is a demonstration of intertextual analysis

that does not seek to define one ultimate meaning of each selected work of art but to highlight intermedial quoting as a creative artistic process and deconstruct the mutual relation of quotations and other elements that constitute artworks. Depicting over twenty examples for in-depth analysis, we show how contemporary artists apply different types of quoting with different goals, whereby the primary goal is not always highlighting the architectural value of the buildings they quoted. Despite this, the analyzed works inevitably contribute to the preservation of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in a wider cultural context and its recognition as an important semantic element in the articulation of an artistic idea. In this part, we show that contemporary artistic practices place this specific architectural heritage in the domain of contemporaneous, communicative and relevant.

Structured in this way, the book gives an account of what *intersemiotic* and *intermedial* quoting is, using the example of intertextual relations between art and architecture, understood here as *texts*. For the first time, architecture and contemporary art are seen in this book as *syllepsis*, a term that Michael Riffaterre introduced into the theory of poetry, while *illuminative* quoting and *illustrative* quoting are added to known artistic creative processes. As such, the book is just an introduction to further research on *intersemiotic* and *intermedial* intertextuality, especially in the domain of arts and (architectural) modernist heritage.

Methodology

Aiming to contribute to knowledge about how works produced by one discipline (in our case architecture) can appear as quotations within works produced by another discipline (in our case contemporary artistic practices), the research was conducted using several combined methods. Desk research was used for the topic of intertextuality and quotation, depicting general literature on the topic, literature that is specifically about quotation in the visual arts, and literature on linguistics and semiotics, which was then applied to architecture and visual arts. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism and contemporary artistic practices that quote it are understood in this book as *texts in contexts*. Therefore, we applied a diachronic, poststructuralist and interdisciplinary approach to analyze not only these two phenomena, which are separated by an average of fifty years, but also the different socio-political contexts of their productions. In both cases, we used desk research and field research.

For the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, we used a critical-analytical method, which defined the positioning of this term in the discourse of history and the history of architecture. We used recent publications because their authors are aware of the importance this architecture had at the time when it was designed, but they also approach it from a historical distance, after the breakup of Yugoslavia, in the 21st century, when the contemporary artistic practices that we are analyzing are taking place. The periodization of this architecture was carried out according to the social-political-economic systems in which it was created, gradually transitioning from *etatist* centralized planning to self-management, and then to the "market socialism," a process during which the unique Yugoslav "middle path" was formed. We also applied semiological analysis with an emphasis on ideological, cultural and psychological interpretations of architecture as a carrier of changing meanings, in order to show the extent to which architecture was an active agent of modernization both in Yugoslavia and in countries where Yugoslav building companies worked.

In addition, we applied empirical field research to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, using a method of systematic observation of selected buildings quoted by contemporary artists. We took into account the following parameters: (1) whether the building

is used; (2) who has the right of use or ownership; (3) in what condition is the building – has it been maintained, has it been modified, is it overgrown with greenery, is it publicly accessible; (4) whether its function has changed since the time of construction; (5) whether the object has undergone any changes since the time the artist quoted it in their work. The findings are integrated in the third part of the book, in the analyses of artworks within which those buildings appear as quotations. The analyses also turns to wider cultural phenomena of importance for depicted works, such as the politics of memory, forgetting and abjection, the aesthetic and psychological concept *das Unheimliche* and the reanimation of architectural heritage in cooperation with local communities.

When it comes to the artworks and artistic practices analyzed in this book, they meet several criteria. In order to be recognized as *texts* (semantic and syntactic structural units) within which architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as quotation, they had to fulfill the criterion of incorporating formal and semantic aspects of architectural objects, complexes or phenomena created during the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1963) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992).[2] All of them were designed and built by architects and engineers, who are in this context treated as quoted authors. When selecting artistic works for analysis, we aimed at 1) media diversity, including installations, screendance, concepts, site-specific interventions, urban interventions, sculptures, videos, performance art, drawings, contextual practice, art with communities; 2) diversity of six architectural types that Yugoslavia used to present itself internationally, including thus artworks within which these architectural types are quoted; 3) displaying different types of quoting, including thus several works within which the same building was quoted, because the artists applied different types of quoting that resulted in different new meanings.

The artworks and practices selected for analysis do not come from a pre-existing collection/archive. They were found through curatorial and research work, through long-term systematic observation of contemporary art and the wider relationship between artistic practices and architecture. For the purposes of researching the topic

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[2] Artistic practices that reference architecture of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–1941) or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–2003) are not included in this book.

of intermedial quoting, we approached those artworks and practices using the method of observation, content analysis and intertextual analysis, which deepened the understanding of contemporary artistic practices as *texts* that are in an active relationship to other *texts*. Discursive analysis was also used because, during the research, contemporary art was shown to be a means of analysis, criticism, interpretation, presentation and/or reanimation of architectural heritage. We took into account literature on practice-oriented artistic research, contemporary art and art theory, as well as sources on the creative practices of selected artists (catalogs, interviews, correspondences, digital sources).

This book does not cover all the works that could be characterized as those within which architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as a quotation, because it is a phenomenon in contemporary art that has its own future. Over time, there have been more and more artistic approaches to this architecture thanks to the initiatives of artists, communities of users, civil associations, researchers, and institutions and their cooperation in efforts to document, preserve, revitalize and present this architecture locally and internationally. The book is, therefore, a contribution to those efforts and to the study of wider phenomena of *intermedial* and *intersemiotic* quoting in contemporary artistic practices, as well as to the study of the wider relationship between modernist architectural heritage and artistic and civic actions that are in active dialogue with it.

Part I

Intermedial Quoting

**Architecture as Quoted Text,
Contemporary Art as Quoting Text**

1.1.1. Theories of Text, Intertextuality and Quoting in Contemporary Art

Viewing contemporary artistic practices as *texts* relies on the research of Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes, who used the term *text* not to describe a text in a narrow sense, but rather a conceptual framework that includes any system of signs. According to Kristeva, *text* is a "trans-linguistic apparatus that redistributes the order of language,"[3] understood in the broadest sense, as any semantic system and process of communication. The *text* has a redistributive (destructive-constructive) relationship to the language in which it is found and represents an endless process of *productivity*. Kristeva based this understanding of language on the research of Mikhail Bakhtin, that is, on his studies of language and novels as dialogical and polyphonic forms and processes. According to Bakhtin, a word does not exist independently; it is inseparable from the sociological context from which it originates, and when it is used in a literary work, it necessarily brings with it a part of its original discourse.[4]

The *text* is therefore dialogic in character and represents a polyphonic play of different utterances or discourses, none of which has a dominant, monolithic and authorial position in the network of relationships. Literary/textual structure "does not simply *exist* but is generated in relation to *another* structure"[5]; "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another,"[6] and every text is characterized by *heteroglossia*. Bakhtin also indicated that in order to understand *heteroglossia*, it is necessary to establish a *translinguistic* science based on dialogism.[7] Following this, Kristeva conceived intertextuality and within its framework, she defined *text* as a translinguistic apparatus.

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[3] Julia Kristeva, "The Bounded Text" (1966–67), in: *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, edited by Leon S. Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press, 1980, 36

[4] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in: *The Dialogic Imagination. Four essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, 293

[5] Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel" (1966), in: *Desire in Language*, 64–65

[6] *Ibid.*, 66

[7] *Ibid.*, 69

Roland Barthes also emphasized the translinguistic and transtextual features of the *text*. In the essay "From Work to Text" (1971), he defined the basic features of the *text*, placing them in binary opposition to the features of the *work*, which can be summarized as follows:

work	**text**
held in hands, on shelf	contained in language
the object of consumption	experienced only in production of meanings
signified	sign, radically symbolic
closed	endless play of meaning, open and expanding network
singular	plural
one meaning	achieves only a multitude of meanings
	cuts across one or several works

Barthes' syntagm *from work to text* indicates a change in the analytical paradigm in the study of literature and arts – instead of a positivist fixation on the meaning of a work in relation to the historical moment in which it was created and its author, a work becomes a *text* that is constituted through the act of reading/watching/listening and as such "bound to *jouissance,* that is to a pleasure without separation."[8] This view of the *text* relates to Barthes' earlier essay "The Death of the Author" (1967), in which he states that through literature, "it is language which speaks, not the author,"[9] it is language that is "performed" through the text, not the subjective personality of the author. In this essay, Barthes also presents his theses on what we know today as intertextuality: "[t]he text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture"[10] and "a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination."[11]

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[8] Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text," in: Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath, Fontana Press 1977, 164

[9] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in: *Image Music Text*, 143

[10] *Ibid.*, 146

[11] *Ibid*, 148

By seeing *text* as a tissue of quotations from different centers of culture, Barthes opens up the possibility to approach visual arts as *texts* and study their intertextual connections, either to arts or to other forms of culture. In the wake of his research, a series of terms in German theory emerged, such as *Intertextualität von Kunstwerken* (intertextuality of artworks), *Interpiktorialität/ Interpikturalität* (interpictoriality/ interpicturality), *Interikonizität* (intericonicity), *Intervisualität* (intervisuality), *Interbildlichkeit* (interfigurality or intertextality of images).[12] According to Miško Šuvaković, difference between *interpictoriality* and *intertextuality* is the difference between *formal* and *semantic* quoting. In the first case, we have the procedure of literal (collage, montage) or non-literal (simulation, transfiguration, *mimesis of mimesis*) rendering of one painting or its fragment or compositional principle or gestural procedure into another painting.[13] It is the procedure of quoting the form or the process of an artwork. However, when it comes to quoting the sense, theme, or content of the work, *interpictorial*, according to Šuvaković, approaches *intertextual*.[14]

In the field of visual arts, the term *intertextuality across images* has been used for pictorial, compositional, and object-spatial relationships between exhibited works,[15] that is, for the act of placing "diverse images in the same physical location so that that they can be read off of each other."[16] It can be carried out either in space or within publications by applying "pairing, sequencing (images placed together to invoke a storyline around linear change, progress, fulfillment, or causation), clustering, and scattering."[17] On this occasion, an image is

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[12] Elisabeth-Christine Gamer, "Interpiktorialität – mehr als ein Dialog von Kunst-werken: Interdisziplinäre Ansätze zu einer aktuellen Forschungsdiskussion," in Elisabeth-Christine Gamer (ed.), *Interpiktorialität – der Dialog der Bilder*, Conference Proceedings of: Interpiktorialität – der Dialog der Bilder, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, November 4–5, 2011, 1

[13] Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti* [*Glossary of Contemporary Art*], term: Interpikturalno [Interpictorial], 282

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Miško Šuvaković, „Ka tvrdom modernizmu: Projekt Mondrian – Nikola Pilipović, Aleksandar Dimitrijević, Zoran Naskovski" [Towards hard modernism: The Mondrian Project – Nikola Pilipović, Aleksandar Dimitrijević, Zoran Naskovski], in: *Projeka(r)t: časopis za vizuelne umetnosti*, 11–15 (March 2001), 198

[16] Walter Werner, "'What does this picture say?' Reading the Intertextuality of Visual Images," *International Journal of Social Education*, Vol. 19 No. 1 (Spring–Summer 2004), 68

[17] *Ibid.*

interpreted through, against, alongside, or in light of another image(s) or other media, and meanings assigned to it "differ from those that would be drawn if it were interpreted in isolation."[18] Apart from *intertextuality across images*, Walter Werner distinguishes two additional forms of intertextuality in visual culture. One is intertextuality within a frame of a single image, which functions on principles of binary juxtaposition and visual quoting, while the other is intertextuality between image and word, which functions on principles of anchoring, framing (images provide documentation or infuse emotion or attitude) and prompting viewer reflexivity (dissonance which provokes questions and motivate inquiry).[19]

Intertextuality is recognized as a "semantic explosion that takes place in the collision or interfacing of texts, in the production of an aesthetic and semantic surplus."[20] Quoting, as a form of explicit intertextuality, within which a fragment of an older text is explicitly present within the new one, results in the same 'semantic explosion.' For that reason, in the wake of previous theoretical research on *text* and quoting, we approach contemporary artistic practices of the 21st century as *texts* in relation to other *texts* and analyze what happens in their collision. For this purpose, we embrace terminology developed by Dubravka Oraić Tolić, a theoretician of quotations in the arts:

1. *quoting text* – a newer text which contains a quotation. In our case, contemporary artistic practices and/or works created within them. Related terms (according to Oraić Tolić): "phenotext" and "text consequent"
2. *quoted text* – an older text that is quoted within the quoting text. In our case, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. Related terms (according to Oraić Tolić): "subtext," "pretext," "genotext," "text antecedent" or "prototext." According to Ann Rigney, cultural signification of any work lies in "the cultural

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[18] *Ibid.*, 64
[19] *Ibid.*, 70
[20] Renate Lachmann, "Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature," in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, 309

activities it gives rise to, rather than in what it is in itself,"[21] activities such as adaptation, translation, reception, and appropriation. An artwork, such as the Mona Lisa is "culturally significant, not 'in itself,' but as a result of its reception, including all the appreciative commentaries, parodies, imitations, and so on that it has spawned. Artistic works are not just artifacts, but also agents."[22] In this book, we are approaching the architecture of Yugoslav modernism as such an agent whose cultural significance lies in all the artistic and civic actions it aspires to, and particularly in all the new texts that quote it

3. *quotation* – an explicit intertext, a fragment of the quoted text that is copied and included in the quoting text, which becomes its new context. Also referred to as a signal or an intertext, a "link between the given text and the 'other' text (the referent text) […it] is the very element of another text which has been incorporated, absorbed, quoted, distorted, reversed, resemanticized, etc."[23] Oraić Tolić points out that the meaning of quotation is always influenced by its previous context – the remaining part of the quoted text that is not taken over, but is understood. In visual arts, a quotation can be the entire quoted text, not just its fragment, in which case we have appropriation. It is an act of copying (multiplying) a certain work, rather than dislocating it from its original context

4. *quotational relation* – an intertextual connection between the quotation and the new context (quoting text) within which it appears

5. *quoting* – creative process of deliberately building one own text on an older text, or its fragment. In this process, the primary functions, content, and wider context of the older text are taken into account, and the older text is openly presented as someone else's text within the newer text

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[21] Ann Rigney, "The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing," in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, 349

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Lachmann, "Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature," 304

6. *quotational text* – property of an artistic structure built by quoting (in our case selected contemporary works of art), in some cases also the artist's ideolect.[24]

When it comes to the *quotational relation*, Oraić Tolić distinguishes three types, depending on the type of artistic media that are in an intertextual relationship. *Intrasemiotic* relation occurs when quoting and quoted text belong to the same media or type of art, so the quotational relation is established in the interconnection literature–literature, painting–painting, etc. *Intersemiotic* relation takes place when the quotation is of different media or type than the quoting text (e.g. painting–photography or, as in our case, architecture–visual arts), while *trans-semiotic* relation occurs when the quoted text does not belong to art at all, so the quotational relation is established between art and non-art in the broadest sense.[25]

We find a similar distinction in the scholarship of Ante Peterlić. He uses the term *aloquotation* for quoting that takes place in the same artistic medium or the same type of art (photography–photography, music–music). Such quoting can be "literal (for example, by copying) or *periphrastic*, i.e. non-literal (by imitating parts)."[26] For quoting that occurs between different types of art or artistic media, Peterlić uses term *inoquotation*, referring to the process when one artistic medium "'repeats' parts from another artistic medium, which is basically always periphrastic because absolute 'transplantation' is practically impossible."[27] When it comes to quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, the process is *periphrastic* whenever artists use scale models, maquettes, drawings, or other means of representing specific buildings, while literal quoting takes place when artists create installations that are specific reconstructions, full-scale models or mock-ups of buildings. For both types of quoting, Peterlić states that they can be indicated explicitly (by direct reference to the quoted

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[24] Dubravka Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti* [*Theory of Quotation*], Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1990, 5

[25] *Ibid.*, 21

[26] Ante Peterlić, „Prilog proučavanju filmskog citata" [A contribution to the study of film quotation], in: *Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost*, Dubravka Oraić Tolić i Viktor Žmegač (ur.), Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 1988, 198

[27] Ante Peterlić (ur.), *Filmska enciklopedija. Deo 1, A–K* [*Film Encyclopaedia. Part 1, A–K*], term: „Citat, filmski" [Quotation, cinematic], Zagreb: Jogoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1986, 210

work) or implicitly. As we will see, artists who quote architecture usually explicitly state which building they are referring to, either in their concepts or in segments of their works.

Oraić Tolić creates a classification of quotations according to their origins into: (1) *interliterary* (the quoted text is of the same medium) [perhaps the term '*intramedial* quotations' would be more appropriate, in order not to limit its consideration to literature only], (2) *autoquotations* (the text quotes itself), (3) *metaquotations* (interpretive texts about a text), (4) *intermedial* (the quoted text is of another medium) and (5) *extra-aesthetic* quotations (the quoted text is of non-artistic origin – timetable, menu, etc.).[28] Contemporary artistic practices that are quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism are characterized, therefore, by an intersemiotic quota-tional relationship and the use of intermedial quotations, while multimedia artistic practices can also include metaquotations and extra-aesthetic quotations.

Oraić Tolić also defines a distinction between two types of quoting, depending on the relation that the quoting text has to the quoted one. In *illuminative* quoting, the new text creates new meanings by subordinating the older text to itself, while in *illustrative* quoting the new text is subordinated to the older text, aiming to bring closer its meanings to a contemporary viewer. A similar distinction is observed by Renate Lachmann according to whom "[i]ntertexts based on similarity (figures causing semantic shifts and reversals of polarity) dissolve the meaning of the text as it existed beforehand, whereas intertexts based on metonymy (participational figures) seem to preserve the pre-text."[29] We are turning closely to *illuminative* and *illustrative* quoting in the third part of the book, within the analyses of artistic practices that apply them. Before that, we turn to features of contemporary artistic practices and the architecture of Yugoslav modernism that allow them to be quoting and quoted texts.

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[28] Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti*, 22
[29] Lachmann, *op. cit.*, 305

1.1.2. **Quoting as Artistic Method since the 1990s: Previous Research**

During the first half of the 1990s, art critics and theoreticians indicated that quotation in visual and multimedia art is not only a *formal element*, as it used to be in eclectic postmodernist art. Quotation is a *semantic* and *interpretive* procedure by which something new is said about the older, quoted, text, while at the same time, that older text contributes to the articulation of thoughts about contemporary issues. This shift from quoting the formal/visual to quoting, interpreting, and formulating meanings reflects one of the main differences between the art of postmodernism and the artistic prac- tices of the 1990s and later.

Artists whose works directly build on the works of earlier artists, create in dialogue with those older texts which are not "just a pretext on which they write some other text in the spirit of character- istic postmodern operations."[30] Such a process is at least a visual, formal act. The process of quoting while creating paintings opens up the questions of "the plastic ontology of the image and the spatial painted field," thus becoming an analytical procedure, pointing to the "sublime, spiritual, ultimately utopian, referencing rather spiritual than the formal model of earlier authors."[31] It serves a similar purpose in other artistic media, too. The intertextual relationship towards older works of art is a diachronic view, an active dialogue, a process in which the texts are quoted as "facts, bases, stimuli or quotations from which reworked visual contents of various origins will be born."[32] Quoting them in contemporary artistic practices is a specific reading, "current, free interpretation, outside the usual framework of art

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[30] Ješa Denegri, „Aleksandar Dimitrijević, Zoran Naskovski, Nikola Pilipović – Piet Mondrian (1872–1992)" – text for the exhibition catalog in Gallery of Student Cul- tural Centre, Belgrade, Nov–Dec 1992, in: *Projeka(r)t: časopis za vizuelne umetnosti*, 11–15 (March 2001), 176

[31] *Ibid.*, 177

[32] Irina Subotić, "Contemporary Art in Traditional Museum Installations: Curator as Art Critic. Example of the Exhibition *Experiences from Memory*. National Museum, Belgrade 1994/1995," *Crossroads in Central Europe. Ideas, Themes, Methods and Problems of Contemporary Art and Art Criticism*, Budapest: Association of Hungarian Creative Artists, 1996, 98

history."[33] Quoting in art is, therefore, a specific analysis and interpretative method by which one learns about earlier texts, earlier authors, earlier periods, and the ontology of the artistic media.

The most extensive analyses of quoting in visual arts can be found in the works of Mieke Bal and Nina Heydemann. Mieke Bal in the book *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* (1999) indicates that contemporary works that quote older works or styles are specific "theoretical objects that 'theorize' cultural history."[34] It is because they are asking questions about the quoted era of art (not just a quoted work) and highlighting where the past and the present overlap. For this reason, they represent a specific visual textuality and are subject to an intertextual analysis that reveals what artists do with the meaning that comes with the quoted sign – whether they reverse it, ironize it, or insert it into their new texts. That intertextual analysis is an iconographic examination of the reuse of earlier forms, patterns, and figures to create new narratives and meanings. In Bakhtin's theory of *dialogism*, quoting a certain word, expression or pronunciation becomes the borrowing of discursive habits, since language is necessarily socially grounded. Following this, Bal points out that intertextuality is actually *interdiscursiveness*, and that the quoted style is not an aesthetic term, but refers to "cultural attitudes and states of consciousness which encompass intellectual and aesthetic, political and scientific, assumptions and thoughts."[35] In this context, a quotation appears as a transhistorical phenomenon by which history and historical art are re-contextualized, revitalized, and reinterpreted, instead of being isolated in the distant past. In her more recent book *Image-Thinking. Artmaking as Cultural Analysis*, Bal sees quotation as "a mode or act of memory in itself."[36]

Regarding the use of quoting in contemporary artistic practices, Nina Heydemann explains that "the art quote comments on the quoted artwork and establishes a distanced view to it. Insofar, as an art quote does not merely repeat a work's issues, but 'answers'

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Mieke Bal, *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 5

[35] *Ibid.* 16

[36] Mieke Bal, *Image-Thinking. Artmaking as Cultural Analysis*, Edinburgh University Press, 2022, 427

them in one way or another."[37] During her PhD research, which result-
ed in her dissertation "The Art of Quotation. Forms and Themes of the
Art Quote, 1990–2010," Heydemann analyzed 354 works by 250
contemporary artists (265 single artworks and 89 series), all of which
applied quoting as creative method.[38] Through research, she came to
the following conclusions:

- the most quoted aspects are aesthetic, stylistic, art historical
  or motive based issues (64%), then themes of society (9%),
  identity (8%), gender (6%), politics (5%);
- avant-garde art is most frequently quoted (18%), then
  Renaissance art (15%), *pop-art* and contemporary art (14%),
  Baroque and Rococo (12%), art of Neoclassicism and
  Romanticism (8%), Realism and Post-impressionism (8%),
  art of the Antiquity and Middle Ages (5%);
- artists whose works are most often quoted are Leonardo
  (10%), Malevich (6%), Goya Picasso, Mondrian, Koons,
  Warhol, Vermeer (4% each), Dürer (3%);
- quotations appear more often within single pieces (80%)
  than within series (20%);
- during the 2000s, quoting was used twice as much (64%)
  than during the 1990s (36%), which can be explained by the
  availability of digital reproductions;
- quoting is used more by men (72%), than women (24%) and
  artists groups (4%);
- quoting is mostly used by artists aged 30–40 (37%), then by
  those aged 20–30 (26%), 40–50 (20%), 50–60 (9%), 60–70
  (5%), and 70–80 (3%);[39]
- compared to the artist's remaining body of work, the reference
  to older works of art is not a continuous one; in most cases of
  the database this engagement lasts for a few works only. Thus,

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[37] Nina Heydemann, "The Art of Quotation. Forms and Themes of the Art Quote, 1990–
2010. An Essay," *Visual Past: A Journal for the Study of Past Visual Cultures*, 2/1
(2015), segment of dissertation "The Art of Quotation. Forms and Themes of the Art
Quote, 1990–2010," Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Leipzig University, 2014, 12

[38] Heydemann made the selection of the works for analysis from the database she
created over the years working as a curator of contemporary art on the international
scene.

[39] *Ibid.*, 56–60

art quotes often stand within the oeuvre of a young artist's production and are not a feature of their later, overall creativity.[40]

Heydemann also makes a classification of quoting strategies: substitution (present in 64% of analyzed works), addition (18%), subtraction (8%), combination (5%), division (3%) and multiplication (2%). By substitution, a figure, genre, materiality, style, or some other aspect of a work from the past is replaced with something new, thus causing many changes. For example, if only a figure is changed, it changes identity, potentially the genre, nationality, status and many other aspects that affect the overall meaning of the work. Therefore, quotation by substitution tends "to address different thematic issues."[41] By a strategy of adding, a new element is added to a work from history; this strategy "steps back from the use of quotation *within* an image and focuses on quotation *about* an image."[42] Subtraction never aims to completely erase the quoted work, but the memory and remembrance of something that used to be in the past.[43] By a strategy of combination, several works of art from different eras and contexts are quoted and connected into one new entity, whereby the artist acts as a specific curator who raises questions about art history, dealing with cultural heritage, and museums; critically examining the artistic canon.[44] With the strategy of division, a work from the past is disintegrated into its constituent units and assembled in a new way, while with the strategy of multiplication, the one and the same motif from the history of art is multiplied many times over.

Previous research on intertextuality of/in visual arts indicates that quoting is an interpretative method through which we talk not only about earlier texts that are quoted but also about themes, cultural history, epochs and questions that the older texts addressed. The process of quoting also speaks of a new context, that is, of contemporaneity, within which older texts are interpreted. Not only that, but it testifies to the capacity of contemporary artistic practices to form quotational relations to other texts. Despite this, the intertextuality

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[40] *Ibid.*, 17
[41] *Ibid.*, 18
[42] *Ibid.*, 28
[43] *Ibid.*, 34
[44] *Ibid.*, 47

of/in visual arts is still insufficiently developed in relation to the study of intertextuality in literature, it is still "not established in the art-historical methodological canon"[45] and a conception that would give the phenomenon the status it deserves has not yet been devised.[46]

Quoting as a creative method is, therefore, constituted through the practices of authors who apply different artistic methods (copying, scale modeling, appropriation, collage, documentary genres) not only for the purpose of creating new artistic forms but also for the purpose of creating new meanings. Quoting in visual arts and interdisciplinary practices is still an open field, a current and ongoing phenomenon that has its own future to be formulated through various artistic research practices. Some of those practices meet, intercept, overlap, and complement architecture in an intertextual way, which is the focus of our research. Contemporary artists quote architectural works, approaching them as *texts* created by architects and engineers, knowing their functions, states, and potentials that might change over time. In order to analyze artistic works within which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as *quotation*, we are first aiming to determine how can architecture be *quoted text* and how can works of contemporary art be *quoting texts* – what are the main characteristics that give them capacity to form intertextual relations through intermedial quoting.

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[45] Gamer, "Interpiktorialität," 1

[46] Valeska von Rosen, "Interpikturalität," in: Ulrich Pfisterer (ed.), *Metzler Lexikon der Kunstwissenschaft. Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe*, Stuttgart: Springer, 2011, 208

1.2.1. Architecture as Language: From Structuralist to Poststructuralist Analysis

The extent to which architecture is similar to language, in fact, how it itself is a form of language and can become a *text*, is perhaps best seen if we treat architectural structures as syntagmatic arrays to which linguistic analysis can be applied. For that purpose, we turn to the legacies of Ferdinand de Saussure and Louis Hjelmslev, as well as to studies by Donald Preziosi who creates a direct analogy between architectural structures and speech-acts.

Since the linguistic research of Ferdinand de Saussure at the beginning of the 20th century, language has been seen as a system, as a closed structure within which the relationship between individual elements is more important and permanent than the elements themselves. For this reason, the structuralist approach was focused on the position and distribution of elements in the discursive chain (syntagmatic axis), analyzing which types of elements (paradigmatic axis) can stand in each position, as well as what can precede them and what can follow them. As a result, an element was found to be far more variable than the place it can occupy on the syntagmatic axis, because, instead of it, there can be a whole series of elements of the same or related type. This can be seen, for example, in the following sentence in which the subjects are proper nouns:

Sean, Ian, and Stephen are passing by.

Since nouns and adjectives are similar in the paradigmatic axis, this sentence is grammatically correct if the proper nouns are replaced by adjectives or deadjectival nouns:

The jobless, the fat, and the deaf are passing by.

For Structuralists, it was only important what types of words can stand instead of nouns in this sentence and in what order the words can be arranged, so that the sentence makes sense. Poststructuralist research, however, took an interest in the changed meaning that occurs with each change of elements, and in what way these specific adjectives represent stigmatization, typification, disparage-

ment, generalization, and discrimination. Beginnings of the study of meaning can be also found in de Saussure, who, by emphasizing that certain types of words can only have certain positions in a sentence, pointed out that a sign by itself cannot have a meaning; its meaning is formed only in its correlation with other signs. As a result, structural analysis quickly found its place in studies of semiology and, as such, it can be also applied to the study of architecture.

Structural analysis can be applied to architecture within monitoring of changes in urban structures, for the purpose of emphasizing inappropriate placement of elements in a place where they cannot stand. Thus, the following two sentences look completely correct from a grammatical point of view:

> The block contains residential buildings, a local community building, a parking lot, and a green area.
> The block contains residential buildings, a casino, parking lot 1, and parking lot 2.

However, if we take into account that a single person, without the consent of the majority of members of the local community, repurposeed the common space into a casino (which is not something that the community urgently needs), as well as that there is already a parking lot, so the green area should not have been repurposed and destroyed for the sake of another parking lot, that sentence, from a structuralist point of view, begins to look like this:

> The block contains residential buildings, rained, a parking lot and the.

At the linguistic level, it is immediately clear that the two elements are placed in a syntagmatic array in places where they cannot stand and that the sentence makes no sense. However, when it comes to an architectural structure, this is not necessarily immediately visible, especially when there are no changes in morphology, but only in the functional use of existing architectural objects.

Louis Hjelmslev's theses from 1943 were also very important for the development of structuralist studies of language. Hjelmslev pointed out that each sign is established on two levels – the level of *expression* and the level of *content*. Furthermore, each expression has

its own *form* and *substance*, and each content (a thought) has its own form and substance, making a total of four levels on which the understanding of meaning and communication depend: form of content, form of expression, substance of content, and substance of expression.[47] Hjelmslev also pointed out that two very different contents could have the same form at a synchronic level, so that the word "saw" can refer to a tool for sawing wood or metal, or to the simple past tense of the irregular verb "see".

When we apply this observation to architecture, we see that one building could have the same form, but several different functions (contents), which has often happened throughout history. For example, the Building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in New Belgrade, within the process of decentralization became the Building of Social and Political Organizations, while, since the 2000s, it has become part of the shopping mall "Ušće" (see chapter 3.4.1. of this book). These changes took place over time, they succeeded each other at the diachronic level, however, people are aware of all previous functions of the building and their memory of them exists at a synchronic level. They are, therefore, analogous to homonymy and polysemy in language that was the focus of Hjelmslev's studies, after which he concluded that "[i]n absolute isolation no sign has any meaning; any sign meaning arises in a context, by which we mean a situational context or explicit context."[48]

Structural analysis can be, thus, used for documenting changes that architectural structures go through over time, that is, for the diachronic approach. For example, if we apply it, we can reach the following findings:

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[47] For example, the meaning of the word "crow" is the same no matter how the word sounds/looks alike in any language (except to the people who are not aware that crows exist). However, the same word has different sound variants depending on whether it is pronounced by someone who does not have the phoneme *r* in their language or the consonant cluster *cr*. Since language changes through use, in the dialectical relationship between language as a system and verbal language, Hjelmslev introduced normative level that constitutes further language use. This level of *norm* is in fact related to any production process, not only to language as such.

[48] Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, transl. Francis J. Whitfield, Madison, Milwaukee, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969 (1943), 45

> In 1974, the building had the following characteristics: type G+4, flat roof, plain facade, no terraces.
>
> In 2007, the building had the following characteristics: type G+4+2, mushroom roof,[49] facade covered in unevenly arranged air-conditioning, with later legalized terraces of different types that extend into the courtyard to the level of the first and second floor, with addition of venetian blinds.

By having elements added over the years, the building expanded and acquired numerous attributes and adjectives, as much as a sentence. Each of these elements is a carrier of meaning, which does not necessarily have a meaning by itself. Just as the phoneme *r* has no meaning in itself, but is crucial to the difference between the words *cow* and *crow*, a terrace has no purpose by itself but only when properly attached to a building, if permitted.

Following the structuralist research by de Saussure and Hjelmslev, studies in linguistics and semantics reached the conclusion that in every system of communication, there are the smallest units based on which differences in meanings are constituted: the *semes*. In spoken language, *seme* is, for example, an accent that creates a distinction between meanings of homographs *to second* (to support a proposal at a formal meeting – front-stressed accent / to send away on temporal duty – end-stressed accent). In written language, *seme* can be a distinction between uppercase and lowercase initial letters upon which we know that *roisin*, *iris* and *lily* are flowers/plants, while *Roisin*, *Iris* and *Lily* are female names and concrete persons.

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[49] "Mushroom roofs" is name for mansards in Belgrade, which were "created to mask the top floor or the top two floors. This way the extension appears smaller on paper. Instead of stating that the extension amounts to 4 or 5 floors, it is stated that the extension covers 2 or 3 floors with potential living space under the roof. During negotiations with the municipality this space under the roof can be turned into 2 additional floors" Dubravka Sekulić, *Glotz Nicht so Romantisch! On Extralegal Space in Belgrade*, Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Academie and Early Works, 2012, 137. "Mushroom roofs" appear "[w]hen the size of extensions exceeded the permitted limit, ghost floors came to feature mushroom-shaped roof envelopes" Ana Džokić, Ivan Kucina, Marc Neelen and Milica Topalović, "Belgrade: Fragments for Wild City," in: Wim Cuyvers (ed.), *Beograd – Den Haag – About the Impossibility of Planning*, Den Haag: Stroom, 2003

Taking into account the minimal sense-discriminative units— *semes*, Donald Preziosi creates an analogy between forms in architecture and phonemes in verbal language since he sees both architecture and language as "panhuman sign-systems with partly-overlapping and mutually-implicative functions."[50] Furthermore, he develops the hierarchy of sign types in each code with respect to their *signantia*, sorting them from smallest to largest: (1) forms – phonemes, (2) mass/space – consonants/vocals, (3) templates – syllables, (4) figures – morphemes, (5) cells – words, (6) matrices – phrases, (7) compounds, structures, settlements, etc. – sentences, texts, discourses, etc.[51] According to him, "[a]rchitectonic objects comprise patterned, tridimensionally-syntagmatic arrays articulated by means of code-specific and rule governed contrasts and oppositions among masses, spaces, materials, colors, textures, and relative sizes."[52] On the basis of those contrasts and oppositions, differences in meaning are created upon which the functions of architecture depend.

Drawing on observations from 1937 about the functions of architecture by one of the Czech representatives of Structuralism Jan Mukařovský,[53] Preziosi concludes how, in architecture, "every function necessarily coexists with others, in varying degrees of dominance. No architectonic object is 'purely' one or another."[54] By purpose of showing it, Preziosi creates an analogy between architecture and speech-act, which, according to Roman Jakobson, consists of six elements: addresser → context / message / contact / code → addressee.[55] Depending on which element is emphasized, Jakobson classified six corresponding functions of the speech act: *emotive/ expressive* (the accent is on the speaker), *referential* (the accent is on the context), *phatic* (the accent is on the contact or the communicative channel), *metalinguistic* (the accent is on the code), *conative* (the

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[50] Donald Preziosi, *Architecture, Language, and Meaning: The Origins of the Built World and its Semiotic Organization*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979, 9

[51] *Ibid.*, figure 4, p. 67

[52] *Ibid.*, 58

[53] See: Jan Mukařovský, "On the problem of functions in architecture" (1937), in: *Structure, Sign and Function: Selected Writings of Jan Mukařovský*, edited by John Burbank and Peter Steiner, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978, 236–250

[54] Preziosi, *Architecture, Language, and Meaning*, 55

[55] Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in Thomas A. Seboek (ed.), *Style in Language*, New York and London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960, 353

accent is on the hearer) and *poetic* (the accent is on the message). The Poetic function is not, on the principle, orientation of the message towards itself, "it is not necessarily a deviation from the canon of natural language and practical communication, but – *a creation of a new alternative language world*."[56] As an analogy to functions of speech-act, Preziosi introduces architectonic semiosis:[57]

Architectonic semiosis (Donald Preziosi)		Linguistic semiosis (Roman Jakobson)	
orientation	*function*	*orientation*	*function*
context	referential	context	referential
formation	aesthetic	message	poetic
code	allusory	code	metalinguistic
contact	territorial	contact	phatic
'addresser'	expressive	speaker	emotive
'addressee'	directive	hearer	conative

What makes architecture very different from the speech-act is that, once built, architectural formation continues to be emitted over time, which, according to Preziosi, represents the basic characteristic of architecture – "settlements are designed to be construed spatially over time," they are "not meant to be read or used as passive stage sets or two-dimensional backdrops."[58] However, the socio-ideological context, within which architecture is built, changes over time, as happened with the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, which is nowadays in a completely new social reality. Due to that change, meanings of architecture also change; "[a]rchitecture refers to whatever there is in an edifice that cannot be reduced to a building, whatever allows a construction to escape from purely utilitarian concerns,"[59] it always refers to something that is outside the building itself. For that reason, it is necessary to study architecture from the perspective of semiology and communication theories.

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[56] Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti*, 37

[57] Preziosi, 56

[58] *Ibid.*, 16–17

[59] Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, transl. Betsy Wing, The MIT Press, 1993 (1989), 31

1.2.2. **Semiology of Architecture and *Semantic Shift* in Architecture**

According to Charles Sanders Peirce, semiosis is a triadic relationship between (1) the *object* to which the sign refers, (2) the *representament* – the material characteristics of the sign, and (3) the *interpretant* – the meaning of the sign. Since Peirce was focused mostly on artificial languages – mathematics and logic – the *object* of his triad is not necessarily a real object. In the case of Yugoslavia, the *object* can be the revolution, non-alignment, or supranational identity – abstract, ideological concepts that do not represent concrete material objects in reality. Following Peirce, Umberto Eco points out that "one is not obliged to characterize a sign on the basis of either the behavior that it stimulates or actual objects that would verify its meaning: it is characterized only on the basis of *codified meaning that in a given cultural context is attributed to the sign vehicle*,"[60] even when the sign is not in use. Alike Hjelmslev, Eco, thus, indicates that the semiotics of signs are not possible without the semiotics of discourse.

In contrast to the *object*, Peirce's *representament* always has a material appearance, and its form/shape is manifested as *qualisign* (material quality of the sign), *sinsign* (singular appearance of the sign) and as *legisign* (conventionality and legality of the sign). In the case of architecture, these would be qualitative characteristics of the architectural object, quantitative characteristics (whether the object/type is unique or built in several places), and structural characteristics of the object. In addition, Peirce distinguishes three types of signs based on the relationship they have to the object: (1) *icons* – the *representament* resembles the *object* it represents (e.g. an architectural model, a portrait), (2) *indices* – the *representament* is physically caused by the *object* (smoke – fire, knocking – visitor), and (3) *symbols* – the relationship between sign and object is completely arbitrary and a matter of convention (the word "fire" has nothing to

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[60] Umberto Eco, "Function and sign: the semiotics of architecture," in: Neil Leach, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, London, New York: Routledge, 1997, 175

do with real fire, neither by similarity nor by causality).[61] If we approach architecture as a sign, that is, as a *representament*, we can see that in most cases it is characterized by *symbolic* codes, while there are also examples of *iconic* codes.

Bearing in mind that the relationship between the *representament* (*signifier*) and the meaning in architecture is not as conventional as in language, different approaches to the semiology of architecture diverge on the issue of units in architecture that can convey meaning. Starting from the fact that every architectural object has form, function and technical characteristics, Charles Jencks in the late 1960s believed that it was necessary to define the fundamental units of meaning in architecture – *formemes*, *funcemes*, *techemes*, just as in linguistics we have *phonemes*, *morphemes,* and *lexemes* as units which convey meaning. The science that would study the meaning of architecture would be *architistics*, and its scope would include the study of how we perceive architecture, since we perceive everything according to former expectations (schemata), some of which are inborn, but most of which are acquired.[62] According to Jencks, meaning in architecture can be conveyed by the formal features of architectural objects and their functions (current, former, latent) and technical aspects (choice of materials, choice of constructive system etc.).

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[61] See: Albert Atkin, "Peirce's Theory of Signs," in: Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), last accessed October 27, 2023, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/peirce-semiotics/>. At the beginning of 20th century, de Saussure described the distinction between a *sign* and a *symbol*, based on whether the connection between the signifier and the signified is unmotivated or motivated. When the connection is completely arbitrary, that is, unmotivated (the word "fire" has nothing to do with actual fire), we have a *sign*. When the connection is motivated, we have a symbol (Hygeia's cup with a snake as an international symbol for pharmacy is linked to the discovery of the healing properties of snake venom). Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (1916), transl. Wade Baskin, New York: The Philosophical Library, 1959, 69

[62] Charles Jencks, "Semiology and Architecture," in Charles Jencks and George Baird (eds.), *Meaning in Architecture*, London UK: Barrie & Jenkins, 1969, <https://www.atlasofplaces.com/essays/meaning-in-architecture/>, last accessed October 26, 2023

Yugoslav architects also contributed to the constitution of the semiology of architecture, especially Andrija Mutnjaković,[63] who dealt with the semiology of architecture within his architectural practice. He wrote the text "Language and Architecture" as part of his project proposal for the children's and youth camp Borozija near Savudrija in Istria,[64] and presented it at the Colloquium on Youth Free Time in 1981 in Dubrovnik, and then published it as part of his book *Biourbanism* (1982). In that text, Mutnjaković views architecture as communication and a semiological act by which function is introduced into matter. He indicates that architecture is temporal communication using morphological and technological information that transmits history to the future. It is also professional communication through which knowledge and worldview of the architect is extended to the wider public, and sociological information, through which the social system is realized.[65] According to Mutnjaković, architecture is not just a construction project, but a materialized sign of the worldview of a certain civilization, a sign of cultural identity, and a sign of national and state independence.

Architecture can communicate because it has its own syntax, language, which, according to Mutnjaković, consists of:

(1) *elements* (as the materiality of analysis): stone, concrete, glass; (2) *signs* (as the primary elements in communication): Doric column, baroque profile, modern raster; (3) *levels* (sets of signs): classical temple, Gothic cathedral, contemporary skyscraper; (4) *structure* (a whole level): ancient acropolis, Renaissance city, today's megapolis; and (5) *systems* (a system of structures): regional architecture, style of a particular civilization, planetary expression.[66]

Mutnjaković also applies this semiological theory and analysis to his project proposal for the children's and youth camp, concluding

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[63] Andrija Mutnjaković (b. 1929) is architect and academician. His most known work is the National and University Library of Kosovo (1971) which demonstrates influences from local Byzantine and Ottoman tradition – the cubes and domes.

[64] The largest peninsula in the Adriatic Sea, located at its very North, shared by Croatia, Slovenia and Italy.

[65] Andrija Mutnjaković, *Biourbanizam*, Rijeka: Izdavački centar Rijeka, 1982, 36

[66] *Ibid*.

that at the level of *elements*, that architecture has a reinforced concrete construction calculated and built with the most modern technologies, conveying, thus, technological information. At the level of the *sign*, that architecture contains a series of squares, which are reminiscent of children's stacking blocks toys, but it is also identified with the simple volumes of the Istrian-coastal architecture as a characteristic endemic form. *The level* and *structure* of that architecture is achieved by adding units, which again creates a reference to children's playing, but also to Istrian cooperative formations in which buildings are spontaneously, and organically extended. The *system* of that architecture is a game that again carries a reference to youth, but also to the regional, endemic architecture.[67] Demonstrating this kind of theoretical 'defense' of his proposal, Mutnjaković defines the basic principles of the semiology of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, stressing that for each building or set of buildings, a semiological analysis should be carried out to determine the communicative quality of the architecture. If the building does not have an architectural syntagm, "it belongs to entropic degradation: it is a threatening danger to humanity."[68]

In the text "Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture" (1986), Umberto Eco proposes a tentative division of architectural codes into (1) technical codes, (2) syntactic codes, and (3) semantic codes.[69] Technical codes, such as beams, flooring systems, columns, plates, reinforced-concrete elements, insulation, and wiring, according to Eco, have no communicative 'content' at this level of codification.[70] We would not fully agree with this point of view, because it was exactly modernism that emphasized structural qualities of constructive elements such as columns and horizontal concrete slabs, making them aesthetic and communicative elements of architecture, which, according to Mutnjaković, transmit technological information. According to Eco, syntactic codes refer to the articulation of "spatial types (circular plan, Greek-cross plan, 'open' plan, labyrinth, high-rise, etc.), but there are certainly other syntactic conventions to be considered (a stairway does not as a rule go through a window, a bedroom is generally adjacent to a bathroom, etc.)."[71] This point of

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[67] *Ibid.*, 44–45
[68] *Ibid.*, 49
[69] Eco, "Function and sign," 184
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*

view is close to Barthes', according to whom an architectural syntagm is a sequence of the elements at the level of the whole building, while the system (paradigmatic axis) is a set of stylistic and type variants of a single element in a building (roof types, balcony types, staircases, etc.).[72]

When it comes to semantic codes, Eco divides them into four sub-groups in relation to whether they (a) denote *primary functions* (roof, stairway, window), (b) have connotative *secondary functions* (tympanum, triumphal arch, neo-Gothic arch), (c) connote *ideologies of inhabitation* (common room, dining room, parlor), or (d) at a larger scale have typological meaning under certain *functional and sociological types* (hospital, villa, school, palace, railroad station).[73] He points out that the system of architectural forms determines functions, which further enable the creation of social and anthropological values.[74] Just as the square table determines how close to each other each person sits, the number of rooms and their sizes in an apartment determine the degree of privacy each family member can have, while bedrooms determine a different kind of behavior than the dining room.

In the same text, Eco views architecture as a form of mass communication and indicates that its secondary function is to exist as a symbolic object. According to him, architectural discourse in general aims at mass appeal, it is psychologically persuasive, and experienced inattentively. An architectural message can never be interpreted in an aberrant way, and without the 'addressee,' which is why architecture fluctuates between being rather coercive, implying that you will live in such and such a way with it, and rather indifferent, letting you use it as you see fit. Architecture belongs to the realm of everyday life (like pop music and readymade clothing), instead of being set apart (like 'serious' music and high fashion). Apart from that, architecture is a business.[75]

In the text "Critique of Image" (1982), Eco focuses on *iconic signs*, arguing that they don't necessarily possess some properties of the object they represent, or similarity with it, but they "reproduce some of the conditions of perception, correlated with normal

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[72] Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1986 (1964), 63
[73] Eco, "Function and sign," 184–185
[74] *Ibid.*, 189
[75] Eco, "Function and sign," 187

perceptive codes."[76] He points out that reading iconic signs is learned in the same way a meaning of a word is learned – a circle with dashes around it is not recognizable to everyone as the sun, but only to those who know how to interpret it that way. For this reason, Eco believes that convention of meaning is not characteristic only for symbolic codes, but also for iconic codes to a certain degree. He distinguishes ten types of codes, eight of which are, in our opinion, also important for perceiving and understanding architecture:

(1) *Perceptive codes* establish the conditions for effective perception. In architecture, those would be the visibility of a building from all sides, the visibility of a building from a distance, the use of lines that guide the view as compositional elements, the artistic elements of the facade that make the building seem narrower and taller,[77] etc. According to Jencks, such topics would be the study subjects of *architistics*;

(2) *Codes of recognition* build blocs of the conditions of perception into *semes*, according to which we recognize objects or recall perceived objects. They operate economically, listing some features of the object that make the most sense to recall it in memory and use in future communication. Thus, the building of the former Museum of Labor Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina in Novi Sad (arch. Ivan Vitić, 1959/1972) becomes a "cubic museum," "museum with stained glass" or "museum with holes" (because in front of it is a sculpture with holes made by cannonballs);

(3) *Tonal codes* are added to the systems of optional variants already conventionalized and the true systems of connotations already stylized (for example, the 'strong' or the 'gracious' or the 'expressionistic');

(4) *Iconographic codes* elevate to 'signifier' the 'signified' of iconic codes, in order to connote more complex and culturalized *semes* (not 'horse', but 'Bucephalus', not 'city', but 'Paris');

(5) *Codes of taste and sensibility* establish connotations provoked by *semes* of the preceding codes. They enable observation of

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[76] Umberto Eco, "Critique of the Image," in: Victor Burgin (ed.), *Thinking Photography*, Macmillan, 1988 (1982), 32

[77] On these aspects of architecture, see: Ann P. Gawlikowska, "From Semantics to Semiotics. Communication of Architecture," *Architecturae et Artibus*, 1 (2013), 53

semantic shifts – the buildings of Yugoslav modernism, which symbolized prosperity and modernization since the 1990s have been reminiscent of a failed ideology, civil war, inflation, indebtedness, and their strong and massive forms seem "too socialist";

(6) *Rhetorical codes* are born of the conventionalization of as-yet-unuttered iconic solutions, then assimilated by society to become models or norms of communication. Thus, the Yugoslav modernist architectural expression was crystallized through competition proposals by many architects and only then came to life in theory and spatial reality as an integration of modernist simplicity and sculptural forms (see the second part of this book);

(7) *Stylistic codes* determine original solutions. For example, the style of architect Aleksandar Stjepanović is characterized by a mixture of concrete, metal and wood in the exterior and interior, both in residential buildings and the buildings of faculties (Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad), while Ivan Vitić's style is recognizable by its use of brise-soleils, refined geometric forms, loose compositions and the integration of stone as a local natural material;

(8) *Codes of the unconscious* are held to be capable of permitting certain identifications or projections, stimulating given reactions, and expressing psychological situations.[78]

Codes of the unconsciousness, and, in relation to them, the power of architecture to communicate with the masses, are the focus of Anna Gawlikowska's research. According to her, architecture helps in constructing social reality by selectively reproducing meanings; it has an interpretive character. It communicates with a large audience "by the usage of non-formal and non-discursive communication tools, like atmosphere, forms causing emotions, or naturally decoded symbols,"[79] a well as non-verbal signs that are very important in communicating feelings and attitudes. She points out that the rules of non-verbal and spatial communication overlap; moreover, the way

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[78] Eco, "Critique of the Image," 35–38. For the analysis of iconic signs, Eco also adds (9) *codes of transmission* and (10) *iconic codes*, but we could not find their analogy in architecture, and they remain dominantly in the domain of images.

[79] Gawlikowska, "From Semantics to Semiotics. Communication of Architecture," 59

architecture communicates can be very similar to human non-verbal communication:

> body position, which is characterized by taking space (e.g. spread limbs, straight head and back, large personal distance), communicates its dominance and control. Similarly architectural structures, character-ized by large distances and spread construction, as well as vertical composition, create automatic associations of control and dominance over space.[80]

This is especially visible in governmental buildings, such as the Federal Executive Council and the already mentioned Central Committee/Building of Social and Political Organizations in New Belgrade – by their shapes, visibility, large dimensions, choice of materials, vast empty space around them, position in relation to urban matrices, these buildings communicated political ambition of the society that had built them. Already in 1929, Georges Bataille claimed that "only the ideal being of society, that which orders and prohibits with authority, expresses itself in what are architectural compositions in the strict sense of the term."[81] Anthony Vidler has also made a similar remark – the fact that the language of architecture is abstract, generalized and unclear, compared to words or visual signs, archi-tecture is "bound from the start to a fate that denies it the possibility of expressing any but the most general ideas of a culture, and these in a fundamentally inflexible and often ambiguous way."[82]

Governmental buildings are, thus, the most likely victims of semantic shifts when ideological, political, social and cultural contexts change over time, as was the case in Yugoslavia. Jencks also took into account the semantic shift in architecture, attributing it to what Eco later defined as *codes of taste and sensibility*, which influence that something, that was considered sublime at the time of its creation, is interpreted by the next era as ugly, bad, irrational.[83] This is exactly what happened with architecture built not only in Yugoslavia, but also

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[80] *Ibid.*, 52

[81] Georges Bataille, "Architecture," in: Neil Leach, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, London, New York: Routledge, 1997, 20

[82] Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny – Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1992, 124

[83] Jenks, "Semiology and Architecture."

during all communist and socialist regimes. All these receptions of architecture, before and after semantic shift(s) constitute what specific buildings are since architecture does not have the ability to erase all its previous meanings completely; it "remains a witness to all its history, and gathers symbolic meaning derived from the events, which it has been facing."[84]

Semantic shift was also the focus of Darryl Hattenhauer's research, according to whom, in order to completely reconstruct what architecture originally meant, "we must reconstruct much of the ethos and world view" of its builders.[85] When it comes to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, this is presented in the second part of this book. Hattenhauer indicates that a semantic shift does not occur only to the architecture from the past whose original meaning is unknown, but it can also be the case with new architecture and with architecture from a different cultural climate. By approaching architecture as a meaning (signified) whose understanding requires a code, Hattenhauer points out that the misunderstanding of modern architecture occurs precisely because the general public does not have a code to read it. Therefore, it associates it with the known structures – "modern architecture looks like a lavatory, or a clinic, or a body and fender shop, or a factory, or a space ship."[86] When it comes to the heritage of Yugoslav modernism, the same lack of a code for reading its powerful forms results in monuments to victims of Fascism becoming scenery for Sci-Fi or crime/action movies and television series.

Semantic shift occurs because groups of individuals or individuals themselves intersubjectively appropriate or reject architectural formations, so the associations created by these formations change over time, even if there have been no material changes. Those individuals can be also artists who consciously strive to add new values and meanings to neglected or ruined architectural objects in order to reanimate their value in the collective memory of communities. As we have seen, Umberto Eco pointed out that the system of architectural forms with its functions determines the social forms and becomes their sign. Thus, an operating room in a hospital is not spatially adequate to be a venue for a wedding, for example.

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[84] Gawlikowska, "From Semantics to Semiotics. Communication of Architecture," 59

[85] Darryl Hattenhauer, "The Rhetoric of Architecture: A Semiotic Approach," *Communication Quarterly*, 32 / 1 (1984), 73

[86] *Ibid.*, 72

However, in time, the primary function of buildings can change, consequently changing the social forms that those buildings enable. Thus, the *textuality* of such buildings is not only determined by their formal architectural features (shape, façade, distribution of space, position of the main entrance, etc.) but also by all the functions the buildings have had and can have in the future.

According to Radivoje Dinulović, there are multiple functions *of* (as opposed to functions *in*) every architecture, such as aesthetical, commercial, conceptual, contextual, cultural, decorative, demarcative, dramaturgical, educational, ecological, economical, environmental, ethical, ideological, medial, memorial, mercantile, morphological, narrative, ontological, poetical, political, preventive, progressive, promotional, protective, psychological, representative, scenic, seman-tic, symbolic, social, textual, theological, urban, utilitarian.[87] All of them "(as well as many others that are still, for me, unidentified) exist parallel and at the same time, independent of our awareness of them, or our knowledge to use them."[88] The architecture of Yugoslav modernism, as any other architecture, has these and many other potential, latent, and unpredictable functions, and some of them are revealed/established precisely through contemporary artistic practices that apply the method of *quoting*.

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[87] Radivoje Dinulović, "The Ideological Function of Architecture in the Society of Spectacle," in: Vladimir Mako, Mirjana Roter Blagojević and Marta Vukotić Laazar (eds.), *Architecture and Ideology* – conference proceedings, Newcastle upon Tune: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, 46

[88] *Ibid.*

1.3.1. Features of Contemporary Art that Enable it to Quote Architecture

The term *contemporary art* refers to artistic production that has "flourished under the latest phase of global capitalism, a phase known in some areas as neoliberalism, in others as neoconservatism, corporatism, free market ideology, or laissez-faire economics."[89] It refers to art that asks the question "What is it to live, to exist, to *be* in contemporary conditions?" and results from rapidly changing features of contemporaneity.[90] Contemporary art is a means by which we are "learning to inhabit the world in a better way […] ways of living and models of action within the existing real."[91]

Contemporary art developed from/after modernism, postmodernism, relational aesthetics and, remix.[92] The key turning point in the historical transformation of modernism into contemporary art occurred in the 1960s. At the time, the focus was no longer on the work as such, but on the context of the production of that work: "It is about the principle of proclamation, not creation, which refers to conceptual, institutional, political, identity-related, economic, etc. determinants of art as a cultural practice."[93] Transformation then took a course towards post-minimal practices in the late 1970s and 1980s (dematerialization of artistic objects, earthworks, body art, conceptual art), as well as postmodern art and culture at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. In Yugoslavia, contemporary art developed through art that consciously deviated from the main trends of modernism. During the 1990s, it partially overlapped with the late post-avant-garde, understood as a complex of phenomena "that questions, displays, destroys, deconstructs and thereby creates an archaeology of

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[89] Terry Smith, "What is Contemporary Art? Contemporaneity and Art to Come," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 71 (1–2, 2002), 7

[90] Terry Smith, *Contemporary Art: World Currents*, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2011, 296

[91] Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, Dijon: Les presses du reel, 2002, 13

[92] Smith, *Contemporary Art*, 70

[93] Nikola Dedić, *Između dela i predmeta: Majkl Frid i Stenli Kavel između moderne i savremene umetnosti* [*Between Artwork and Object: Michael Fried and Stanley Cavell Between Modern and Contemporary Art*], Beograd: Fakultet za medije i komunikacije, 2017, 90

modernism, avant-garde and, neo-avant-garde."[94] Since its beginnings, contemporary art has been characterized by an intersection with other *texts* from culture and life, resulting in artifacts that are "mimesis, documents or simulacrums of cultural artifacts."[95] It is, therefore, not surprising that contemporary art has had critical and deconstructive approach to everything that constitutes contemporaneity, including the modernist architectural heritage and its textuality.

Contemporary art that quotes architecture (intertextuality) or social activities that architecture enables (transtextuality) has certain characteristics that can be defined as: (1) practice-oriented, (2) dialogical structure "that frequently is not the product of a single individual but is the result of a collaborative and interdependent process,"[96] (3) turning towards social reality (interdiscursiveness), (4) interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary aspects, (5) critical-educational (emancipatory) capacity. Because of these characteristics, contemporary art is constituted as a process, as a *text*, an open game of meanings that are formed in the encounter with the audience/participants and in the intersection with other *texts*. When such practice quotes an older author's work (visual, architectural, or any other), it does not aim to create a product that has aesthetic and market value. Rather, it creates a critical object, an environment in which new social relations emerge, that is, a methodological tool by which the artist includes audience/participants in a dialogue about broader social issues.

When it comes to the practice-oriented character of contemporary art, recent theory focuses on *practice-led* research and *practice-based* research. In the first case, artistic research does not require the creation of an artifact and does not depend on it. Instead, it "focuses on the nature of creative practice, *leading* to new knowledge of operational significance for that practice, in order to advance knowledge about or within practice."[97] In practice-led research, the realization of a work of art has no greater authority or value than a conceptual project; both are "equally important for the

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[94] Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, 468

[95] *Ibid.*, 471

[96] Suzi Gablik, "Connective Aesthetics: Art after Individualism," in: Suzanne Lacy (ed.), *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1995, 76

[97] Lyle Skains, "Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology," *Media Practice and Education*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2018), 85

perception and interpretation of the overall poetics."[98] In contrast, for practice-based artistic research, the artifact is the basis of the contribution to knowledge. Here, practice is understood as "the use or application of ideas and methods," as well as "searching for new methods and techniques for realizing ideas."[99] The creation of the artifact is not only embedded in the research process, but the research questions arise from it. The process of quoting architecture can appear both within practice-led or practice-based research, within processes such as reanimation of an architectural object with procedural works, discursive exhibitions, ephemeral events, replication of architectural objects in forms of scaled models, the use of performances, interactive works, participatory practices to deconstruct ideologies that built architecture, etc.

Artistic research is auto-reflexive, reflexive, dialogical, and inquisitive; it is not the same as the production of a work of art. It is a relational and transformative post-discipline that arises from, across, between and through empiricist practices (conceptual, reflective, discipline-based), interpretivist practices (dialectical, constructivist, inter-discipline), and critical practices (critical, collaborative, participative, trans-discipline).[100] In most succinct terms, artistic research is "a context-aware, historically bounded and open-ended practice, akin to the humanities and social sciences."[101] It takes place in "various societal, social and cultural contexts with various publics and audiences,"[102] it happens on a site and in a situation that is "always in great need of being articulated, formed, discussed, maintained and renewed. It is made, not found. It is in a process, not static. It is situated, not stale."[103] Artistic research combines at least two different

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[98] Milorad Mladenović, *Neposredni konteksti – umetnički radovi i projekti 1994–2017* [*Direct contexts – artistic works and projects 1994–2017*], Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet, 2018, 43

[99] Linda Candy and Ernest Edmonds, "Practice-Based Research in the Creative Arts – Foundations and Futures from the Front Line," *Leonardo*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2018), 64

[100] Graeme Sullivan, *Art Practice as Research. Inquiry in Visual Arts*, Sage Publications, 2010, 102

[101] Mika Hannula, Juha Suoranta and Tere Vadén, *Artistic Research Methodology: Narrative, Power and the Public*, Peter Lang A&G International Academic Publishers, 2014, xii

[102] *Ibid*., 69

[103] *Ibid*., 5

types of knowledge production, i.e. methodologies from different disciplines, and "can do stuff that other types of research cannot do."[104]

Peter Osborne has similar views on contemporary artistic practices: "[t]o claim something is contemporary is to make a claim for its significance in participating in the actuality of the present."[105] He finds that what makes art contemporary is its ability to articulate, reflect and transform new forms of social experience, which is made possible by architecture/spatiality that is "a primary bearer of the conceptuality of contemporary art."[106] Osborne further analyses four changes that have given art a conceptual and then a post-conceptual character since the 1960s: *textualization*, *architecturalization*, *post-architectural urbanism,* and *transnationalization*, which developed in four phases: (1) the 'environmentalization' of painting and sculpture in public space, via muralism, up to the minimalists' investment of negative space, (2) the expanded significance of architecture for a generic concept of art via the constitutive ambiguity of the concept-ualization/materialization relation, (3) various kinds of pro-ject work and the functional redefinition of site and non-sites, which are, according to Osborne, post-architectural urbanism (4) art production for and within a transnational art-space, characterized by a dialectic of places, non-places and flows (the large-scale international exhibition such as biennales and triennials, as well as the migrancy of artists).[107]

According to Osborne, architecture/spatiality represents the social presence of art and its aspiration to make changes; it gives art a critical aspect and sociospatial *effectivity*. It contributes to the criticism of contemporary art by finding new materials and new forms of construction in the urban, "capable of expressing the latest forms of social (ir)rationality, autonomously, yet in a way which is nonetheless at the same time critical of the social limitations imposed by the current institutionalization of autonomy itself."[108] Apart from that, architecture problematizes "the relationship of contemporary art's conceptuality not only to its own aesthetic dimension but also to other

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[104] *Ibid.,* 52

[105] Peter Osborne, *Anywhere or Not at All: Philosophy of Contemporary Art*, London, New York: Verso, 2013, 7

[106] *Ibid.,* 124

[107] *Ibid.,* 132

[108] *Ibid.,* 138

social practices."[109] Similarly, Anthony Vidler notices how sculpture "takes in the theoretical practices of architecture in order to transform its field."[110]

Through intertextual relations to architecture, especially through the process of quoting, contemporary artistic practices and artistic research transform themselves, but also the reception of architectural objects which they quote. Such mutual influence is enabled by characteristics of both artistic practices and architectural spaces that complement each other.

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[109] *Ibid.*, 130

[110] Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space – Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2000, 11

1.3.2. **Artistic Practices that are Quoting the *Textuality* of Architecture**

One of the reasons why artists can quote architecture is that both artistic installations and architecture contain what Miljana Zeković defines as *liminal space*. This all-pervading phenomenon of space becomes noticeable only through an artistic event – "liminal space is a prerequisite for the development of an artistic event, but an artistic event is also a condition for its existence."[111] They are, in a way, complementary. Liminal space is a field of potentiality, a field that does not delimit but represents an active, dynamic, changing space "*that arises in the synergy of the concrete real spatial framework, the concrete artistic event that takes place in it and the ability of the observer to feel, recognize and use all the relationships that arise in given space-time frame, for the sake of experiencing an artistic vision.*"[112] Višnja Žugić also turns to the dynamic character of the textuality of architecture:

> the textuality of architecture does not imply the existence of an architectural text exclusively as a language, sign and, symbol, in other words, a passive, static and, previously defined system of conveying meaning primarily through the *visual*, but its establishment as a dynamic, productive text, to which haptic experiences of space are linked, within which "space, matter and time" merge in fusion, into "one unique dimension."[113]

For Žugić, architecture is an active, effective and efficient subject that not only presents meanings, but also produces them. Architectural space has the ability "to transform itself in relation to its own projected reality, and to establish itself as an intervention in a

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[111] Miljana Zeković, „Efemerna arhitektura u funkciji formiranja graničnog prostora umetnosti [Ephemeral Architecture in Creation of Liminal Space in Art]" – doctoral dissertation, Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 2015, 38

[112] *Ibid*., 37, emphasis in original.

[113] Višnja Žugić, „Performativnost arhitektonskog prostora: arhitektonski subjekat u funkciji proizvodnje značenja [Performativity of Architectural Space: Production of Meanings as a Function of Architecture]" – doctoral dissertation, Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 2017, 192

wider social context."[114] This ability of space to produce meanings is defined by Žugić as its *performativity* that generates new functions of architecture, temporary or more permanent. In relation to that, she categorizes three types of experiencing architectural textuality: (1) the mechanism of *confrontation* by which the textuality of the architectural form acquires a performative function through the concept of frontality, which emphasizes the relationship between the space and the user, (2) the mechanism of *correlation* by which the space becomes one of the actors within stage performances, highlighting the relationship between space and event elements, and (3) the mechanism of *framing* that mediates the performativity of space with the help of an interpretive key, highlighting the relationship between space and external factors that condition its reading.

The mechanism of *confrontation* reveals the semantic aspect of the architectural work that is realized by its materialization, and the goal of this approach is the specific use of space, defined from the perspective of its architect. Through the mechanism of *correlation*, architecture becomes an integral part of the performance itself, and "the architectural space does not become only a 'container,' a frame or a physical envelope *within* which the performance is placed, but it is constituted *with* the space, thanks to it and under its influence."[115] At the same time, qualitative changes in the functions of the given space occur. The mechanism of *framing* creates a set of "certain external factors, conditions and contextual determinants, which in a limited time interval dictate the ways in which the architectural space can be perceived"[116] and is most often applied to neglected spaces that are becoming ruined. This mechanism is in the core of site-specific practices that are determined by the "*morphology/ambience* of the space, its *theme/narrative* and '*spatial evidence*', i.e. concrete material and physical artefacts that are connected to the space."[117] The aim of this approach is to create an effect on the audience, to change the way in which the architectural object to which it is applied is viewed. Žugić concludes how "architectural space in the context of performative arts always gains a co-performative function, as a specific model of the performativity of architecture that is linked exclusively to the said

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[114] *Ibid.*, 9
[115] *Ibid.*, 133, emphasis in original.
[116] *Ibid.*, 71
[117] *Ibid.*, 152, emphasis in the original.

context."[118] The architectural space appears as an active *text* that is in an equal dialogue with the event, and from that dialogue "a new value arises that does not belong to any component, but to the whole performance as such."[119]

Artistic practices created within or through textuality of architecture are most often described in terms of site-specificity. Nick Kaye approaches site-specificity as the process of reading a sign, that is, the process of locating the place of a signifier within a semiotic system. According to him, "'site-specific work' might articulate and define itself through properties, qualities or meanings produced in specific relationships between an 'object' or 'event' and a position it occupies."[120] For that reason, "[t]o move the site-specific work is to *re-place* it, to make it *something else*,"[121] in the same way as replacing any signifier within the semiotic system results in different meanings, or replacing a quotation or any new element that constitutes a new text will result in a different new text.

Site-specific art emerged from anti-commercial 1960s experimental, conceptual, and minimalist practices that recognized that the "site of art as not only a physical arena but one constituted through social, economic, and political processes."[122] Architecture, as any public space, is not a static object, but a dynamic, political field, "a field of struggle between ownership, participation, economic and power relations."[123] For that reason, the wide range of site-specific artistic practices (site-determined, site-oriented, site-referenced, site-conscious, site-responsive, site-related, art-as-public-spaces) became community-oriented practices (context-specific, community-specific, art with communities, issue-specific).

As Miwon Kwon notices, site-specific practices are integration, rather than intervention, they are about collaboration with

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[118] *Ibid.*, 194

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Nick Kaye, *Site-Specific Art. Performance, Place and Documentation*, London, New York: Routledge, 2006, 1

[121] *Ibid.*, 2

[122] Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*, The MIT Press, 2002, 3

[123] Jale Erzen, "The city as social sculpture – complexity and involvement in contemporary aesthetics," *Serbian Architectural Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2014), guest editor: Miško Šuvaković, special issue: 2nd Virtual conference of the Society for Aesthetics of Architecture and Visual Arts of Serbia, 9

communities at sites, rather than intervention in physical sites.[124] For this reason, she approaches site-specificity as "a problem-idea, as a peculiar cipher of art and spatial politics"[125] that has its phenomenological/experiential, social/institutional, discursive, informational, textual, expositional, and didactic aspects. In cases of new, neglected or ruined architecture, artistic practices have the capacity to initiate connections that might result in communities within/around such sites. Art historian James Meyer draws attention to site-oriented practices that comprise fragmentary sequences of events and actions *through* spaces, "structured (inter)textually rather than spatially," as a process that transforms the site by textualizing spaces and spatializing discourses.[126]

When it comes to artistic interventions in space, most often defined as contextual art, site-specific art, or urban intervention, Jane Rendell advocates for destabilizing the established binary opposition between art and architecture, private and public, theory and practice, considering that neither term in the pair is dominant. For this reason, she introduces a new term—*critical spatial practice*—"which operates simultaneously as both and neither of the binary terms, including the two, yet exceeding their scope."[127] Positioned between theory and practice, *critical spatial practice* relates to "work that transgresses the limits of art and architecture and engages with both the social and the aesthetic, the public and the private."[128] Like critical theory, it seeks to transform, enlighten, or emancipate its readers to think critically about phenomena in society, rather than to offer them concrete solutions. In addition, it calls into question the actions of individual disciplines, as the artists who apply it work within, on the edge, between and across different disciplinary territories, while drawing attention to wider social and political problems.

The architecture of Yugoslav modernism was first approached by conceptual artists during the 1970s. Verbumprogram (Ratomir Kulić and Vladimir Mattioni) on November 4, 1974, glued over sixty meters of tape over the Republic Square in Lubljana, and documented the entire process. The "Group of six authors" (Mladen Stilinović,

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[124] Kwon, *One Place after Another*, 60

[125] *Ibid.*, 2

[126] Quoted in Kwon, 29

[127] Jane Rendell, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between*, London: IB Tauris, 2006, 25

[128] *Ibid.*, 20

Vlado Martek, Boris Demur, Željko Jerman, Sven Stilinović and Fedomir Vučemilović) realized "action exhibitions" in various public spaces, including newly built residential blocks in Zagreb that had no cultural content. Within such experimental approaches, space became an entity produced "in a set of dynamic relations with acting subjects [...] an entity that shaped the possibilities for future activity and relation."[129]

By introducing their actions and interventions into architectural texts, experimental and conceptual artists gave architecture new functions, introduced diversion into the "official" metanarratives of public space, and created new forms of sociality with local residents. This practice continued during the 1990s, and on June 10, 1996, artistic group Magnet carried out the action *Exorcising the Devil* (performers: Ivan Pravdić, Jelena Marjanov, Nune Popović) in which they whipped the National Library of Serbia (arch. Ivo Kurtović, 1966–1973), as a form of reflection on the socio-political context of the first half of the 1990s and the use of great writers to attest war politics. Artists who quote architecture of Yugoslav modernism in the 21st century also create site-specifically, and, as we will see, their actions can be aimed at highlighting the potentials of the selected architectural *text*.

In addition, contemporary artists also apply strategies similar to methods of architectural representation in order to quote it within their *texts*. Acts of copying architectural forms in artistic media, or presenting them by simulations, photographs, drawings, renders, etc., turn architectural objects into quotation within artistic discourse. Artists most often include in their practices an installation or an object that is based on the method of scale-modeling, thus becoming a specific mock-up, "a model that is a formal reproduction of the original aimed to reproduce the overall size and exterior appearance."[130] Some artists create full-scale models of existing or demolished architectural objects, reproducing them in different structures and materials, while

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[129] Adair Rounthwaite, *This Is Not My World – Art and Public Space in Socialist Zagreb*, University of Minnesota Press, 2024, 19

[130] Fabio Colonnese, "Tear It Down! Agency and Afterlife of Full-Size Models," in: Federica Goffi (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Architectural Drawings and Models. From Translating to Archiving, Collecting and Displaying*, London and New York: Routledge, 2022, 324

others create prototypes of architectural objects, and their functional or semi-functional reproductions in order to introduce those objects into gallery spaces and artistic discourse. Some artists also use maquettes, which "are characterized by miniaturization and schematization, as well as three-dimensionality."[131]

Unlike site-specific practices that are spatially bound to architectural objects they quote, works resulting from these artistic strategies can exist at any place and at several places simultaneously. Furthermore, such practices turn immobile architecture into something movable that can be experienced at several places, and into something that can be grasped and reassembled by the audience. Scale modeling is an act of specific dislocation, imitation, reconstruction of architectural objects, resulting in objects and installations that, usually in a smaller scaled size, present formal aspects, proportions, distribution of masses, ideas, and a programme of the depicted quoted architectural object, as well as their symbolism, origins of construction, cultural significance, personal significance. For that reason, the use of architectural scale models is noticeable in the oeuvres of many artists, even those whose practice is generally associated with something else.

For example, Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010) in her work *Cell (Choisy)* (1990-93) placed a cloudy-rose marble miniature replica of her childhood home in a structure that is partly cage, partly made of small window panes, with a suspended guillotine above the whole composition. A similar model appears in her work *Cell (Choisy II*, 1995), which was placed into a closed metal cage with three circular rotating mirrors which enabled seeing the model from all sides simultaneously. In 2002, two scale models made in silver appeared in her works *The Institute* and *The Rectory*. One of them was placed into a metal cage with three rotating mirrors, like the *Cell (Choisy II)*, and made using architectural blueprints of the Institute of Fine Arts of New

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[131] Čedomila Marinković, „*Ktitorski model* – slika *makete* ili *crkve*? O nekim terminološkim pitanjima u vezi sa predstavom arhitekture na ktitorskim portretima" [*Church Patron's* – A Representation of *Mock-up* or *Church*? Treatise on Architectural Terminological related to Representations in Portraits of Church Patrons], *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta* (36 / 2006), 127

York University, where her husband Robert Goldwater taught for many years. The other one was made after the rectory of Saint Peter's Episcopal Church on West 20th Street in New York, which Bourgeois could see from her flat, and people receiving their packages of food on Sundays. All these architectural scale models (sculptures) are important elements in her works that deal with issues of memories, family, retrospection and (in)stability.

Architectural scale-modeling can be seen as the process of appropriation, that is, copying the entire older text as one's own or within one's own. The process of appropriation is an (inter)discursive practice that examines the referentiality and documentary nature of the newly created work/object, but also of the one it copies, thus becoming "a critique of artistic categories."[132] Artists who apply appropriation or *ready-mades* differ from those who work *ex nihilo* because they are "establishing an equivalence between choosing and fabricating, consuming and producing."[133] They are fusing these two activities, which is very similar to Barthes' understanding of a *text* as something that is realized by the activity of the audience, and not by the activity of an author. Appropriation is a symptom of "a culture of the use of forms, a culture of constant activity of signs based on a collective ideal: sharing."[134]

Artists who apply appropriation, including architectural scale-modeling, shift the focus from the work and its unique place in history to the experience of that work in a different social, spatial and temporal context, "with the intention of generating new, distinctive meanings."[135] They indicate that no work can have only one fixed meaning, assigned to it by the author or the historical context; each sign and *text* (artwork in a broader sense) are carriers of polyvalent meanings that change depending on the temporal, spatial, political, social and, cultural context. Those meanings also change when their

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[132] Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 1996, 145

[133] Nicolas Bourriaud, *Postproduction. Culture as Screenplay: How Art Reprograms the World*, New York: Lukas & Sternberg, 2002 (2nd edition), 22

[134] *Ibid*, 9

[135] Magdalena Zięba, "Authenticity *(aura)* recycled. Erasing originality in appropriation art," in: Anna Markowska (ed.) *Politics of Erasure from "Damnatio Memoriae" to Alluring Void*, Warsaw: Polish Institute of World Art Studies & Torun: Tako Publishing House, 2014, 253

context becomes another *text*, that is, when they become quotations within a new *text*. The same thing happens with architecture, which in the form of scale models and in combination with other elements and artistic media becomes a quotation within newer *texts*.

When artists apply a site-specific approach or scale modelling to quote architecture created in specific socio-historical contexts, they are quoting not only the formal aspects of architectural objects but also the cultural, political, technical, and other characteristics of the society that built those objects. By including them as quotations within their new texts, artists place them in new contexts that also open up the question of the semantic shifts that occurred in relation to that architecture. In their works, the quoted architecture from previous periods, such as the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, becomes a transhistorical, interdiscursive phenomenon that, while quoted, also carries with itself the broad socio-political context of the creation of that architecture.

Part II

ARCHITECTURE OF YUGOSLAV MODERNISM AS A *TEXT*

2.1. The Socio-Economic Context of Origins and Development

Every architecture is a result of the economic, social and ideological context within which it was created. In the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, such a context were three types of socialism in a very short period, i.e. three economic models, which made Yugoslavia very different from other socialist countries.

The earliest period of the post-war reconstruction (1945–1950) was the period of the adopted Soviet *etatist model* of socialism, characterized by centralized, bureaucratic planning. The state was the direct owner of the means of production and had a huge amount of produced goods and services at its disposal. It determined their prices, thus controlling their real value, as well as the level of nominal income, making a profit through the difference between prices and costs.[136] The state dominated labor, which in the USSR, after Stalin's reform, resulted in the lowest functionaries of the Communist Party having the highest standard of living "eight times the average. All of them had also free housing, clothing, medical aid."[137]

For this reason, Edvard Kardelj, Yugoslav economist and politician, condemned *bureaucratism.* So did Boris Kidrič, Yugoslav Communist Party theoretician, who pointed out that the bureaucracy of the Soviet model perfected the monopolism that originated from capitalism. Therefore, it represented the greatest political danger to socialism; it obstructed and degraded the economy and harmed the quality, diversity and development of production.[138] "Bureaucratic socialism" is an oxymoron in that sense, because in the *etatist* socialism, the means of production are not socially owned, they do not belong to the workers, as they did not belong during feudalism or capitalism. This model of socialism carries the risk that "the state can

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[136] Włodzimierz Brus, *Socialist Ownership and Political Systems*, London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, 41

[137] Darko Suvin, "Bureaucracy: A Term and Concept in the Socialist Discourse about State Power (Before 1941)," *Croatian Political Science Review*, Vol. 48, No. 5 (2011), 209

[138] Darko Suvin, *Splendour, Misery, and Possibilities. An X-Ray of Socialist Yugoslavia*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016, 94

directly link economic coercion with *political coercion,* in particular in a totalitarian system which actually liquidates political rights, the right of assembly and freedom of speech."[139]

The means of production became social property when Yugoslavia created its own, unique socialism based on *self-management* which gave the worker the "the key role – economically, socially and politically."[140] In this model of socialism, prices, interest rates, wages of workers, amounts of contributions, etc. became the result of market competition between companies, not the decisions of the authorities. Capital became a means of "producing a human community,"[141] while property rights became a matter of the relationship between people, not between people and things. The workers decided through referendums whether the profit of the company/enterprise will be spent on new investments, or divided into bonuses to workers and every worker's vote was taken into account. Yugoslavia created this model as an authentic way to continue its socialist revolution and begin a long-term process of decentralization and de-administration, thereby establishing democracy as one of its fundamental values.

Self-management was implemented through three constitutional acts – the 1953 Constitutional Law, the 1963 Constitution, and the 1974 Constitution, as well as through a series of laws and regulations that followed them. The 1953 Constitutional Law proclaimed self-management as a form of "socialist democracy." As a result, numerous state and political organizations changed their names and levels of competence – the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Government of the FPRY became the Federal Executive Council, the People's Front became the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and gained the function of parliament. Apart from that, this law introduced the position of the president of the Federal Executive Council and of the state. Josip Broz Tito was appointed for that position.

Self-management meant that "workers are placed in such production relations that their income ensures personal and joint consumption, i.e. the income with which they satisfy their needs, they earn within the income generated by the work organization they

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[139] Brus, *Socialist Ownership and Political Systems*, 18

[140] *Ibid.*, 68

[141] Suvin, *Splendour, Misery, and Possibilities*, 97

manage."[142] At the level of an enterprise, the collective had exclusive administrative rights and its members had the power to decide whether they would directly divide a generated income between themselves, use it for joint services, or invest it into the expansion of activities, resources and reserves. The collective only did not have the right of ownership and alienation of property. The distribution of income was thus carried out "not according to each person's work, but according to their results on the market."[143] This economic model resulted in the fact that, until the mid-1960s, Yugoslavia was among the first countries in the world in terms of economic growth.

The 1963 Constitution changed the name of the country—from the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—to indicate that "socialism comes first, and the type of state organization (federalism) second."[144] Self-management was then defined as an association of workers in organizations of joint work, self-managing interest communities and local (territorial) communities [mesne zajednice]. Far greater and more long-term consequences was the economic shift towards international market mechanisms, which resulted in *market socialism*. According to Catherine Samary, a researcher in political economy, out of all the socialist countries this model existed only in Yugoslavia.

Within the model of *market socialism*, prices were no longer created through competition of enterprises, but according to the world market. As a result, in 1964 in Yugoslavia, "real prices rose about 15% in mines and manufacturing, but around 24% in raw materials, 43% in agriculture, 21% in construction and housing and 30% in services."[145] The central Investment fund was liquidated, and about 480 well-functioning communal banks were replaced with a

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[142] Dušan Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije: glavni procesi 1918–1985* [*History of SFRY: Main Processes 1918–1985*], Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, 259

[143] Catherine Samary, *Plan, Market and Democracy. The Experience of the So-Called Socialist Countries* – four lectures presented at the International Institute for Research and Education in 1987, *Notebooks for Study and Research*, number 7/8, 1988, 27

[144] Dejan Jović, "Yugoslavia as Project and Experiment," in: Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations – Between Utopia and Pragmatism: Architecture and Urban Planning in the Former Yugoslavia and the Successor States*, Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association, 2012, 18

[145] Samary, *Plan, Market and Democracy*, 29

smaller number of investment and commercial banks, which received the funds of the Investment fund. These banks could be established by at least 25 enterprises and/or political units. The 1965 Law on Banks and Credit, made it possible for one enterprise, a co-founder of the bank, to raise funds invested by another co-founder, that is, to collect income generated by someone else's labor.[146] Such a market-oriented model increased losses, and doubled the efforts and excess in production capacity for which there was no regulatory mechanism.

After 1965, "the State seizure of the surplus in production was not returned to associations of producers but 'flowed over' into the newly formed banks, insurance companies, wholesale and export companies."[147] The share of banks as a source of fixed capital in economic enterprises during the 1960s jumped from 1% to approximately 50%, and the share of territorial administrations decreased from 61.6% to 19.8%, while the share of the companies themselves remained approximately the same throughout the decade.[148] When it comes to housing, already in 1970 "bank funds were 51% of all investments in production and housing, while the share of the 'Organizations of Associated Labor' fell to 27%."[149] Even then, it became evident that the accumulation was used to return the loans, which gave them a distinctly capitalist character, and that the banks had more and more power over the indebted enterprises. In addition, in 1967, foreign investments became legal in Yugoslavia, providing that in the joint ventures, at least 51% of total funds were Yugoslav,[150] which enabled labor organizations in Yugoslavia to raise foreign loans.

The 1974 Constitution introduced even more radical changes towards a socialist self-managing democracy. By 1986 "about 600,000 people were involved in decision-making processes [...] In domestic politics, it affected nationality policy, as well as the way industrial relations, the economic and the social policy."[151] According to Darko Suvin, decentralization did not diminish or disempower the etatist monopoly on disposing of surplus labor, it only decentralized it "into seven or eight semi-state apparatuses of local republics with

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[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Suvin, *Splendour, Misery, and Possibilities*, 357, following Kardelj
[148] *Ibid.*, 224
[149] *Ibid.*, 148
[150] Samary, *Plan, Market and Democracy*, 30
[151] *Ibid.*, 19

increasingly strong financial systems of their own (banking, insurance, foreign trade)."[152] Transformation of the market created too many enterprises that were too small, diverse and uneconomical. Along with increased differences between import and export prices, they contributed to cumulative indebtedness and inflation.

These changes quadrupled the Yugoslav foreign debt during the second half of the 1960s, while "the external debt of Yugoslavia increased from 2.4 billion dollars in 1970 to over 20 billion dollars in 1985."[153] The politics of earning foreign currencies at any cost took place, creating a misbalance among enterprises. As a result, a crisis in ideology appeared in the 1970s, due to which "brotherhood and unity" moved out of the foreground. It became evident that Yugoslavia was not an ethnic project, nor that Yugoslav supranationalism can be placed above national cultures, while in the population census "those who wanted to identify themselves as 'ethnic Yugoslavs' or 'Yugoslav in the sense of nationhood', could do that only as 'undeclared/ Yugoslavs'."[154]

Yugoslavia went through three economic models of socialism that at times overlapped in transitional periods, making Yugoslavia a unique "'*hybrid system*', combining elements of etatism in politics and ideology, elements of capitalism in the commodity and market economy as well as in mass culture, and elements of self-management."[155] Yugoslavia was also a hybrid creation in terms of ethnicities and cultures. All these ideological, economic, socio-political and cultural elements significantly influenced the architecture of Yugoslavia, which, in turn, had a significant role in the creation and international representation of Yugoslavia through its transitions from etatist socialism, to self-management, to market socialism.

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[152] Suvin, *Splendour, Misery, and Possibilities*, 147-148

[153] Ranka Gašić, *Jugoslovenski Detroit: automobilska industrija u Kragujevcu: 1953– 1991* [*Yugoslav Detroit: The Automotive Industry in Kragujevac: 1953–1991*], Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2017, 157

[154] Jović, "Yugoslavia as Project and Experiment," 20

[155] *Ibid.*, 260. Catherine Samary also describes Yugoslavia as a hybrid system (p. 6).

2.2.   The Authentic "Yugoslav Way" and Architecture

The anti-fascist liberation struggle that united South Slavic peoples was the foundation on which the new socialist Yugoslavia was built. After the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform on June 28, 1948, the authentic "Yugoslav way" began to develop by introducing and implementing self-management, which made socialism in Yugoslavia a permanent reform; a revolution in progress. Its aim was not to maintain the society as it was, but to perfect it, to change it into a more progressive, modern and advanced society both in the domain of politics and technology. In addition, the "Yugoslav way" was also built on the policy of non-alignment, as a platform "for uniting the forces of peace and social progress [...] as an active peaceful coexistence capable of preventing the third world war."[156] Of great importance for understanding Yugoslavia is that its influence "on the development of relations with the world community of peoples far exceeded its size, economic and military power and was constantly based on its exceptional engagement in the struggle for new relations between the peoples and states of the world."[157] As a result, in the mid-seventies, there was no country in the world, except extremely reactionary ones like Chile and Israel, with which Yugoslavia did not have good cooperation. In short, it had an extremely favorable international position.[158] What role did architecture play in the construction of this "Yugoslav way"?

According to Miško Šuvaković, the practice of architecture is a signifier practice in which "the social and the human are produced in the struggle to structure the visible, i.e. presentable order of power, rule, governance, and existence there and then."[159] Jelena Prokopljević points out that "one of the most important legacies of the socialist revolution was the conversion of private urban land into a public," so

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[156] Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, 270

[157] *Ibid.*, 269

[158] *Ibid.*, 280

[159] Miško Šuvaković, "General Theory of Ideology and Architecture," in: Vladimir Mako, Mirjana Roter Blagojević and Marta Vukotić Laazar (eds.), *Architecture and Ideology* – conference proceedings, Newcastle upon Tune: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, 12

the Yugoslav urban and architectural projects were "large scale planning of residential macrostructure related to public spaces and public facilities, based—at least in the initial period—on state ownership and state investment."[160] Several researchers point out that architecture was an important means by which Yugoslavia implemented and presented its unique path between the East and the West. Vladimir Kulić notices that both architecture and art "were important tools in constructing Yugoslavia's distinction from other communist countries, especially at the height of antagonism with the Soviet Union, when such a distinction was paramount to bare survival."[161] Tatjana Karabegović points to the same, emphasizing that architecture built in Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1968 was

> a means for constructing differences from others/ another identity, which confirmed the authenticity and existence of the self-managing socialist identity and, more importantly, legitimized the rightfulness of the 'Yugoslav way,' proclaimed on the antinomies of the Yugoslav way/the East and the Yugoslav way/the West.[162]

Aleksandar Ignjatović indicates that architecture gained an important role in shaping the complex ideology of the transitional state of Yugoslavia and the monumentalization of its values— liberation, progress, authenticity, social avant-garde, political leadership, decentralization, pluralism and plurality, openness and democracy.[163] Architectural objects that most fully present the idea that society should be constantly built and improved, are, according to Ignjatović, the building of the Museum of Contemporary Art in

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[160] Jelena Prokopljević, "Researching 'the Lost Decade' of New Belgrade," in: Branislav Radeljić and Carlos González-Villa (eds.), *Researching Yugoslavia and its Aftermath Sources, Prejudices and Alternative Solutions*, Springer, 2021, 50

[161] Vladimir Kulić, "*East? West? Or Both?* Foreign perceptions of architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia," *The Journal of Architecture*, 14/1 (2009), 129

[162] Татјана Карабеговић, „Репрезентација модерне архитектуре Београда на филму југословенске продукције од 1945. до 1968. године" [Representation of Belgrade's Modern Architecture in Yugoslav-Produced Films 1945–1968] – doctoral dissertation, Београд: Архитектонски факултет, 2017, 53

[163] Aleksandar Ignjatović, „Tranzicije i reforme: arhitektura u Srbiji 1952–1980" [Transitions and Reforms: Architecture in Serbia 1952–1980], in: Miško Šuvaković (ed.), *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji XX vek. Tom 2, Realizmi i modernizmi oko hladnog rata*, Beograd: Orion art, Katedra za muzikologiju Fakulteta muzičke umetnosti, 2012, 692

Belgrade (arch. Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1959/1965) and the building of the State Secretariat for Peoples' Defense (arch. Nikola Dobrović, 1956/1963). They are both structurally conceived in such a way that movement and the possibility of growth are immanent in them.[164] The Museum of Contemporary Art was built next to the political centers of the new state—the Federal Executive Council and the Building of Social and Political Organizations (the Central Committee of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia). Therefore, it was an integral part of international political protocols, and we devote more attention to this museum building in chapter 3.2.1.

For architecture in Yugoslavia to become "an agency of socialist teleology,"[165] and specifically Yugoslav socialist teleology, not Soviet, it needed to undergo a series of changes, such as moving away from the pre-war eclectic mixing of styles, and from the socialist realism that was prevalent during the post-war reconstruction. Modernism became an acceptable architectural expression and an official means of state presentation only after a series of competitions and events. The First Consultation of Architects and Urban Planners of Yugoslavia took place in Dubrovnik in 1950, Yugoslavia was admitted into the International Union of Architects in 1951 and it hosted the 10th International Congress of Modern Architecture (Congres internationaux d'architecture modern–CIAM) in Dubrovnik (1956). At the 1951 exhibition of the International Union of Architects in Rabat (Morocco), "Yugoslavia presents itself as a country that successfully overcomes the challenge of post-war reconstruction, develops a strong construction industry and embraces architecture that cannot be linked in any way to the socialist realism of the Eastern Bloc. Instead, it is developing a strong modern tradition of interwar foundations."[166]

In addition, architects from Yugoslavia became familiar with the latest trends in world architecture through study trips and exhibitions of foreign architects that took place in Yugoslavia. Over time architectural faculties established connections with faculties abroad (Ljubljana–Scandinavia, Zagreb–The Netherlands, Skopje–

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[164] *Ibid.*, 703

[165] Aleksandar Ignjatović and Danica Stojiljković, "Towards an Authentic Path: Structuralism and Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia," *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (2019), 855

[166] Mojca Smode Cvitanović, correspondence, April 7, 2021

USA).[167] Modernism became accepted as the official style of state presentation because the architects of modernism and the socialist leadership shared the same view that spatial planning should be used to combat social inequality. Yugoslavia thus joined the new and post-colonial states for whom "modernism was a way of asserting their legitimacy to their own people and to the rest of the world."[168]

Architecture was also an important means of presenting Yugoslavness—not as a monolithic and unified identity, but as a unity of pluralities and differences. According to Bogdan Bogdanović,[169] Yugoslavness is "the understanding of this space as a polycultural space of free intellectual flow of ideas, knowledge and creativity,"[170] something in the spirit of which is the coexistence of multiple traditions.[171] It must be taught in schools through various cultures, it cannot stand stubbornly firm, "it does not tolerate dogmas, neither social, nor national, nor religious [...] it accepts polymorphism."[172] The architecture of Yugoslav modernism was, therefore, not a pure high modernism, but a modernism of diversities. It was the result of cultural heritage, adaptation to Mediterranean, highland and lowland climatic conditions, as well as the implementation of vernacular architecture "with the aim of granting a universal significance to local

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[167] Maroje Mrduljaš, Vladimir Kulić and Jelica Jovanović, "Unfinished Modernisations: Reconstructing the Architectural History of Socialist Yugoslavia," in: Moravčíková, Henrieta (ed.), *Current Issues of Central and Eastern European Architectural Historiography*, *Architecture Papers of the Faculty of Architecture STU*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2013), 22

[168] Brigitte le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 11

[169] Bogdan Bogdanović (1922, Belgrade – 2010, Vienna) was architect, professor, faculty dean, architectural critic, Mayor of Belgrade (1982–1986), member of several academies, best known for his monuments and memorial complexes. He published over 20 books on architectural and urban philosophy, history, memory and critique. Due to his political views, he was forced to leave the country and in 1993, he exiled in Vienna, where he remained for the rest of his life.

[170] Bogdan Bogdanović, „Hrabrost je da se krikne – NE" [Courage is to cry out – NO]– interview: Mirko Dekić (*Borba*, Belgrade, October 12, 1991), in: Latinka Perović (ann.), *Bogdan Bogdanović: glib i krv*, Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2001, 165

[171] Bogdan Bogdanović, „Između srbijanstva i kosmpolitizma" [Between Serbianness and cosmopolitanism] – interview: Stevan Stanić, (*NIN,* Belgrade, March 27, 1983), in: Perović, *op. cit.*, 18

[172] Bogdan Bogdanović, „Dnevni i noćni čovjek" [Day and night man] – interview: Milan Rakovac (*Nedjelja*, Sarajevo, April 29, 1990), in: Perović, *op. cit.*, 127

cultural phenomena and to relate them to the rest of the World."[173] When represented in architecture, Yugoslavia's defining features were "socialist self-management and its independent foreign policy, rather than any overarching identity based on a common cultural essence."[174]

The dialectic between supranational/Yugoslav and individual/traditional identities in architecture was possible precisely due to self-management and decentralization. As a result, instead of a single contractor in form of a centralized government there were many investors, such as cities, municipalities, self-governing interest communities, housing cooperatives,[175] and the Yugoslav People's Army.[176] This is best seen in the example of housing, which has been one of the imperatives for many years, but which is very different from city to city. As architectural historians Maroje Mrduljaš, Vladimir Kulić and Jelica Jovanović point out:

> Architecture in Yugoslavia was in no way a monolithic cultural formation; it was largely divided into individual national schools and scenes according to the federal organization of the state. What brought these separate scenes together, however, was a common socio-political context, which enabled the cultural autonomy of architecture and provided the general framework of modernization with its common programs, standards, and resources.[177]

Apart from presenting and monumentalizing the values of Yugoslav socialism, architecture was also a method of their construction, a means of enabling new activities, new forms of sociability, and

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[173] Ignjatović and Stojiljković, "Towards an Authentic Path," 868

[174] Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-between. The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia*, Berlin: Jovis Verlag GmbH, 2012, 76

[175] The golden age of housing cooperatives in Yugoslavia lasted until 1963. From 1,400 housing cooperatives at the time, their number "started to decrease sharply in 1965 with the introduction of economic reform and thus the production of apartments for the market. Thus, in the mid-seventies, when self-management began to be introduced in that area, there were only 52 housing cooperatives in Yugoslavia" (Gojko Bežovan, „Zadružna stambena gradnja" [Cooperative Housing], u: Gojko Bežovan i Momo Kuzmanović (ur.), *Stambena politika i stambene potrebe*, Zagreb: Radničke novine, 1987, 100).

[176] Already in 1955, the Yugoslav People's Army published *Instructions for the construction of residential buildings for the needs of the YPA*, revised in 1964.

[177] Mrduljaš, Kulić and Jovanović, "Unfinished Modernisations," 22

new actions that would build a better and more modern society. It was "an integral part of the process of spatializing dominant ideological premises of socialist self-management: free society, plurality of thought and action, and insistence on cultural diversity."[178] There were consistent efforts to put progressive values—social justice, the public domain, cultural advancement, social solidarity, and the dissemination and exchange of knowledge—into practice with the full participation of architecture and urban planning,[179] although they were never fully realized. It was through these efforts that Yugoslavia was being built and architecture became a powerful tool by which Yugoslavia positioned itself on the map of the world.

In the rest of the chapter, we present six ways of using architecture for the international positioning and presentation of Yugoslavia, that is, six directions of architectural production that, in addition to their primary function, also had a significant symbolic and cultural purpose. Apart from architecture that was built abroad, we find that some architectural projects within Yugoslavia also played a significant role in the presentation of the country on the international stage. These are the administrative-political-ideological projects of New Belgrade as one of the new capitals of the new Yugoslavia, complexes of international trade fairs, cultural facilities and complexes, tourist resorts on the Adriatic coast, as well as hybrid sports-business-cultural centers that were built on the occasion of major international sports events. The representational capacity of the *architecture of Yugoslav modernism* indicates that it was not geographically determined, nor a passive product, but an active agent of modernization, an active part of the ideology based on the 'middle path,' that is, on the policy of inclusion and bridging the world which was polarized into blocs.

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[178] Ignjatović, „Tranzicije i reforme: arhitektura u Srbiji 1952–1980", 701

[179] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations – Between Utopia and Pragmatism: Architecture and Urban Planning in the Former Yugoslavia and the Successor States*, Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association, 2012, 13. Apart from creating specific modernism in architecture, Yugoslavia was also, according to Kulić, generatating postmodernism, in specific conditions in which, under the auspices of socialism, postmodernist architecture was financed from state funds, which was not the case in the West. For this reason, when it comes to architecture, Kulić refers to postmodernism as "the cultural logic of late socialism" (Vladimir Kulić [ed.], *Second World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*, London: Bloomsbury, 2019, *Introduction*, 3)

2.3.   Architecture as Means of International Presentation of Yugoslavia and Cultural Diplomacy

2.3.1. New Belgrade – From International Fair to the Showcase of the Highest Housing Standard

The grounds of today's New Belgrade used to be a marshland, but ever since the 1920s it has been regarded as an attractive location for expansion of Belgrade on that side of the river Sava. Given that Belgrade was the capital, such an extension was deemed necessary for its economic development, and thus the development of the entire country. However, until the outbreak of World War II, only the complex of the Belgrade Fairground was built in the area.[180] From December 1941 and during the war, it was used as a concentration camp for Serbs, Jews and Roma people.[181] For this reason, depicting this area for constructing the new capital of the new, post-war, socialist Yugoslavia, architectural historian Ljiljana Blagojević sees as an "intervention on the space that is *tabula rasa*, but also an intervention in historical time, which re-establishes the traumatic history of this space as *tabula rasa*."[182]

The plan was for a workforce of over 1,440 youths to demolish the Fairground with shovels, picks and axes, as it stood there as a symbol of a committed war crime, and to build in its place the Modern Gallery and the Military Museum. According to Aleksandar Ignjatović, "this symptomatic strategy of redefining historical trauma and the

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[180] Fairground was designed by architects of the Technical Directorate of the Municipality of Belgrade, Milivoj Tričković, Đorđe Lukić and Rajko Tatić. It contained five pavilions for the presentation of Yugoslavia, the pavilion of the Nikola Spasić Foundation, the pavilions of Italy, Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia, the central pavilion–a tower, a restaurant, an administration building and auxiliary facilities. In 1938 the Turkish pavilion was built and in 1939 the German pavilion.

[181] Jovan Byford, "Semlin Judenlager in Serbian Public Memory," 2008, <http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/semlin/en/semlin-judenlager.php>, last accessed January 8, 2024

[182] Љиљана Благојевић, *Нови Београд: оспорени модернизам* [*New Belgrade: Contested Modernism*], Београд: Завод за уџбенике, Архитектонски факултет, Завод за заштиту споменика Града Београда, 2007, 262

selective, but entirely instrumental removal of traces of the unwanted past and its substitution with the projection of the future was at the same time the nucleus and germ of the rift of the ideology of socialist patriotism."[183] The action of demolishing the Fairground was not realized for the simple reason that the work should have started in November 1944, that is, in the winter period.[184] From August 1949, the pavilions of the Fairground accommodated young people who volunteered to drain the marshland. Not long after, in 1952, the pavilions were conceded to the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia, becoming in the 1950s the seat of progressive painters, writers and theatre artists. The first performance of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* in Yugoslavia took place in the former Italian pavilion in 1954, after the premiere and the play were removed from the repertoire of the Belgrade Drama Theatre.[185]

In order to turn the marshland into construction grounds for the new city, it was necessary to apply almost 90 million cubic meters of sand and gravel. Mechanization was rare at the time, so almost the entire work was done manually by tens of thousands of men and women from all over Yugoslavia. The work of this massive, a voluntary labor force was quickly documented and presented as the construction of a new society; as a continuous revolution. The marshland became a no-man's land that was conquered by physical labor instead of the modernist mechanization of the West; it became the ground into which, as if in a conquered territory, flags of the new society were planted. The whole project was legitimized "by

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[183] Ignjatović, „Tranzicije i reforme", 695. There were similar examples of relabeling in other republics of Yugoslavia. For example, in Slovenia, the industrial settlement of Kridičevo grew on the site of a prison for prisoners of war and a German labor camp, which the Department for the Protection of the People (OZNA) later renamed into "Strnišče–Hitler's Paradise camp" and used it for prisoners of war. The camp, which was designed to hold 2,000 people, held up to 12,000 prisoners, most of them proclaimed prisoners of war due to ethnicity. Their mass graves were accidentally discovered during the construction of new factories years later in the 1980s. See: Matevž Čelik and Alenka Di Battista, "New Cities in Slovenia (1945–1960)," in: Mrduljaš and Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations*, 249

[184] Јелена Живанчевић, „Социјалистички реализам у архитектонској и урбанистичкој теорији и пракси Југославије" [Socialist Realism in Architectural and Urban Planning Theory and Practice of Yugoslavia] – doctoral dissertation, Београд: Архитектонски факултет, 2012, 215

[185] Branislav Jakovljević, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945–91*, University of Michigan Press, 2016, 90, 98–107

embedding it with symbolic and emotional content, while in the first stage of planning and construction, most of the practical decisions were still to be measured and taken."[186]

Land preparation works were carried out within the framework of defining the symbolism of New Belgrade, which developed in two directions, depending on the political orientation of Yugoslavia. Both directions, as will be seen, played a significant role in the international presentation of the country. Until Yugoslavia was excluded from the Cominform in 1948, New Belgrade was envisioned as (1) the center of brotherhood and unity of Yugoslav peoples, (2) a center belonging to all Yugoslavs, (3) a model of the new Yugoslavia, (4) the capital of the Balkan Federation, (5) the first socialist city, a counterpoint to the old Belgrade which is full of shortcomings and class inequality caused by capitalism and monarchy.[187] In this context, in 1946, urbanist Nikola Dobrović created the "Sketch of the regulation of Belgrade on the left bank of Sava," basing it on the fact that "the new modern city will be the main seat of the Federation, its management center."[188] In 1947, open calls for the first buildings in New Belgrade took place—the Presidency of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Hotel Jugoslavija and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the latter of which was later built in different location.

The building of the Presidency of the Government thus became the central building of the new city within Dobrović's Sketch. Urban planners who worked on the plan after 1948, also subordinated the complete morphological structure of the city to that building, thereby continuing the spectacularization of a single object. According to Blagojević, such an approach resulted in the "ideal plan of the administrative city, which is, in essence, completely closed to citizens."[189] In turning to the concept of an administrative city "in which the issues of communal life were completely marginalized," the urban planners ignored "CIAM's concept of new monumentality, which implies the creation of a new and better quality communal life

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[186] Prokopljević, "Researching 'the Lost Decade' of New Belgrade," 53

[187] Vladimir Kulić, "National, supranational, international: New Belgrade and the symbolic construction of a socialist capital," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41/1 (2013), 39

[188] Благојевић, *Нови Београд*, 56

[189] *Ibid.*, 70

and the formation of new city centers."[190] The plan for New Belgrade at the time was a fundamental departure from modernism.

However, only two and a half months after the construction works in New Belgrade started, Yugoslavia was excluded from Cominform, which was followed by an economic and ideological crisis. As a result, "[b]y the mid-1950s, New Belgrade was a muddy and sparsely built outpost, an embarrassing parody of the cutting-edge city planners had once imagined."[191] Gradually, Yugoslavia abolished Soviet etatist socialism in favor of self-management and decentralization. In that context, New Belgrade, envisioned as the symbol and means of centralized state government, needed new symbolism and function. The solution offered itself, caused by the lack of housing and recognition that the basic function of architecture—enabling human life and fulfilling human needs—is essentially an ideological issue. The new socialist city of New Belgrade thus became a mass housing project as a solution to the housing crisis.

In the 1950s, Yugoslavia was among the last countries in Europe when it comes to available housing, along with Romania, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, where "2-2.3 flats were built per 1,000 inhabitants, while Norway and West Germany built 10.5 and 10.2."[192] From 1956 to 1959, Yugoslavia introduced contributions for housing (4% of workers' monthly salaries) and established social funds for implementing housing projects.[193] A turning point occurred in 1957 when engineer Branko Žeželj designed the IMS prefabricated concrete skeletal system of columns and square slabs, which enabled fast and high-quality mass construction and reduced weight of buildings by 30%. Both slabs and columns of 5.6m and 8.4m, i.e. two and three floors, were overstressed horizontally and vertically, so they could be stacked to a height of 26 floors, while horizontally they could be theoretically stacked to infinity. This patent was a great success that was soon "exported either as a licensed product or as a training tool

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[190] *Ibid.*, 83

[191] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 105

[192] Даница Стојиљковић, „Структурализам у архитектури Југославије у периоду од 1954. до 1980. године" [Structuralism in Architecture of Yugoslavia in the Period from 1954 to 1980] – doctoral dissertation, Београд: Архитектонски факултет, 2017, 78

[193] Gojko Bežovan, „Stambena politika u poslijeratnom razvoju" [Housing policy in post-war development], u: Gojko Bežovan i Momo Kuzmanović (ur.), *Stambena politika i stambene potrebe*, Zagreb: Radničke novine, 1987, 82

wherever needed, especially during the 1960s and 1970s: to the USSR, PR China, Cuba, Morocco, Egypt, Poland, GDR, etc."[194]

Due to Žeželj's patent, New Belgrade became the largest construction site, and also the construction site of the highest standard in Yugoslavia. It became a specific laboratory where prototypes were built in 1:1 scale using semi-prefabricated and prefabricated systems.[195] As the real indicator of the modernization that Yugoslavia was implementing, it was seen by all foreign guests who came to the new capital of the new country, including the officials of 25 participating countries and 3 observer countries at the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (September 1–6, 1961).[196] The decision to organize the Summit partly in New Belgrade, on the largest construction site in the country, in the just finished building of the Presidency, was, according to Dubravka Sekulić, the best way to advertise Yugoslav construction companies to the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement. New Belgrade "epitomized everything they wanted to achieve in their own countries – modernization coupled with construction."[197] Cooperation with the non-aligned countries

[194] Jelica Jovanović, "From Yugoslavia to Angola: Housing as Postcolonial Technical Assistance City Building through IMS Žeželj Housing Technology," *A&U Architektúra & Urbanizmus – Journal of Architectural and Town-planning Theory*, Vol. 53, No. 3–4 (2009), 175

[195] Several researchers point to this: Le Normand, *op. cit.*, 11; Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 108; Damjanović Conley and Jovanović, "Housing Architecture in Belgrade (1950–1980)," 295. In January 2021, the central zone of New Belgrade received the status of a cultural heritage as a spatial cultural-historical unit.

[196] Yugoslavia established the first political contact with countries that achieved independence by getting a seat in the United Nations Security Council (1950–1951). Already in 1950, it opened a consulate in Bombay and an embassy in New Delhi, which got its new modernist building in 1963, designed by Slovenian architect Ludvik Tomori. The idea of founding the Non-Aligned Movement as an organized form of action and non-aligned policy was born at the African-Asian Summit in Bandung, Indonesia (April 18–24, 1955), in which 29 countries participated. It was followed by the Brijuni meeting (July 18–19, 1956) attended by Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Apart from the First Summit, the Ninth Summit also took place in Belgrade (September 4–7, 1989), while in 1992 Yugoslavia was suspended from the Movement at the ministerial meeting of non-aligned countries held within the framework of the 47th United Nations General Assembly in New York.

[197] Dubravka Sekulić, "Constructing the Non-Aligned Modernity," in: Dubravka Sekulić, Katarina Krstić and Andrej Dolinka (eds.), *Zoran Bojović: Three Points of Support*, Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2013, 164-165

soon began and already in 1964, it accounted for almost 18% of Yugoslavia's international trade. In this way, architecture brought together the two directions of the symbolism of New Belgrade—as the administrative center of the new state and as the center of constructing modernization—precisely within the international presentation of the state during the Summit.

In 1964, the first and foremost priority became improving the lives of the working class. At that time, in Belgrade alone, "167,000 families lived in spaces considered of too low a standard to be designated as apartments,"[198] 50,000 households shared apartments with another family and "divorced couples were required to share the same apartment, and occasionally the same room, sometimes for years after their divorce."[199] Construction companies changed approved projects in the process, building badly needed housing units instead of planned common areas, such as basements and garages, "lawns, sidewalks, shops, day care centers, kindergartens, schools, the financing of which was a less clearly defined obligation."[200] For that reason, in 1964, priority was given to constructing third-category apartments,[201] with exception of New Belgrade, "where no low-quality apartments should be built and larger apartments should prevail."[202] The year 1964 proved to be the year of the most construction in Yugoslavia.

During the following years, many of the buildings and blocks in New Belgrade were built as "zero series" or "experimental buildings" (Image 01). They were not serially produced further for the simple reason that each was built following the principle of an "open" system, in which, in large series, structural elements are prefabricated (pillars, ceilings, load-bearing walls, etc.), while facades were often

[198] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 151

[199] *Ibid*, 153

[200] Iskra Krstić, "The Housing Policies in Yugoslavia," in: Vida Knežević and Marko Miletić (eds.), *We Have Built Cities for You: On the Contradictions of Yugoslav Socialism*, Belgrade: Center CZKD – Center for Cultural Decontamination, 2018, 145

[201] Apartments of the third category had everything that apartments of the first and second categories had, but their equipment was less refined: terrazzo instead of tiles, no built-in wardrobes, usually not connected to heating plants (although district heating was introduced later), etc. (Jovanović, correspondence May 1, 2021).

[202] Tanja Damjanović Conley and Jelica Jovanović, "Housing Architecture in Belgrade (1950–1980) and Its Expansion to the Left Bank of the River Sava," in: Mrduljaš and Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations*, 295
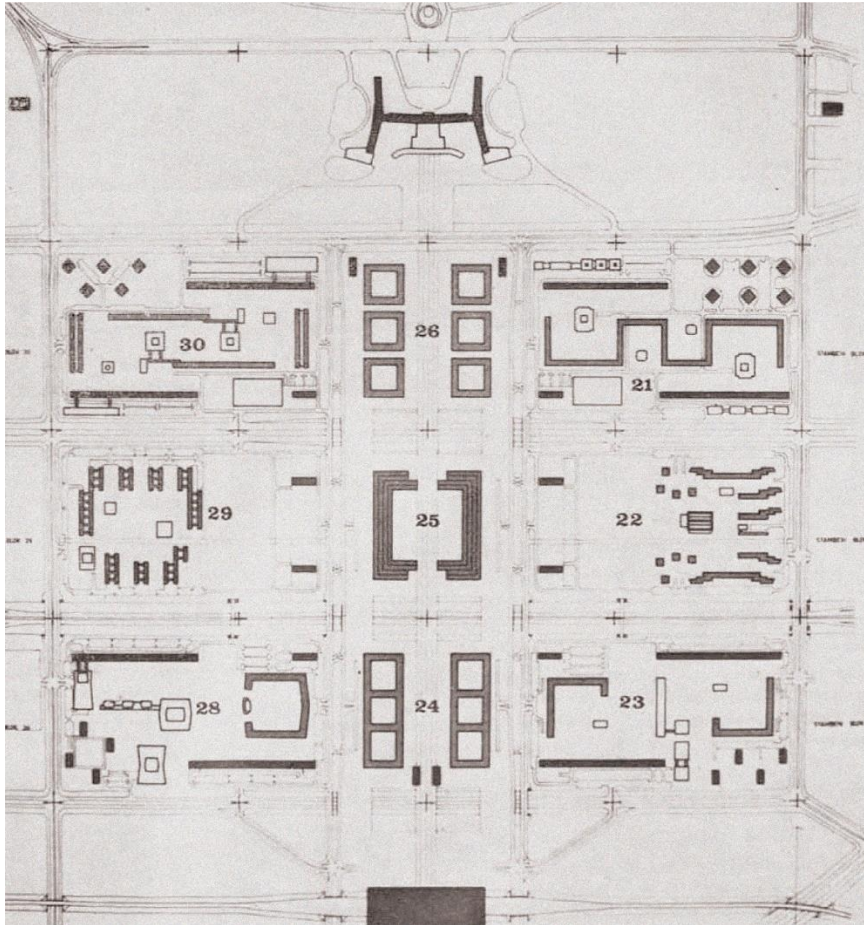
Image 01   The Central Zone of New Belgrade, Milutin Glavički, Milosav Mitić,
                  Leonid Lenarčić, Dušan Milenković, Uroš Martinović, Jovan
                  Mišković, Mihajlo Maletić, 1959, 1968. Source: *Урбанизам
                  Београда* 2 (1969), p. 8

made in a *custom-made* manner or using artisanal techniques. As the number of prefabricated elements increased, so did the possibilities of their combination, so there were no larger replications of design elements. For this reason, "Yugoslav housing architecture was less unified and more variable, as well as specific in terms of architecture and design, as compared to most other countries."[203] In fact, non-uniformity became "a signature value of Yugoslav prefabricated architecture."[204]

Transition to market-oriented housing construction in 1966, permitted construction companies to set prices for the apartments they built, which created competition in the market and greater choice. According to Dušica Seferagić, the price of an apartment was influenced by the *utility value of the residential environment*, which was determined by the quality of the apartment itself (size, layout, equipment...), the quality of the near and far surroundings (ecological, aesthetic, functional, traffic connections, position in relation to the center, etc.), and by the characteristics of the users.[205] Thus, one apartment could suit a traditional family, but be insufficient for a modern family. A number of other social characteristics influenced the utility value of the residential environment, such as class, stratum, income, education, social and territorial origin, etc.[206] New Belgrade thus received a new function – to be "a showcase of the good life,"[207] while Yugoslavia became the only European country that managed to build a predominantly residential district in the heart of its capital.[208] Neither New Belgrade, nor other mass housing projects in Yugoslavia completely solved the housing problem, but Yugoslav and other

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[203] Jelica Jovanović, Jelena Grbić and Dragana Petrović, "Prefabricated Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia: From 'System' to 'Technology',", in: Mrduljaš and Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations*, 408

[204] Jelica Jovanović, Jelena Grbić and Dragana Petrović, "Prefabricated Construction in Former Yugoslavia. Visual and Aesthetic Features and Technology of Prefabrication," in: Stephanie Herold, Biljana Stefanovska (eds.), *Post-War Modern Architecture in Europe*, Berlin: Universitätsverlag der Technischen Universität Berlin, 2012, 186

[205] Dušica Seferagić, „Standard stanovanja i kvaliteta života" [Housing Standard and Quality of Life], in: Gojko Bežovan i Momo Kuzmanović (ur.), *Stambena politika i stambene potrebe*, Zagreb: Radničke novine, 1987, 42

[206] *Ibid.*, 43

[207] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 102

[208] *Ibid.*, 145

socialist cities were "considerably more homogeneous socio-spatial structure than any 'capitalist' ones in the same period – and on top of that they were greener, more compact, equipped with better-quality public transportation and much safer to live in."[209]

Together with governmental buildings and residential blocks, several public facilities were also built in New Belgrade, including the Sava Centre and the Museum of Contemporary Art. The Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities was also planned, but never finished. All of them were of great importance for the international presentation of Yugoslavia and we turn to them in more detail in the third part of the book, while analyzing the artworks within which they appear as quotations.

2.3.2. The Construction of Yugoslavia Outside of Yugoslavia – Recent Research

Engagement of Yugoslav construction companies and architects abroad was part of diplomatic and economic cooperation with the countries of both Blocs and with the developing countries of the Non-Aligned Movement in which Yugoslavia built a lot as donations or technical assistance. It was also a consequence of a saturated domestic market, a gradual transition to the *market socialism*, and a necessity caused by the increased unemployment rate during the 1960s. "The first technical assistance experts recruited through bilateral state agreements were sent to Ethiopia in 1954,"[210] and soon such cooperation was systematically organized so that "workers sent abroad under these regulations numbered 775,000 by 1971."[211] In the non-aligned countries of Africa and the Middle East, mainly highly educated engineers and specialists found temporary

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[209] Krstić, "The Housing Policies in Yugoslavia," 130

[210] Mojca Smode Cvitanović, "Tracing the Non-Aligned Architecture: Environments of Technical Cooperation and the Work of Croatian Architects in Kumasi, Ghana (1961–1970)," *Histories of Postwar Architecture*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2020), 38

[211] Bojan Mitrović, "Yugoslavia between socialism and consumerism," in: Ana Peraica (ed.), *Smuggling Anthologies Reader*, Rijeka: Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, 2015, 155

work, "mostly in governmental institutions through the UN's network of technical support, while manual laborers, factory workers and carers found work in western Europe, usually in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland."[212]

International cooperation was mainly based on exporting architectural and urban programs, projects and spatial models, which were tested and functioning in Yugoslavia. However, when it comes to the countries of Africa and the Middle East, the new social context into which the models from Yugoslavia were imported, often "lacked the economic basis, housing policy and many other things, which ultimately led to a very small number of realizations."[213] As Jelica Jovanović points out, the first major project of Yugoslav construction companies abroad was the port of Latakia in Syria (1952), which was built by the Maritime Construction Company [Pomorsko građevinsko preduzeće] from Split. Then followed projects in other locations in Syria, Turkey, Egypt, India, Lebanon, Pakistan and Paraguay, so that by 1969, "Yugoslav construction companies had sites in forty countries across the world, of which 45.8% were in Europe (28.1% Western and 17.7% Eastern), 16% in Asia, and 38.2% in Africa."[214] Energoprojekt, Rad, Tehnika, Mostogradnja, Komgrap, Rade Končar, Energoinvest, Lovćeninžinjering, Hidrogradnja, Smelt and other companies worked abroad, while the Yugoslav IMS prefabricated skeleton system was "applied in more than 150,000 apartments in places such as Italy, Hungary, Cuba, Angola, and the Philippines, further underscoring the exceptional presence of Yugoslavian architectural innovation and production on a world stage."[215]

The architectural legacy of Yugoslav modernism abroad is still being researched because, otherwise incomplete, the archives have been damaged over time, including the Archives of Yugoslavia, the

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[212] Dubravka Sekulić, "The ambiguities of informality: The extra-legal production of space in Belgrade during socialism and after," *dérive – Verein für Stadtforschung* 71 (April–June 2018), special issue, Christoph Laimer (ed.), *Bidonvilles & Bretteldörfer Ein Jahrhundert informeller Stadtentwicklung in Europa*, 40

[213] Mojca Smode Cvitanović, correspondence, April 4, 2021

[214] Jelica Jovanović, "Reversing the Exchange: Yugoslav Architectural Exports to Czechoslovakia," *Histories of Postwar Architecture*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2020), 15

[215] Martino Stierli, "Networks and Crossroads: The Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia as a Laboratory of Globalization in the Cold War," in: Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić (eds.), *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018, 24

archives in countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the archives in countries of the former socialist blocs, such as Czechoslovakia and the USSR. The funding for architectural and urban projects abroad came from Yugoslavia, non-aligned countries, from loans from West Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland), Great Britain, Italy, France, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [Совéт Экономической Взаимопóмощи – СЭВ / Comecon] and other countries. Yugoslav construction companies were also active in the highly demanded petroleum exporting countries (Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Libya, Nigeria), competing with companies from other countries.

Yugoslav companies had to compete constantly for their position on the global market. When they designed projects, they had to assert themselves as the most competent contractors, that is, project implementers. In some countries, however, local laws prohibited the same company from designing and building. As a solution to this problem, Yugoslav companies co-founded mixed-ownership companies with local companies in those countries. This strategy allowed them to be both project designers and contractors, and allowed them to be engaged multiple times in the same country. For example, in the early 1970s, Energoprojekt had 35 joint ventures and representative offices in the world, including those in New York, London and Frankfurt, and in 1985, and 80% of its projects were carried out abroad. Energoprojekt operated as a system through a network of subsidiaries and companies, representative offices and branches in more than 20 countries in the world, mostly implementing large hydro-technical, infrastructural and deforestation projects.

As one of the most successful Yugoslav companies, Enegoprojekt built numerous complexes of different functions abroad: bank headquarters (Uganda 1973, Iraq, 1989), public buildings (Sudan, 1973), the Yugoslav embassy in Zambia (1975), International Trade Fair (Nigeria, 1976), the tallest building in Zambia in 1976 (FINDECO in Lusaka, architects Dušan Milenković and Branimir Ganović). Furthermore, the residential and administrative block Al Khulafa (Iraq, 1980), the ophthalmological clinic (Nigeria, 1981), a complex of 19 ministries in Kuwait (1981), a Naval Academy complex (Libya, 1986), a military hospital (Kuwait, 1987), a complex of two ministries in Nigeria (1987), a stadium (Malaysia, 1988), a building of the political party (Zimbabwe, 1990), hospitals (Zimbabwe, 1991), as well as several hotels and many villas. Energoprojekt's architect

Aleksandar Keković built Yugoslavia's embassy in Bern, Switzerland (1975) which combined elements of Keković's architectural expression "curved concrete elements, dynamically textured facades and modernist flourishes" and elements of Swiss vernacular architecture – "distinct hipped-roof, playful balconies, wide eaves and corbels."[216] Such a combination not only symbolized bilateral cooperation, but also presented one of the most distinctive features of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism—the integration of local architectural specificities, even those beyond the Yugoslav borders.

In addition, Energoprojekt built a series of conference centers that reflected the connection of Yugoslav architecture with the construction of the idea of non-alignment, and its important role in the construction of the "non-aligned modernity" as Dubravka Sekulić phrases it in her research. For the needs of the Third Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (September 8–10, 1970), Energoprojekt designed and built in just 107 days the Conference Hall Mulungushi in Lusaka, Zambia, while for the needs of the Eighth Summit (September 1–6, 1986) it built the Congress Centre and Sheraton Hotel in Harare, Zimbabwe. In Uganda, which was one of the hosts of the Organization of African Unity, Energoprojekt built a conference center in Kampala in 1972. In addition to these, it built conference centers in Liberville (Gabon, 1976, demolished in 2014) and Accra (Ghana, 1991).[217] The reason for Yugoslavia's engagement in such projects lies in the fact that no country at the time seemed better suited for "combining impulses from competing for external centers within programs of national emancipation."[218]

Many of these countries fought for their independence in wars that left them in poverty, without hospitals, schools, and houses.

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[216] Donald Niebyl, "GloboYugo: Investigating Yugoslavia's Embassies Around the World," Feb 17, 2022, revised Apr 5, 2023, last accessed January 11, 2024, <https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/post/globoyugo-investigating-yugoslavia-s-embassies-around-the-world>.

[217] Energoprojekt continued to build conference complexes after 1992, such as the residential-conference complex – Memorial to the Victims of Fao Island in the Shatt al-Arab delta, on the border of Iraq and Kuwait, then a conference hall in Baghdad (Iraq, 1992) and the facility for the Europe-Russian summit in Syzran (Russia, 2007).

[218] Łukasz Stanek, "Yugoslav Architecture across Three Worlds," in: Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić (eds.), *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2018, 85

Questioning whether conference centers were the most necessary for them at that moment, Dubravka Sekulić concludes that it was very important for the non-aligned countries to send Washington and Moscow a picture of 62 state representatives sitting equal to each other at the round conference table in the Conference Hall Mulungushi, showing how non-alignment is equality.[219] Therefore, architecture played a very important role in the construction of that image. In addition, conference centers were a means for these new countries to build themselves, just as the administrative-political center of New Belgrade in Yugoslavia was one of the means to build the new modern society and new country. In Lagos, Nigeria, such importance had one of the largest architectural projects of Energoprojekt in Africa, but also one of the largest projects of architecture of Yugoslav modernism—the International Trade Fair (1974–1977).

Based on seven prefabricated elements, the entire complex of the Nigerian Trade Fair was like a small city that, in addition to pavilions and open-air exhibition spaces, contained a hotel, a motel, a conference hall, a kindergarten, a post office, a bank, water towers and even an artificial lake. It was composed of circular layouts that enabled a water supply for the whole complex and surrounding settlements. In order to realize all this within the given deadline, Energoprojekt, as in its other projects, hired a *quantity surveyor*, who would create the most profitable financial construction based on all regulations and contracts.[220] As a result of their analysis, the traffic access, foundation works and swamp reclamation were carried out by Dutch companies that already worked in Nigeria or nearby countries and had all the machinery. As the lead architect on the project Zoran Bojović explained, bringing machinery and people from Yugoslavia for those purposes would be unprofitable. However, other things were shipped from Yugoslavia: previously designed molds used to cast concrete on

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[219] Dubravka Sekulić, "Constructing Non-Alignment," Theory Lectures Series, Graz: Institut für Zeitgenössische Kunst, 17. 9. 2020; Dubravka Sekulić, "Constructing Non-Alignment: the case of Construction Enterprise Energoprojekt 1961–1989, architecture, construction and Yugoslavia in the world" – doctoral thesis, Zurich: Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, 2020

[220] Zoran Bojović, "Everything is Architecture," in: Dubravka Sekulić, Katarina Krstić and Andrej Dolinka (eds.), *Zoran Bojović: Three Points of Support*, Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2013, 214

the construction site, cement from Dalmatia, designed steel structures, part of the electrical equipment produced by Torpedo from Rijeka and Rade Končar from Zagreb (the rest by German Siemens).[221] Thus, the Trade Fair was assembled on the site from different elements produced mostly in Yugoslavia or on-site by trained local residents supervised by engineers.

The Trade Fair was imagined to expand in the future, "with its pavilions envisaged as an open-ended sequence of walls and decks in reinforced concrete and steel."[222] At the time of its construction, it was "a status symbol," showing how powerful and how much of a leader Nigeria was, "[w]e could afford it, we could have it, and of course, it did try to maintain."[223] Decades later, in the deindustrialized environment, it is partly ruined and partly barely visible under new development.[224] Since 2002, it has been used as an international market with West Africa. Following its circular layout that enabled expansion, 45 new cloisters for different types of products were added around the pavilions (Image 02). All of them are "divided in lines A, B, C, D and E and have 324 shops, and each of them have 4 toilets, two upstairs, two downstairs, both for male and female."[225] Such developments resulted in overcrowding which was not followed with infrastructural development – there is still only one entrance into the whole complex, there is no electric power network so everything is running on aggregates and the accessing roads haven't been repaired nor expanded since their construction.[226] Infrastructural improvements are much needed, but they also increase the land value, which, according to Enyi Ben-Eboh, the president of the Nigerian Institute of Architects, will eventually result in a governmental decision to use the

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[221] *Ibid.*, 216

[222] Stanek, "Yugoslav Architecture across Three Worlds," 86

[223] Tokunbo Omisore, former president of the African Union of Architects and the vice president of Region V of the International Union of Architects, in conversation with Iva Njunjić and Tihomir Dičić, February 20, 2023, in: Njunjić and Dičić, *In Reflections 6°27'48.81"N 3°14'49.20"E*, Pavilion of Republic of Serbia, 18th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia (May 20 – November 26, 2023), Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2023, 105

[224] Enyi Ben-Eboh, the president of the Nigerian Institute of Architects, in conversation with Iva Njunjić and Tihomir Dičić, February 20, 2023, in: Njunjić and Dičić, *op. cit.*, 106

[225] The Honourable Timothy Egbu, in conversation with Iva Njunjić and Tihomir Dičić, February 16, 2023, in: Njunjić and Dičić, *op. cit.*, 99

[226] *Ibid.*

location for something else and to move the Fair, as happened with computer village in Ikeja.[227] The Trade Fair complex thus still has capacity to bring changes; "[l]aunched as a hypothesis of Lagos's urban future, the trade fair continues to produce new ones."[228]

The "Yugoslav way" made various materials available to Yugoslavia through cooperation with many countries, which is why Yugoslav construction companies were very efficient and demanded in many countries, including those of the Eastern Bloc. Jelica Jovanović maps fifty projects in the former Czechoslovakia, carried out by companies from Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia. They started working there in 1965, "under the common banner of the Unioninženjering business association, initially established by the Yugoslav People's Army to facilitate work abroad."[229] As Czechoslovakia couldn't meet the suddenly increased demand for construction, it hired Yugoslav companies to provide mostly "design development, technological know-how, construction services, and materials."[230] Yugoslav companies covered various architectural typologies, ranging from industrial and healthcare facilities to tourist infrastructure, as well as administration, education, and residential buildings.[231] Their work was also promoted in the USSR through exhibitions, but only one 16-storey building with the IMS system was built in Tbilisi, in the Soviet Republic of Georgia (1978–1981). Despite the calculated savings in material and manpower, there is no detailed information on the implementation of this patent in the USSR, which indicates that it was probably "merely exported as a technological product, with no significant impact of Yugoslav building operations on the Soviet market."[232]

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[227] Enyi Ben-Eboh, *op. cit.*, 107

[228] Stanek, "Yugoslav Architecture across Three Worlds," 89

[229] Jovanović, "Reversing the Exchange," 19

[230] *Ibid.*, 11

[231] *Ibid.*, 18

[232] Jovanović, Grbić, Petrović, "Prefabricated Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia," 416
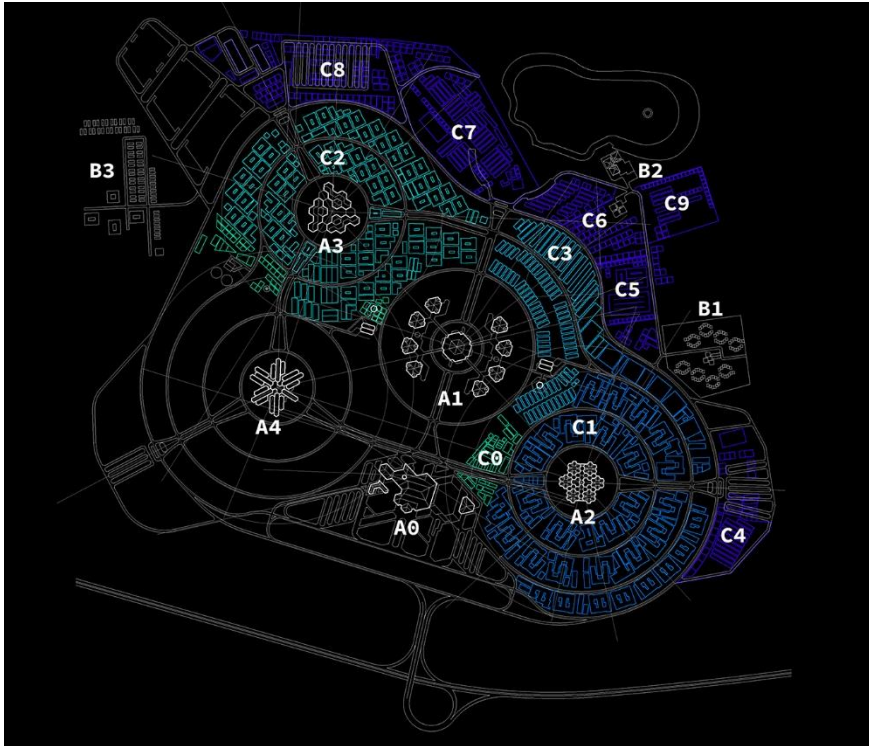
Image 02   Report from the International Trade Fair in Lagos, 2023. Drawing. Private archive of Iva Njunjić and Tihomir Dičić. © Iva Njunjić and Tihomir Dičić

A – Pavilions: A0 Entrance Pavilion, A1 Central Pavilion, A2 Southeast Pavilion, A3 Northwest Pavilion, A4 Southwest Pavilion

B – Fair Complex: B1 Hostel, B2 Resort with hotel, B3 Workers dormitories

C – open markets–hypermarket: C1 BBA market, C2 Aspamda, C3 APT, C4 Muta, C5 ATB, C6 THC, C7 Uaspda, C8 unnamed market, C9 unnamed market, C0 market expansion 2018

Energoprojekt and Unioninžinjering are examples of two different types of Yugoslav construction companies' engagement abroad. In the first case, the Yugoslav company designed an entire project and implemented it on a 'turnkey' basis, while in the second case, the Yugoslav company was usually a contractor and implemented the projects designed by the local architects. There was also a third approach in the form of joint project development, based on the cooperation of local architects and Yugoslav architects and companies. Thus, John Owusu Addo and Yugoslav architects Miro Marasović, Nikša Ciko, Berislav Kalogjera and Nebojša Weiner collaborated on designs and construction of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) campus in Kumasi, Ghana (1968). Such projects reveal how Yugoslavia cooperated with its non-aligned partners, with "continuous and deliberate emphasis on equality as an ideological statement."[233]

International work of Yugoslav construction companies resulted in some innovative technical solutions and evolution of prefabricated patents. In the 1980s, a team working on the Lixeira housing project for 25,000 people in Luanda, Angola, led by architect Ivan Petrović, invented "a special model of the IMS system, which was adapted to one-family housing."[234] While building the Al Khulafa residential and administrative complex in Iraq (1980–1984), Energoprojekt's team led by Zoran Bojović improved a Swiss structural system, which allowed a maximum of 4 floors to be built, in order to build a 12-storey building. On this project, they also came up with a solution of how to use additives and moistening spongious strips to preserve the quality of concrete, since the panels would heat drastically during daytime, evaporate and crack.[235]

Such experiences and projects like the International Fair in Lagos and KNUST in Kumasi point to a wide cultural field in which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism was built and whose elements it incorporated into itself. They also show how the architecture of Yugoslav modernism was not only Yugoslav, nor built or designed only by Yugoslavs. The work of Yugoslav construction companies abroad was significantly conditioned by market competition, short deadlines, available materials and the ability to adapt to climatic conditions.

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[233] Mojca Smode Cvitanović, "Tracing the Non-Aligned Architecture," 63
[234] Jovanović, Grbić, Petrović, "Prefabricated Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia," 417
[235] Bojović, "Everything is Architecture," 225-226

Despite all that, it resulted in numerous buildings and complexes that are considered the highest architectural, cultural and diplomatic achievements of Yugoslav modernism. By building them, Yugoslavia helped local countries to achieve their goals, but it also built its position in the world, and thus itself.

2.3.3. Trade Fairs as Means of Self-Creation

Before the project of the International Fair in Lagos, Yugoslavia established fairs in all its major cities in the mid-1950s. At the time, it also completed new fairgrounds for the fairs in Belgrade and Zagreb, which were established before the war. In addition to their considerable economic function, fairs also had a dual ideological function – they presented Yugoslav socialism to foreign exhibitors and visitors and promoted the idea of modern life to a large number of local residents.

The construction of new Belgrade Fair (arch. Milorad Pantović and eng. Branko Žeželj, Image 03), carried out between 1954 and 1957, "played an important role in the drama of Yugoslav self-invention."[236] From the beginning, the construction was strongly colored by ideological signification, as much as works in New Belgrade on the other bank of the river. The voluntary labor of brigades that prepared the grounds was described as a spectacular of the embodiment of the "Marxian idea of the control and mastering of nature as a prerequisite to social transformation."[237] Ideology also colored the purpose of the Fair, which was seen as "a confirmation of Yugoslavia which opportunistically used its 'natural' powers to break the bonds of 'unnatural' divisions in the world."[238] The Fair was, therefore, directly linked to the intermediary, middle, non-aligned position of Yugoslavia during the Cold War.

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[236] Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Out of the Sand, to Span the Future: The Architectural Image of Yugoslav Socialism in Belgrade," *Centropa*, Vol. 1, No. 13 (January 2013), 50

[237] *Ibid.*, 54

[238] *Ibid.*, 53

Image 03   Belgrade Fair, 1954–1957. Architect: Milorad Pantović, in collaboration with Srboljub Pavlović, Miroslav Simović, Svetislav Simić, Dragoljub Sinđić, Ranko Trbojević, Zorica Velisavljević, Milivoje Todorović, Milorad Mihajlović, Stevan Smiljanski, Aleksandar Šegvić, Igor Palavičini, engineers: Branko Žeželj (Hall 1), Milan Krstić (Hall 2 and Hall 3), Nenad Kokanović (entrance hall), Melanija Jeftić (administrative building). Source: *Arhitektura urbanizam*, 14 (1962), p. 12

The new location for the Belgrade Fair also represented dissociation from the existing fairground complex across the river, built for the First International Spring Belgrade Fair in 1938, but used during the war as a camp for Jews (Semlin Judenlager) and as a detention camp for political prisoners (Semlin Anhaltelager). Despite the fact that it had three well-attended international exhibitions with a number of products and attractions,[239] the new country did not want to use the site of the Nazi war crime for its international and non-aligned presentation. Apart from that, the old fairground was not large or modern enough for the ambitions of the new state of the 1950s. The new project resulted in one of the most technically, technologically and aesthetically important complexes in the history of architecture in Yugoslavia. The Hall 1 comprises a prefabricated dome construction designed by engineer Branko Žeželj, which was added to the complex in an innovative way, never attempted before in history of architecture. For that reason, it has been protected as cultural heritage since 2009.

If the old location had been chosen for the construction of a new fairground, or expansion of the existing one, it would have introduced a large part of infrastructure that would later become part of New Belgrade. In this way, it remains an open question whether construction of New Belgrade would have started earlier if that was done, and whether New Belgrade would look differently if this function was added to its predominantly administrative and residential function. What did not happen in Belgrade, however, happened in Zagreb. The undeveloped, southern bank of the Sava river was chosen for the Great Fair of Zagreb (Velesajam), and its construction "accelerated the construction of the entire infrastructure – from electricity, water supply and sewerage, to roads"[240] in the entire area, which became New Zagreb. From the beginning, the fair had its own pump and water purification system that could also provide water for other parts of Zagreb if necessary.

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[239] At the Fair, the first television broadcast in the Balkans took place at the Philips pavilion, while the first Yugoslav paratrooper Katarina Matanović used Škoda's steel tower to practice.

[240] Borka Bobovec, Ivan Mlinar, Domagoj Sentić, "Zagreb Trade Fair as an Incentive for the Development of New Zagreb Centre," *Prostor: A Scholarly Journal of Architecture and Urban Planning*, Vol. 20, No. 43 (2012), 188

Velesajam in Zagreb was opened in 1956 and its structure was significantly different from the new Belgrade Fair. It contained pavilions of other countries that financed their construction – USSR, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Hungary, China, East Germany, West Germany, USA, Romania, Greece, Poland, and Austria. These pavilions were designed by either foreign or Yugoslav architects. It also contained pavilions of Yugoslav companies that also financed their construction – Mašinogradnja, Iskra, Slovenijales, Lesnina, Energoinvest, Rade Končar, Đuro Đaković and others, as well as a congress hall, administrative center, customs warehouse and workshops. Conceived and implemented in this way, Velesajam was "a place where the Eastern and Western blocs traded with each other, and also competed in terms of presentation and exhibition."[241] It was also a place that in the 1960s gave a strong accent to "the promotion and development of Non-Aligned countries, which mirrored the foreign policy of Yugoslavia and its international cooperation relations."[242]

Most of the pavilions were finished before the opening, or in the early 1960s, but the Velesajam was essentially never finished. The Pavilion of Nations was never realized, nor the second pavilion of the USA that was planned for 1965 (arch. Ivan Vitić). Over time, new facilities and pavilions were added, due to a lack of space and the need for more attractive and profitable services. The first major change was made in 1979 when, for the needs of the European Figure Skating Championships, an auxiliary skating rink was built within the pavilion of West Germany, which is still in use today. In addition, the Pavilion of Tourism, built in 1959, was demolished in the meantime, while the Family and Household pavilion was dismantled and rebuilt in the city center, but it later burned down. In 1991, there was an open call for the construction of the World Trade Centre with a hotel within the Velesajam complex, but the project was not realized. Today, seven pavilions are under the protection of the Republic of Croatia as architectural heritage because of their monumental value, and another five pavilions because of their ambiental value.

Although several pavilions within the Zagreb Velesajam represent masterpieces of Yugoslav architecture, one of them stands out in particular – the modernist Mašinogradnja pavilion, designed in

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[241] Lana Lovrenčić, "The Zagreb Fair," in: Mrduljaš and Kulić (eds.), *Unfinished Modernisations*, 135

[242] *Ibid.*

1957 by Božidar Rašica, a member of the EXAT 51 group.[243] Based on the group's intentions to make modern design and abstract forms dominant in Yugoslav art and architecture, Rašica designed the pavilion as a simple geometric form, applying the latest materials and giving it a completely transparent, glass facade. This pavilion attracted the attention of Orson Welles, who filmed within it several scenes for *The Trial* (1962), and got a specific analogy abroad in the Yugoslav pavilion for the 1958 World Exhibition in Brussels, designed by Vjenceslav Richter, also a member of the EXAT 51 group.

The Yugoslav pavilion at the 1958 World Exhibition also had a modernist, abstract form and glass façades. Vladimir Kulić points out that the glass façades and the overall pavilion design were interpreted strictly politically by foreign journalists and critics, as a mirror of Yugoslav politics. Its modernist construction was interpreted as "a symptom of the country's break from the Soviet orbit," its "transparency, the open ground floor, and the absence of any doors were understood as analogous to Yugoslavia's openness to foreigners, in sharp contrast to the countries behind the Iron Curtain."[244] Its modest size, which was different from the megalomaniacal pavilions of the countries of the great powers, was interpreted as turning to human values. The positive reception of the pavilion "was in itself a political message and an important source of external legitimation for the Yugoslav socialist project."[245] After the Exhibition, the pavilion was sold to Belgium, dismantled, and moved to Wavelgem where it still serves as a high school.

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[243] Members if the group EXAT 51 (abbreviated from Experimental Studio) were architect and sculptor Vjenceslav Richter, architect and designer Bernardo Bernardi, painter and sculptor Aleksandar Srnec, architects Zdravko Bregovac, Zvonimir Rajić and Vladimir Zarahović, painter, graphic designer and artist Ivan Picelj, architect, stage designer and painter Božidar Rašica, as well as an animator, director and painter Vladimir Kristl. The group was founded in 1951 in Zagreb and active until 1956. It mostly advocated for abstract art and the synthesis of architecture, fine arts and applied arts. The activity of members based on these principles strongly influenced the formation of Yugoslav modernism as a style, that is, turn to abstract forms in art and architecture.

[244] Vladimir Kulić, "The Scope of Socialist Modernism: Architecture and State Representation in Postwar Yugoslavia," in: Vladimir Kulić, Timothy Parker and Monica Penick (eds.), *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Postwar Identities*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014, 49

[245] *Ibid*., 48

Richter went several steps further in designing Yugoslav pavilions for the 1961 International Labor Exhibition (specialized EXPO) in Turin and for the XIII Triennale di Milano in 1964. The theme of the Turin EXPO (May 1 – October 31, 1961) was *Man and his Work – A Century of Technological and Social Developments: Achievements and International Labor*. The central exhibit of the Yugoslav pavilion was self-management, the very core of Yugoslav modernism and socialism. Richter's open, ephemeral pavilion was placed within the main venue of the EXPO – Palazzo del Lavoro (Palace of Labor), designed by architects Luigi and Antonio Nervi, and it comprised of series of circular segments that presented an introduction to self-management, cultural achievements, models of workers' councils, social results and workers' unions. Additionally, a tri-dimensional interactive installation engaged visitors in participative activity that not only presented, but symbolically enacted self-management, with the help of artistic media. The entire Richter's pavilion was "the microcosm of Yugoslav life, abstracted and aestheticized in its totality, creating an image of prosperity, lightness, progress and openness, and even direct participation of the visitors."[246] Using the abstract language of modernism, Richter achieved "creating and realizing multi-layered program pattern, full of narrative analogies (lightness, transparency as a reflection of social freedoms and justice)."[247]

The theme of the XIII Triennale di Milano (June 12 – September 27, 1964) was *Leisure* and, unlike the EXPO, the Triennale focused on modern industrial, architectural and decorative arts. Richter's design for the Yugoslav pavilion at the Triennale resulted in a series of vertically positioned, sliding slats. They had fragments of photographs painted on them, so the pavilion was a specific interactive object between architecture, sculpture and installation; a spatial and visual puzzle that the visitors could play with during their free time by sliding slats and connecting the images. Richter's pavilions in Turin and Milan were a synthesis of exhibition displays, ephemeral structures within permanent architectural structures, installations, exhibits and art, resulting in interactive installations/pavilions that presented

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[246] Miljana Zeković, Dragana Konstantinović, Višnja Žugić, *Koncepti, programi i funkcije arhitektonskih projekata paviljonskih struktura* [*Concepts, Programs and Functions of Architectural Projects of Pavilion Structures*], Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 2018, 127

[247] *Ibid.*

Yugoslavia through its highest values of the time—workers' self-management and workers' free time. Participation of visitors in playful, interactive sets is a special value of those pavilions that "essentially supports the theme of SELF-management, where the system is created and made by people."[248] These pavilions testify to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism including changeable, interactive and temporary structures that initiated activities of people within them. They also present, as entire Richter's oeuvre, "an avant-garde form of thinking about architecture and art always placed in social-ideological frameworks, which aim to activate, encourage and follow the development of the new socialist society, not as its criticism, but as its cultural stronghold."[249]

For Yugoslavia, the fair complexes and pavilions, both within its borders and at world exhibitions organized by other countries, were a means of presenting an ideology based on the "middle way," a symbol of its intermediary position between the divided world. The new Belgrade Fair was promoted as the embodiment of the mediating ideology; from the selection of the location to the preparations of the land. Velesajam in Zagreb was a specific means by which Yugoslavia was an intermediary between the Eastern Bloc, the Western Bloc and the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, but also the means to promote products and services of Yugoslav companies to all three markets. The international fairs in Yugoslavia were the only ones that "at the time of the cold relations between capitalist and socialist countries, were equally visited by exhibitors from all countries, with special emphasis on non-aligned countries, which then became an important market."[250] Tourism and tourist architecture had a similar mediating role in Yugoslavia.

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[248] *Ibid.*, 127

[249] Zeković, Konstantinović, Žugić, *op. cit.*, 131. A permanent and changeable structure with interactive displays would be Richter's Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities in New Belgrade. However, the building was never completed. See chapters 3.3.2. and 3.4.1.

[250] Bobovec, Mlinar, Sentić, "Zagreb Trade Fair," 189

2.3.4. Tourist Complexes – From the Right to Vacation to the Means of International Representation

During the interwar period, the concept of resorts developed simultaneously in different European countries. In 1921, a decree of the Soviets guaranteed that summer houses, which were once only available to the aristocracy and nobility, would provide rest and leisure for millions of working people. In 1936, the International Labor Organization adopted a Convention on paid annual leave that should last at least six days, which was extended to fifteen days by the Popular Front in France.[251] As a consequence, several programs were developed in various countries to institutionalize holidays: "'Dopolavoro' ('After Work') in Fascist Italy, 'Kraft durch Freude' ('Strength through Joy') in National Socialist Germany, family holiday villages under the Front Populaire in France, Billy Butlin's Holiday Camps in the UK, and workers' union camps in social-democratic Sweden."[252] Most of the resorts were of individual type, intended for workers, while the concept of family vacation resorts was developed later. This period also saw the birth of the concept of children's resorts, which were massively built after the war.

In Yugoslavia, the Decree on Paid Annual Leave was passed in 1946. The Workers' Resorts Fund was established in the same year, and each worker was deducted 0.3% of their salary for this purpose. In the following two years about 30 resort facilities were built from the Fund, however, only the members of the Union, who were seen as the most deserving workers, could use them.[253] Facilities of lower quality and resort camps were available to other workers. Nevertheless, during 1948, when Yugoslavia was still suffering from famine, isolation and the consequences of the war, "the new regime managed to organize the holidays of 1.5 million Yugoslav tourists to the national

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[251] Ines Tanović and Boriša Mraović, "The Contradictions of the Break-up. The Working People, Organised Holidays and Indivisible Remains," in: Knežević and Miletić (eds.), *We Have Built Cities for You*, 219

[252] Michael Zinganel and Elke Beyer, "'Beside the seaside…' Architectures of a modern global longing," in: Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann and Michael Zinganel (eds.), *Holidays after the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*, Berlin: Jovis, 2013, 38

[253] Живанчевић, „Социјалистички реализам", 176–177

seaside."[254] The minimal annual leave was increased to 12 days in 1958, then to 14 days in 1965, and finally to 18 days in 1973. The annual vacation was thus completely institutionalized, "it did not leave any choice to either workers or companies – one just had to take a holiday."[255] Part of that institutionalization was the rapid construction of resort complexes, and the state soon realized that, apart from the workers' and military resorts, it could also build commercial tourist facilities.

Tourism, however, did not immediately become a profitable branch of the Yugoslav economy. In 1958, tourism "still produced only seven million dollars a year, whereas help from Yugoslavs abroad amounted to an impressive sixteen million dollars. It was only in 1962 that the revenue from tourism would reach the level of emigre aid."[256] The modernization of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast through tourism began in the 1960s, and more extensively in the 1970s. Apart from the construction of accommodation facilities, such modernization included a series of new collective and public services and infra-structural support such as "commercial-service centers, sports facil-ities, congress halls, car parks, gastro centers, beach equipment rentals, night clubs, bars, public transport services, parks and landscape arrangements and the expansion of the *lungomare* network."[257] All these services were Yugoslavia's effort to offer itself as an attractive holiday destination, but also an indication that it did not approach tourists as passive consumers, but as active participants who created social space of their resorts by their demands. As a result, on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, "there is almost no hotel, campsite, beach arrangement or piece of tourist infrastructure that did not have its programmatic offering and morphological appearance modified and/or enlarged within the first years after its completion."[258] The tourist branch of the Yugoslav economy, which at its beginning in 1949 had only a few thousand beds, in 1987 "had over 1.3 million beds in

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[254] Mitrović, "Yugoslavia between socialism and consumerism," 154

[255] Tanović and Mraović, "The Contradictions of the Break-up," 221

[256] Mitrović, "Yugoslavia between socialism and consumerism," 151

[257] Dafne Berc, "The Intrinsic Qualities of Yugoslav Tourism Heritage: Interrelation of Architecture and Planning," in: Nataša Bodrožić and Saša Šimpraga (eds.), *Motel Trogir: It is not Future that Always Comes After*, Zagreb: Loose Associations and Eindhoven: Onomatopee, 2016, 46

[258] *Ibid.*, 54

various types of accommodation capacities,"[259] almost all of which were built by 1975. In connection with that, the number of overnight stays by foreign guests increased from 2 million in 1957 to 26 million in 1974.[260]

The tourist complexes that were built on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast were based on a common interest and they aimed to fit into the built heritage and natural environment. Maroje Mrduljaš classifies them into nine types: (1) tower/vertical slab, (2) horizontal block, elevated, (3) horizontal block, sculpturally remodeled, (4) atrium, (5) Y/double-Y layout, (6) pavilions, dotted about the landscape, (7) bands, embedded in the landscape, (8) terraced structures, and (9) densified village, Mediterranean style. As an example of a tourist complex in which several of these types are collaged, Mrduljaš singles out Haludovo on Krk that spread over 25ha (arch. Boris Magaš, 1971/72, Image 04).[261] While the first four types were mostly built during the 1960s, the other types were developed during the 1970s, however, "gradation from public to semi-public to private or intimate spaces was structurally incorporated into all tourist projects."[262] As a result, they were publicly visible, partly publicly accessible, and thus became part of the local terrain and collective memory.

The gradation of public and private spaces, along with variations in volume articulation and large-scale buildings, are some of the structuralist concepts and building types that "were first explored in (or parallel to) the tourist architecture [...] only then to be applied again, later, to the mass housing sector."[263] The architecture of Yugoslav tourism was, thus, a kind of playground for experimenting with different structures, dynamics and building typologies, as well as with their relationship to the natural environment. On the other hand, some structures, such as terraced structures, were applied from housing and were used "mostly in the construction of exclusive hotel facilities,"[264] due to the high costs of their construction.

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[259] Tanović and Mraović, "The Contradictions of the Break-up," 222

[260] Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, 386

[261] Maroje Mrduljaš, "Building the Affordable Arcadia. Tourism development on the Croatian Adriatic coast under state socialism," in: Beyer, Hagemann and Zinganel (eds.), *Holidays after the Fall*, 177

[262] Berc, "The Intrinsic Qualities of Yugoslav Tourism Heritage," 48

[263] Mrduljaš, "Building the Affordable Arcadia," 191

[264] Стојиљковић, „Структурализам у архитектури Југославије", 329

Image 04   The central hub of the Haludovo resort on island Krk – Hotel palace
                  and the open-air pool. Architect: Boris Magaš, 1971/1972. Postcard
                  printed by Turistkomerc, Zagreb

The main contribution of the Yugoslav tourist resorts is that they "helped to create the morphology and image of the artificial social environments of the Yugo-Mediterranean *leisurescapes*."[265] Such an environment attracted many guests, including statesmen of 'Eastern,' 'Western' and non-aligned countries, film personalities such as Orson Welles, and other celebrities and intellectuals. The most luxurious Yugoslav resorts produced "some unusual political juxtapositions, for example, by allowing wealthy Americans to gamble side by side with the likes of the nonaligned leader Muammar el-Gaddafi."[266] Such encounters promoted Yugoslavia as an attractive destination while the luxurious resorts served to "showcase a country's economic and social performance".[267] Everything in these resorts reflected Yugoslav modernist aspirations and achievements, especially the interiors of common spaces within hotels, which became

> museums of modern art, in a sense, with collections that included diverse artistic genres and media – paintings, murals, tapestries, reliefs, mosaics, and custom-designed furniture and textiles – and so disseminated and prompted modern culture among both foreign and domestic tourists.[268]

The synthesis of high modernism, fine and applied arts, advocated by the members of the EXAT 51 group, gained its greatest visibility precisely through tourist architecture. High-profile tourism architecture "became a rapidly growing sphere of state-of-the-art design experimentation."[269] When decorating interiors, great attention was paid to common spaces, while the rooms themselves were generally simply decorated, which reflected the ideological position that "'the collective' was more of a priority than 'the individual'."[270] Tourism, with its economic and marketing power,

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[265] Berc, "The Intrinsic Qualities of Yugoslav Tourism Heritage," 55

[266] Vladimir Kulić, *Building Babylon: Architecture, Hospitality, and the Non-Aligned Globalization*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 2015, 10

[267] Zinganel and Beyer, "'Beside the seaside…'," 42–43

[268] Mrduljaš, "Building the Affordable Arcadia," 198/201

[269] Irena Šentevska and Maroje Mrduljaš, "Remembering Haludovo: The Penthouse Years and What Came Later," *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (2021), 510

[270] Mrduljaš, "Building the Affordable Arcadia," 201

"played a significant role in social transformation,"[271] it was "a playground in which both the 'good' and the 'bad' aspects of contemporary consumer culture were being adopted,"[272] and in time became "a tool of state legitimization and Yugoslav branding."[273]

2.3.5. Architecture for Culture and Tertiary Education – From Plastic Forms to Hybrid Complexes

According to Dragana Konstantinović, architecture for culture represents a paradigmatic fragment of social reality because it shows that the cultural network was conceptualized in such a way that it went beyond enlightening and acquired a wider social function.[274] In addition, specialized types represented "a conscious form of cultural representation, and above all a display of cultural liberalization, which gradually hybridized the programmatic principles of the current social system and cultural-technological aspirations beyond its borders."[275] As Kenny Cupers points out, cultural objects represented architecture that aimed to "facilitate the participation and interaction of its users."[276]

The first post-war years were characterized by establishing governmental and administrative institutions and solving the housing crisis, but, as Mihailo Lujak notes, also the open competitions for supranational (Yugoslav) cultural institutions, such as the Modern Gallery (1948), the Great Yugoslav Opera (1948) and the Military

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[271] Karin Taylor and Hannes Grandits, "Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia – An Introduction," in: Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*, Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010, 7-8

[272] *Ibid.*, 12

[273] *Ibid.*, 20

[274] Dragana Konstantinović, „Programske osnove jugoslovenske arhitekture: 1945–1980" [Programmatic Foundations of Yugoslav Architecture: 1945–1980] – doctoral dissertation, Novi Sad: Fakultet političkih nauka, 2013, 131

[275] *Ibid*.

[276] Kenny Cupers, "The Infrastructure of Participation: Cultural Centres in Postwar Europe," in: Martino Stierli and Mechtild Widrich (eds.), *Participation in Art and Architecture: Spaces of Interaction and Occupation*, I.B.Tauris, 2016, 22

Museum (1949).[277] None of these projects were realized at the time due to the great economic crisis, but they bear witness to the importance that representative cultural objects had for the identity of the new state and for the formation of Yugoslav architectural expression. According to Dragana Konstantinović, further development of architecture for culture was influenced by the introduction of workers' self-management "which was also transferred to the field of culture and cultural policies."[278] It was also influenced by the implementation of decentralization, which "established the distribution of cultural objects and scope of their action: from those in the centers of people's daily needs, such as local communities and local cultural centers, over those in the urban centers of the social life of the wider community – city or settlement, to the most representative ones, specialized in their functions."[279] Lujak analyses the way in which these changes influenced the development of Yugoslav architectural expression through cultural objects in two periods – from 1957 to 1965, and from 1965 to 1974.

During the first period, mainly buildings that commemorated revolution and people's liberation struggle were built, all of which "had a supranational character with a prominent role of representing the independent achievements of the Yugoslav socialist society."[280] As the most significant architectural objects of this group, Lujak highlights the Museum of the People's Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (arch. Edo Šmidihen, Boris Magaš, Radovan Horvat, 1958–1963), the unrealized Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities in New Belgrade (arch. Vjenceslav Richter, 1961), the Museum of the Revolution in Rijeka (arch. Neven Šegvić, 1972–1976), architectural objects designed by Ivan Vitić: the Museum of Labor Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina in Novi Sad (1959–1966), the Hall of the Yugoslav People's

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277 Михаило Лујак, „Промена парадигме архитектонско-урбанистичких конце-пата на објектима културе у процесу конституисања југословенског културног простора у периоду од 1947. до 1974" [Paradigm Change in Architectural and Urban Concepts of Cultural Objects in the Process of Constituting the Yugoslav Cultural Space 1947–1974] – doctoral dissertation, Београд: Архитектонски факултет, 2012, 3

278 Konstantinović, „Programske osnove jugoslovenske arhitekture", 171

279 *Ibid*.

280 Лујак, „Промена парадигме архитектонско-урбанистичких концепата", 4

Army in Šibenik (1960–1961) and the Hall of the Yugoslav People's Army in Komiža on Vis (1961–1967).

During this period were also built international and supranational museums and memorial complexes that "had a significant socially-representative role,"[281] such as the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, the Museum "May 25th" in Belgrade (arch. Mihailo Janković, 1962) and the Memorial Museum "October 21st" with the memorial park in Kragujevac (arch. Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1965–1976). All these museums have in their archives photographs of numerous visits of foreign officials, which testify that Yugoslavia presented itself internationally through museums dedicated to the anti-fascist struggle, commemoration of the victims of the Nazi regime and international modern art. It also presented itself through modern buildings for these institutions that, like other examples of architecture for culture built before 1965, reflect the use of architectural objects as expressive plastic bodies.[282]

After 1965, a change in the architectural conception occurred, thus, a building for cultural institution was

> formed as a heterogeneous set of different and individual spatial entities and program contents that form a complex unique spatial entity, i.e. the composition of the building. The architecture for culture ceases to be a consequence of the realization of certain expressive forms, becoming a spatial action created as a result of the integration of the space of the building and its content or events for which it is intended.[283]

The most representative buildings of this period are, according to Lujak, the National Library of Serbia (arch. Ivo Kurtović, 1966–1973), the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (arch. Boris Čipan, 1969–1976), the Sutjeska Battle Memorial Hall at Tjentište (arch. Ranko Radović, 1966–1971), the Memorial Hall in Kolašin (arch. Marko Mušič, 1970–1975), the Memorial Hall for Fighters and Youth in the People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia in Kumrovec (arch. Ivan Filipčić and Berislav Šerbetić, 1972–1974), the Memorial Home "Mitar Trifunović Učo" in Bosanski Šamac (arch. Marko Mušič, 1974–1976)

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[281] *Ibid.*
[282] *Ibid.*
[283] *Ibid*, 5

and the unfinished Home of the Revolution in Nikšić (arch. Marko Mušič, 1976).

When it comes to the difference between the buildings from the 1960s and later, Mila Đurđev and Maja Momirov draw a similar conclusion, after analyzing spatial and morphological characteristics of facilities for cultural houses and cultural centers in relation to their programs. Among the buildings they analyzed were those that were purposefully built for cultural institutions during the SFRY: the complex of buildings of the Children's Cultural Centre with the "Duško Radović" Little Theatre and the Radio-Television Belgrade (arch. Ivan Antić, 1963–1967), the Belgrade Youth Centre (arch. Dragoljub Filipović, Momčilo Belobrk and Zoran Tasić, 1961–1964), the House of Culture in Čačak (arch. Luj Švever, 1970), the House of Culture "Oslobođenje" ["Liberation"] in Novi Pazar (arch. Tomislav Milanović, 1973), the House of Culture "Studentski grad" ["Student City"] in Belgrade (arch. Milan Mitrović, 1974), the Cultural Centre in Zrenjanin (arch. Svetislav Ličina, 1978), the Cultural Centre in Požarevac (arch. Miloš Bojović, 1982) and the Cultural Centre in Smederevo (arch. Milica Šterić, 1982). The authors concluded that there is a noticeable difference in the architectural expression of buildings from the 1960s and those built later. The first architectural expression is "under the strong influence of early modernism, with very reduced lines, regular geometry, flat roofs, with pronounced horizontals and spacious glass surfaces. The complexity of their function cannot be easily discerned behind the uniforming façade."[284] In contrast, the complex function of the buildings built during the 1970s and 1980s was directly reflected in their spatial compositions, so one can clearly notice the differentiation of units and dynamics of volumes of different shapes, scales and heights.[285]

We also notice this change in the facilities of universities and faculties, over an even longer period. For example, the building of the Faculty of Agriculture in Novi Sad (arch. Milena Đorđević and Sibin

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[284] Mila Đurđev i Maja Momirov „Programsko prostorne i morfološke karakteristike objekata domova kulture i kulturnih centara u Republici Srbiji" [Programming, Spatial and Morphological Characteristics of Cultural Houses and Cultural Centres Facilities in Republic of Serbia], u: Radivoje Dinulović, Dragana Konstantinović, Miljana Zeković (ur.), *Arhitektura objekata domova kulture u Republici Srbiji*, Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 2014, 156

[285] *Ibid*.

Đorđević, project 1954, construction 1956–1966) is characterized by clean forms of four blocks paired in parallels on a rectangular basis, all of which are accessed from a central circular hall that connects them. The faculty buildings from later periods have noticeable differentiation of units and dynamics of volumes. Thus, the building of the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law in Novi Sad (arch. Aleksandar Stjepanović, Ljiljana Jovanović-Anđelković and Božidar Janković, 1973–80) is characterized by expressive and dynamic Brutalist form that 'pours over' into the surrounding open space with volumes of its classrooms, amphitheater and libraries (Image 05). In the center of the building is a common open space in the form of a multi-story atrium (forum) with transparent roof and concrete furniture that the architects used for exteriors in their earlier projects. A specific precursor to this form is the building of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade (arch. Aleksandar Stjepanović, Božidar Janković, Mihailo Naslas, 1964/1975, 1980), conceived as a part of the University of Arts that was never fully realized. It is characterized by an elongated, structural shape that follows various contents of the building (halls, classrooms, studios, etc.) and several transparent segments of the roof. The building was imagined to connect to other academies within the campus of the University of Arts.

Over time, the complexity of structures, related to the functions of cultural institutions, began to lead to hybrid complexes. In some cases, monuments to the People's Liberation Struggle and the Victims of Fascism became complexes containing museums, parks, leisure centers (restaurants, motels), they became outdoor 'classrooms,' "hybrid complexes that merged leisure with an educational objective; architecture with sculpture; object with landscape."[286] Such an approach was even necessary because memorial complexes were built in places of war battles or mass war crimes that were far from cities. Within urban structures, cultural objects grew into hybrid congress-cultural-business-hotel complexes like the Sava Centre in New Belgrade (arch. Stojan Maksimović, 1976–1981), or into hybrid megastructures that combined sports, commercial, leisure and cultural facilities.

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[286] Robert Burghardt and Gal Kirn, "Yugoslavian Partisan Memorials: Hybrid Memorial Architecture and Objects of Revolutionary Aesthetics," in: Valerie Smith (ed.), *Between Walls and Windows: Architecture and Ideology*, Berlin: NODE, 84

Image 05   Faculty of Law (lower part) and Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad.
                  Architects: Aleksandar Stjepanović, Ljiljana Jovanović-Anđelković
                  and Božidar Janković, 1973–1980. The Faculty of Law was
                  completed in 1989, however the authors renounced the authorship
                  over it, since during the implementation there was a significant
                  deviation from the project. In the back: segment of the Faculty of
                  Agriculture (one of four wings). Architects: Milena Đorđević and
                  Sibin Đorđević, 1954/1956–1966. Source: WikiMedia Commons;
                  author: BokicaK, uploaded under the Creative Commons
                  Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license on January 13, 2011

2.3.6. **Sports-Commercial-Cultural Complexes**

Hybrid megastructures that combined sports, commercial and cultural contents were built mostly on the occasion of major international sports events and played a significant role both in the symbolic representation of Yugoslavia and in the urban and social development of the cities in which they were built. They are perhaps the most representative legacy of Yugoslav socialism, in the true sense; hybrids of cultural, social and symbolic heritage. While modernism generally sought to separate functions, such complexes tended to unite them, and in Yugoslavia they managed to "embody the then prevalent understanding of social solidarity, prosperity and public good and successfully internalize and reconcile the values of self-management socialism and a growing consumerism."[287]

The economic model based on workers' self-management resulted in greater production and economic growth so that "in just 15 years, from 1956 to 1972, the standard of living increased by three and a half times."[288] This directly influenced the appearance of consumer culture, that is, of pleasure in choosing products and in consumption that was not necessary for survival. The consumption rate in Yugoslavia was close to that of industrial societies: from 1952 to 1973, the number of cars per inhabitant increased 136 times, the consumption of furniture and household equipment increased from 4.8 to 10.2%, the number of electric stoves increased from 1.0 to 194.6 per 1,000 inhabitants, electricity consumption increased by more than 21 times.[289] This resulted in the fact that the purchasing power of Yugoslavs at the end of the 1970s was at its peak, and Yugoslavia was considered a part of consumer society.

Along with the development of consumer culture in Yugoslavia, the typology of department stores also developed, so they began to strive for artistic expressiveness, not just functionality. In Belgrade, among the largest department stores was Beograđanka

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[287] Lidija Butković Mićin, "Živorad Janković: Architectural Nomadism in the Yugoslav Cultural Space," in: Nataša Bodrožić; Lidija Butković Mićin and Saša Šimpraga (eds.), *Consumer Culture Landscapes in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Zagreb: Loose Associations and Eindhoven: Onomatopee 152, 2018, 373
[288] Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, 387
[289] *Ibid*.

within the Belgrade Palace (arch. Branko Pešić, 1969–1974), in Novi Sad those were Stoteks (arch. Milan Mihelič, 1968–1972) and Nork (arch. Milan Matović, 1982), in Rijeka the Ri department store (arch. Ninoslav Kučan, 1970–74), in Split there are Prima (arch. Antun Šatara, 1961–1964) and Dalma (arch. Vuko Bombardelli, 1967–1973), in Bar the Izbor department store (arch. Batrić Mijović, 1980–1984), in Skopje the City department store (arch. Živko Popovski, 1969–1973), in Sarajevo Unima (arch. Vladimir Zaharović, 1975), in Banja Luka the Boska department store (arch. Velimir Neidhardt, 1973–1978).

Shopping centers, which also provided different services, had developed since the 1960s within the larger residential blocks to accommodate people's everyday needs. They contained department stores, a restaurant, a pastry shop, a pharmacy, a hair salon, a textile store, a tailor's shop and other facilities. Over time, they grew into hybrid sports-business-cultural complexes, which were built for the territories of entire cities and were specific social centers for even greater areas, such as entire provinces, regions or republics. Such hybrid complexes were the size of one entire residential area according to CIAM's urban planning scheme. They were micro-urban projects, usually built in medium-sized cities, but never the outskirts of cities because they were supposed to be accessible to all citizens. As a result, they changed the centrality of cities and became new modern, social centers that influenced the further urban development and social habits of citizens. As a case study, we depict four such hybrid centers built by architect Živorad Janković and his associates in Sarajevo, Split, Priština and Novi Sad, focusing on the development of their typology and the importance they have had for those cities.

Janković designed Skenderija in Sarajevo with architect Halid Muhasilović and construction engineer Ognjeslav Malkin. The complex combines sports, cultural, shopping, dining and entertainment facilities and was built in response to the needs of the tenants of newly built mass housing districts. These different functions were distributed in separate buildings, and only two construction phases of the entire complex were finished by 1969, while the third phase was abandoned. Seemingly completely independent buildings of the complex are connected by a square and pedestrian zones that connect different contents, reflecting the urban organism of Baščaršija, the old city center built in the XIV century. Pedestrian zones also enable vital

communication with the observer, reflecting "a new architectural vocabulary that was then created."[290] The buildings are also connected by a recognizable style of construction using bare concrete, which makes Skenderija a "rare example of building in bare concrete in Sarajevo."[291]

This separation of buildings and their connection with pedestrian zones is also characteristic of the Gripe sports complex with the Koteks commercial center in Split, which Janković realized with the architect Slaven Rožić as part of the preparations for the 8th Mediterranean Games in 1979. Being on the Adriatic coast, in Mediterranean climate, this complex is characterized by a large percentage of open "empty" public space, such as cascading squares, amphitheater staircases, terraces, and "[e]lements of the Mediter- ranean urban inventory (walkways, shaded terraces, pergolas, plazas, scalinates) have been adopted on a hypertrophied scale and represent an open urban public space."[292] In addition to sports, office and sales areas, the complex contains a spacious underground garage that can be expanded, a bank, a pastry shop, a luxury restaurant and a discotheque. The Koteks business center, although part of the same entity, was built after the Games in 1981 and represents the most complex example of the architectural typology of department stores in Yugoslavia of the time. It "brought about a change in the form of trading, as its shopping area was shared by a number of lease-holding companies,"[293] and yet it was the opposite of the closed shopping centers on the periphery because the shop windows connected it to the open public space. Such "adaptation to the Mediterranean made it a permanent landscape of leisure."[294]

The Gripe-Koteks sports-commercial complex is "a rare Split example of an ambitious spatial planning project fully carried out

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[290] Mirza Mehaković, „Naslijeđe zrele moderne u Sarajevu" [Legacy of Late Modernism in Sarajevo] , *Tristotrojka – studentski časopis – arhitektura, dizajn i umjetnost*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (Feb. 2016), 6

[291] *Ibid.*

[292] Sanja Matijević Barčot, "All Roads Lead to Koteks," in: Bodrožić, Butković Mićin and Šimpraga (eds.), *Consumer Culture Landscapes*, 201

[293] *Ibid.*, 188

[294] Diana Magdić, „Koteks – najbolje od Splita osamdesetih" [Koteks – the best of 1980s Split], *Pogledaj.to*, February 24, 2015, <http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/koteks- najbolje-od-splita-osamdesetih>, last accessed April 9, 2021

according to the original concept."[295] It was built as part of the extensive preparations for the Mediterranean Games, which included investments in the communal, traffic, technological and cultural infrastructure of Split. During that process, a double track for the city-suburbs railway was placed, construction of the "Marjan" tunnel was completed, the old customs warehouse in the city port was converted into a modern marine passenger terminal for domestic and international transport, the airport was completed, a section of the Adriatic Highway connecting to the airport was renovated for the first and only time after its construction in 1965. In addition, several public facilities were built – a modern roofed city stadium with 40,000 seats, pools, a shooting center in Stobreč, a brand-new building of the Croatian National Theatre in Split and a well-equipped radio and television center.[296]

The infrastructural preparations in Split were equally co-financed by the City of Split, the Federal Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, according to the social agreement from 1976.[297] Already in 1980, a year after the Mediterranean Games, such events were no longer perceived as joint endeavor. That year, the preparations for the 14th Winter Olympic Games, hosted by Sarajevo, began, which led to a debate about the financing of such events, that is, the sources of investment in the infrastructure of the host cities.[298] As a result of that debate, the remaining two sports-business-cultural complexes of Živorad Janković in Pristina and Novi Sad were built mostly by funds from the contribution of citizens. In Pristina, citizens set aside 2% of their salary for that purpose, while the self-contributions of the people of Novi Sad financed as much as 70% of the construction of the Vojvodina City Sports Centre (SPENS), while the second largest investor was the Vojvodina Lottery with 18%.

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[295] Darovan Tušek, "Emblems of Modern Split," in: Bodrožić, Butković Mićin and Šimpraga (eds.), *Consumer Culture Landscapes*, 219

[296] Dragan Markovina, "The 1979 Mediterranean Games: A Crucial Step in the Modernization of Split," in: Bodrožić, Butković Mićin and Šimpraga (eds.), *Consumer Culture Landscapes*, 173/177

[297] *Ibid.*, 165

[298] Kate Meehan Pedrotty, "Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games," in: Grandits and Taylor (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side*, 349

Images 06, 07   City Sports Centre / Sports and Business Centre Vojvodina / SPENS, Novi Sad, part of the exterior and of the interior. Architects: Živorad Janković, Duško Bogunović and Branko Bulić, 1981. Photographs: Sonja Jankov

The first open Yugoslav architectural competition for a social and sports center in Pristina was announced in 1970 and the first prize was awarded to the project of Ljerka Lulić, Jasna Nosso and Dinko Zlatarić. This project, however, was never started, so in the second competition in 1974, the solution of Živorad Janković, Halid Muhasilović, Sretko Ešpek, and engineer Meho Karalić was chosen for another location, and only partially completed by 1982. The complex was named after the heroes of World War II, Bora Vukmirović (Serb) and Ramiz Sadiku (Albanian), who died together in resistance to the fascist occupation. Apart from being a response to the needs of the growing youth population, the complex was also the main ideological symbol of 'brotherhood and unity' in the province of Kosovo. The complex includes a youth center with a library, a shopping center and sports facilities, while "an indoor swimming pool and platforms for connecting the hotel with sports center and the train station were never realized, which greatly reduced the quality of the entire project."[299] The spatial disposition of the complex was similar to that in Skenderija – "surrounding functional units (the universal-purpose and sports hall, the youth center) was recreated, while the commercial section was positioned right alongside the new pedestrian zone and the important urban landmarks,"[300] being thus organically connected to the existing urban environment. According to Andrija Mutnjaković, for that time, it was "a very good and attractive project."[301]

Vojvodina City Sports Centre in Novi Sad (SPENS), since 1983 the Sports and Business Centre Vojvodina (Image 06), was originally planned for the 37th World Table Tennis Championship in 1983, but due to China's withdrawal from the organization, Novi Sad hosted the previous, 36th championship in 1981. The largest part of the complex was built by then. It was designed by Janković, Duško Bogunović and Branko Bulić in 1979, while the rest was added by 1990, which was made possible by the modular structure of the complex. In 1981, the

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[299] Arber I. Sadiki, „Arhitektura javnih objekata Prištine u razdoblju od 1945. do 1990. godine: društveni i oblikovni faktori" [Architecture of Public Buildings in Prishtina between 1945 and 1990: Social and Shaping Factors] – doctoral dissertation, Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet, 2019, 66

[300] Butković Mićin, "Živorad Janković: Architectural Nomadism in the Yugoslav Cultural Space," 371

[301] Andrija Mutnjaković, „Kuća koja nema ideju nije kuća" [A house without an idea is not a house], interview: Saša Šimpraga, May 22, 2014, last accessed April 10, 2021, <http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/kuca-koja-nema-ideju-nije-kuca/>.

building of the Serbian National Theatre (arch. Wiktor Jackiewitcz) was completed, as well as the Freedom Bridge, which were part of the same pre-games infrastructural investments in the city, as in the case of Split prior to the Mediterranean games in 1979. Unlike the complexes in Sarajevo, Split and Pristina, SPENS represents a step forward in shaping the typology, and all elements of the complex (except the stadium) are covered. The amphitheater staircases that are outdoors in Split, here are in pedestrian zones both indoors and outdoors, while the multifunctional spaces are mostly separated only by glass, creating a promenade effect and direct connection between passers-by and various events and activities within the complex.

SPENS is "one of the capital projects and a significant contribution to the general Yugoslav plan,"[302] which unites various contents – sports, culture, congress, entertainment, leisure and commerce – under a single roof. By being made of macrolone and metal construction, the unique roof of the complex allows natural lighting for the four internal pedestrian streets it covers. According to the architect Mihajlo Mitrović, SPENS is based on a macro-urban monolith in which a very complex and abundant program is condensed around the core of the basic purpose – numerous sports halls, halls, swimming pools, and with its conception, top-notch technique and extremely high artistic scope, SPENS does not lag behind the world achievements of sports architecture.[303] Apart from that, it is in many ways luxurious. It exposed many materials, making them deliberately visible to international guests and presenting Yugoslav access to the latest materials, technology and know-how in architecture and engineering (Image 07). It had a unique modern chandelier "Beta," 80 meters long, comprised of 2,500 lights, custom-made by Croatian factory "Dekor" and partly restored in 2022 by local associations of architects.[304] It also has several indoor trees, and a chic café with large window panes directly looking at the closed sports swimming pool, which illustrates the Yugoslav tendency to combine leisure and top achievements.

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[302] Vladimir Mattioni, *Bespoke*, Zagreb: UPI–2M plus, 2012, 305

[303] Михајло Митровић, *Архитектура у свету и код нас. 52 године колумне у „Политици"* [*Architecture in the World and Here. 52 Years of Column in "Politika"*], Београд: DPC, 2014, 68

[304] Associations Baza – Platform for Spatial Practices, Ephemera Collective and the Society of Architects of Novi Sad

All these hybrid complexes have brought great changes in the social life of Sarajevo, Split, Pristina and Novi Sad and they still have great potential and possibilities. Their characteristics and geographical dispersal contribute to an argument of "an (at least) partial materialization of the idea of *Yugoslav cultural space*, a common 'wave frequency' at which architectural (and art) schools from the republics, differing with respect to origin and tradition, could communicate and be brought together."[305] Despite this, each complex has undergone significant changes since the 1990s, in the form of increased commercialization of space, abandonment of pedestrian zones, low maintenance of infrastructure and reduction of content. For this reason, they are seen as unprofitable and from time to time a narrative of their demolition arises.

Skenderija is continuously deteriorating physically and in terms of content, which is "ironically, the least caused by the devastating war actions."[306] Koteks is devastated, while surrounding open public zones are threatened by individual desires to build new contents. The social and sports center Boro and Ramiz, today the Palace of Youth and Sports Adem Jashari, is mostly devastated and only partly used since the fire in 2000. Yet in 2010, aiming to re-create it as a functional cultural and athletic space for local youth, the European Union was "forced to abandon their €15 million renovation project due to the unresponsiveness of the Municipality of Priština."[307] Still, the complex has been protected as cultural heritage since 2017 and symbolically revitalized with several artistic interventions and programs of Manifesta 14 (July 22 – October 30, 2022). SPENS apparently did not undergo many changes in structure and content, but with the construction of Mercator and Promenade, two large shopping centers in its immediate vicinity, it became less attractive. A possible solution to the problems these complexes have might be the addition of new functions since they were always planned to be hybrid and multifunctional. However, their future remains uncertain and they are mostly protected from demolition by citizens who are aware that they were built from funds created by the workers' self-contributions.

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[305] Butković Mićin, "Živorad Janković: Architectural Nomadism in the Yugoslav Cultural Space," 357

[306] Mehaković, „Nasljeđe zrele moderne u Sarajevu", 9

[307] Eliza Hoxha, "Transforming Modernity – Prishtina's Youth and Sports Center," in: Bodrožić, Butković Mićin and Šimpraga (eds.), *Consumer Culture Landscapes*, 471

2.4.   *The Semantic Shift* of the Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism since the 1990s

Everything Yugoslavia produced was an object of semantic shift that occurred due to changes in the local socio-political context and in the global portrayal of socialism after 1989 as an "inferior 'other'."[308] With the outbreak of war and hyperinflation in Yugoslavia, many construction projects remained unfinished, while many built facilities intended for international events lost their primary purpose and were difficult to maintain. Yugoslavia was seen again as part of the Balkans, which had pejorative connotations since "the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of small, weak, economically backward and dependent nation-states, striving to modernize."[309] In contrast to that, before the 1990s war, Yugoslavia was seen as "a Danubian or Adriatic presence, or even better, in nongeographical terms, as the elite of the nonaligned world."[310] Due to the changed context, the modernist architecture that made Yugoslavs so proud "was now abandoned and left to decay – literally."[311]

The long-term deterioration of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in the psycho-geographic space is the process in which buildings that were social property are privatized, "the green areas are under threat as they are being targeted as building land, while the existing structures are looked upon as a prey for developers."[312] Part of this heritage has already been demolished within the general devastation of the entire Yugoslav legacy, during the process of "completely erasing any historical memory or cultural continuity with the former state and the values on which it was based [...] in the name of both European 'democratic' integrations and the name of nationalist

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[308] Aleksandar Ignjatović and Olga Manojlović Pintar, "Catalysts of Intricate Identities: Three Belgrade Museums in Socialist Yugoslavia," *Токови историје*, 2 (2013), 262

[309] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, 2009, 194

[310] *Ibid.*, 53

[311] Andres Lepik and Marjetica Potrč, "Cities in Transition" – conversation, in: Gabriele Knapstein and Matilda Felix (eds.), *Architektonika*, Berlin: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, Nationalgalerie, Staatische Museen zu Berlin, 2012, 160

[312] Jelica Jovanović, "Mass Heritage of New Belgrade: Housing Laboratory and So Much More," *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture*, 48/2 (2017), 112

revisionism."[313] There are also many buildings that have been modified by inadequate upgrades, reconstructions and changes to their facades, although there are certainly buildings that are still in good condition and/or renovated.

The extent to which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism changed after the breakup of Yugoslavia is perhaps most succinctly described by the curators of the project that presented Montenegro at the 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia. When first constructed, the buildings of Yugoslav modernism "radiated their builders' enthusiasm and confidence about the new society they were building. Only a few decades later, these buildings embody the complete opposite: poorly used (if at all) and maintained (if ever completed), they are a testament to the failure of modernism. Nobody seems to be able to recognize any value in them; hence, their fate seems sealed: decay and demolition."[314] Although the project focused only on selected memorials, tourist and sports complexes, this observation is much broader and it extends to many other objects of the same or different typology. Pioneer towns, industrial heritage, administrative buildings of former social enterprises that went bankrupt, hybrid complexes, department stores, local community facilities –all suffered damage because they are no longer used or maintained. Most tourist facilities are extremely decayed, since "incapability and incompetence on the part of the new owners and new society in handling the over-ambitious tourism complexes have predominated – heterotopia was difficult to sustain."[315]

New Belgrade has also drastically changed, after its symbolic meanings were completely denied during the 1990s.[316] The building of the Federal Executive Council lost its symbolic content after the breakup of Yugoslavia,

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[313] Nikola Dedić, „Jugoslavija u post-jugoslovenskim umetničkim praksama" [Yugoslavia in Post-Yugoslav Artistic Practices], *Sarajevske Sveske*, 51 (2017), <http://sveske.ba/en/content/jugoslavija-u-post-jugoslovenskim-umetnickim-praksama>, last accessed May 9, 2021

[314] Boštjan Vuga, Dijana Vučinić, Simon Hartmann, Ilka Ruby, Andreas Ruby and Nebojša Adžić, "Treasures in Disguise," 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia, Pavillion of Montenegro (June 7 – October 31, 2014), <http://treasures-in-disguise.net/>, last accessed April 19, 2021

[315] Šentevska and Mrduljaš, "Remembering Haludovo," 522

[316] Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 57

the city of rational socialist planning became a city of small-scale gray economy. Instead of foreign dignitaries planting trees, nationalist rallies engulfed the confluence of the Danube and the Sava. Instead of motorcades with Tito and his non-aligned guests, masses greeted the tanks and armored vehicles crawling down the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity to secessionist Croatia. American Tomahawks bombed the tower of the Central Committee, demolishing its "American façade" with the whole world watching.[317]

With intensive international investments and construction during the 2000s, the "former Central Committee was reconstructed as a high-end rental office space, topped by an enormous advertisement for an Austrian bank."[318] An Orthodox church was built on one of the locations that was considered as a potential location for the Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities,[319] while New Belgrade is now also a location for three of "the largest shopping malls in the Balkans – Ušće, Delta City and Mercator, all built on former green areas."[320] All these changes testify to the change of social values and symbols of importance for collective identity.

In addition, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is the focus of interest of a growing number of projects in the domain of arts and creative industries that approach it as an exotic Other, where "otherness is now more ideological than cultural or racial."[321] Architectural historian Vladimir Kulić defines this trend as "New Orientalism."[322] Without knowing the context of its origin and the reasons for the current state of the entire legacy of Yugoslav modernism, an increasing number of artistic projects commodify its strong forms and thus "exoticize an unknown 'other' that—no longer

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[317] *Ibid.*

[318] *Ibid.*

[319] See: Igor Sladoljev (ed.), *14–14: 100 Works [and] Museum of the Revolution*, catalogue, 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia, Serbian Pavillion (June 5 – November 23, 2014), Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2014

[320] Prokopljević, "Researching 'the Lost Decade' of New Belgrade," 63

[321] Vladimir Kulić, "Orientalizing Socialism: Architecture, Media, and the Representations of Eastern Europe," *Architectural Histories*, 6/1 (2018), 7

[322] *Ibid.*

ideologically dangerous—can be enjoyed for its visual effect."[323] This trend of exoticization applies to such an extent, as Kulić notices, that even monuments – built by Yugoslavia on the sites of concentration camps and mass graves in World War II – become 'alien' or biohazard scenery for science fiction films, music videos or parkour practice where athletes jump, climb and run over them. Moreover, such projects are not criticized or condemned because those memorial complexes were built by disappeared, collapsed, a defunct socialist country, so even the monuments to the victims of concentration camps it had built are "assumed to be emptied of any meaning […] what they stand for allegedly cannot have any relevance today."[324] Such artistic and commercial approaches trivialize and commodify the memorial and architectural heritage of Yugoslavia, reducing it to objects of popular culture and consumption.

Ruinification, damage and *semantic shift* are not only typical of architecture that Yugoslavia built within its borders, but it can also happen, due to various circumstances, to the legacy that Yugoslav architects and companies built in the countries with which Yugoslavia cooperated. Thus, Zoran Bojović, the leading architect of the International Fair construction in Lagos, found out from Rem Koolhaas' research in the early 2000s that the idea of the Fair's functional zoning was respected in subsequent additions and that the pavilions were not partitioned. But he also noticed that the concrete was not maintained. Namely, the concrete should have been cleaned every ten years and coated with protection against algae that develop in that specific climate and feed on cement, but this has not been done since the construction of the complex.[325] Apart from that, the architecture that Yugoslavia built abroad can be also damaged in war conflicts, as was the National Museum in Aleppo (arch. Zdravko Bregovac and Vjenceslav Richter, 1975), renovated later in 2019.[326]

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[323] Mrduljaš, Kulić and Jovanović, "Unfinished Modernisations," 18

[324] Kulić, "Orientalizing Socialism," 7

[325] Bojović, "Everything is Architecture," 221

[326] See the trailer for *Museum* (2020, director Olivier Bourgeois): <https://youtu.be/wTYd2RJyH7c>, and Saša Šimpraga, „Neizvjesna sudbina Bregovčevog i Richterovog muzeja u Siriji" [The uncertain fate of the Bregovec and Richter museums in Syria], September 24, 2015, *Pogledaj.to*, <http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/neizvjesna-sudbina-bregovcevog-i-richterovog-muzeja-u-siriji/>, last accessed April 9, 2021

When it comes to *resemantization* of architecture of Yugoslav modernism outside the borders of the former SFRY, it turns out that it happened even before the 1990s, due to cultural assimilation. One such example is the Babylon Hotel in Baghdad (arch. Edvard Ravnikar, Majda Kregar, Edo Ravnikar and Miha Kerin), built in 1982 for the seventh summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was to be held in June in Baghdad. With the outbreak of war in Iraq, the summit was postponed and held the following year in New Delhi, India. The hotel remained to eventually become "an excellent example of 'Mesopotamianism,' a cultural movement that aimed at the construction of a modern Iraqi identity by appealing to the nation's ancient heritage of Sumer, Assyria, Akkad and Babylon."[327]

As Kulić points out, the project for the Babylon hotel was practically an export of Ravnikar's unrealized project for the De Luxe hotel in Budva, Montenegro (1969–1972), refined to better fit into the new environment. Its cascading form, originally conceived for the Adriatic coast, was intended to follow the Montenegrin mountain ranges and ridges rising above the coast, but was interpreted in Baghdad as a reference to ancient ziggurats.[328] The same happened with the facade brick, which "did not refer to the ubiquitous material of Mesopotamia, but resulted from the tradition of Central European tectonic culture stretching back to Gottfried Semper."[329] The only element that did refer to Mesopotamianism is a stylized copy of the Ishtar Gate, a later addition, a Disneyfying detail that did not derive from the immediate cultural context, but "resulted from an unusually fortunate coincidence that allowed the transfer of design from the Adriatic to the Tigris to happen through the agency of the Non-Aligned Movement."[330]

Changes in the semantics and physical state of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, as well as its potentials, are becoming research interests of scholars and academics, but they are also becoming topics of artistic research. If we return to functions of

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[327] Vladimir Kulić, "Building the Non-Aligned Babel: Babylon Hotel in Baghdad and Mobile Design in the Global Cold War," in Stanek, Łukasz (ed.), "Social Networks" – special issue, *ABE Journal: Architecture Beyond Europe*, No. 6 (December 30, 2014), <http://journals.openedition.org/abe/924>, last accessed January 9, 2024

[328] *Ibid.*

[329] *Ibid.*

[330] *Ibid.*

architecture that, according to Radivoje Dinulović, exist simultaneously in every architecture, all the buildings and sites mentioned in this chapter have aesthetical, contextual, cultural, demarcative, educational, ideological, medial, memorial, morphological, narrative, ontological, poetical, political, preventive, progressive, promotional, protective, psychological, representative, scenic, semantic, symbolic, social, textual, urban, utilitarian and possibly many other latent and potential functions. Some of them are revealed/established precisely through contemporary artistic practices.

Artists approach this specific heritage as an indicator of changes in social and political contexts, as something of quality that is no longer being built, as something that has had its failing sides, as something that needs to be protected and/or as something whose disappearance should be, at least, document and problematized. Any direct artistic approach to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism that takes into account its meanings, functions, potentials and everything that goes beyond its formal/artistic characteristics is defined in this book as *quoting*. The following analyses will show that artists *quote* the texts of architectural objects/complexes in different ways and for different purposes. Sometimes, they are referring only to changes in their symbolism to create new meanings, sometimes, they completely subordinate their works to architecture and its users, sometimes, they highlight how vulnerable, fluid, responsive and adaptable architecture really is. Regardless of the approach and selection of creative methods and means, artistic practices that *quote* the architecture of Yugoslav modernism inevitably become its specific interpretations that help preserve it in the wider cultural context.

Part III

ANALYSES AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. **Contemporaneity and Post-Yugoslav Context**

The social context in which contemporary artists quote the architecture of Yugoslav modernism can be described as *postsocialism*, a synonym for *postcommunism*, which is "increasingly understood not as an internal affair only affecting ex-Eastern Bloc states but rather as a global condition defining our post-Cold War present fraught with asymmetries of power."[331] It is characterized by a paradoxical combination of different social systems and forms of cultural production and consumption.[332] Its beginning was perhaps best reflected in the artistic intervention *Wrapped Reichstag* by Christo and Jeanne-Claude (1971–1995),[333] which, according to culturologist Milena Dragićević Šešić, indicated that changes were to take place within the Reichstag, that there is "no more division into blocks, and old symbols are becoming history."[334]

Contemporaneity can be also described as the post-9/11 period, that is, the global situation that arose after the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. According to Terry Smith, this event is still used as justification for governments around the world to declare states of emergency and impose repressive regimes, because of which continuing conflicts have become the normality in the Middle East, Central Europe, Africa and the Pacific.[335] The normality of contemporaneity, according to Smith, is also characterized by issues of European internal and external policies, crises of large institutions of international political and economic mediation (UN, IMF, World Bank), the concentration of

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[331] Beáta Hock, "Introduction – Globalizing East European Art Histories: The Legacy of Piotr Piotrowski and a Conference," in: Beáta Hock and Anu Allas (eds.), *Globalizing East European Art Histories – Past and Present*, New York and London: Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group, 2018, 10

[332] Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, 494

[333] The idea for this intervention dates back to 1971, but the conditions for its implementation were created only in the early 1990s.
See: <https://christojeanneclaude.net/artworks/wrapped-reichstag/>.

[334] Milena Dragićević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora* [*Art and the Culture of Resistance*], Beograd: Clio i Fakultet dramskih umetnosti, Institut za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju, 2018, 321

[335] Terry Smith, "Contemporary Art and Contemporaneity," *Critical Inquiry*, 2006, Vol. 32, No. 4, 706

wealth in the hands of a few people, environmental bombs, limited media and the spread of the Internet, the existence of multiple economies and cultures within one state formation, as well as the proliferation of protests, movements and alternative networks.[336] Therefore, the normality of the present is characterized no only by states of emergency, inequalities, the proliferation of conflicts, and the uncertain future of the international economy and politics, but also by connecting into self-initiated alternative networks that help surviving contemporaneity whose unstable features are permanently changing.

When it comes to the former Yugoslav region, the dominant process of contemporaneity is the erasure of the anti-fascist past and positive memories of 'brotherhood and unity,' which coincide "with new policies of national states, creating new identities and new memories, often in conflict with human rights (chauvinistic narratives), but also with historical facts."[337] As a result, the memory of the anti-fascist struggle, which united Yugoslav peoples, is subject to erasure to such an extent that it becomes questionable how the republics of former Yugoslavia define their current position on anti-fascism. On December 16, 2020, the participants of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution on Combating the Glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. There were 130 votes for the resolution, 2 against (USA and Ukraine) and 51 abstentions. Among those who abstained were Slovenia, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Croatia, that is, two thirds of the former Yugoslav republics.[338]

The denial of the anti-fascist struggle as something that was relevant only for socialist Yugoslavia, and therefore not relevant for contemporary societies, takes place within the framework of the ideological denial of Yugoslavia. Anthropologist Tanja Petrović singles out three models of this negation: (1) *historicizing* which deprives Yugoslavia and the memory of Yugoslavia of any possibility to be

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[336] *Ibid.*

[337] Dragićević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, 68

[338] Report on Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, last accessed November 12, 2023, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3894841?ln=en>.

continued in the present, while, simultaneously, the process of nationalist revision takes place; (2) *trivialization*, *ritualization* and *commodification* which depoliticize the memory of Yugoslavia and reduce it to a private, personal and sentimental experience, or to objects of mass culture and consumption; (3) *disqualification* of Yugoslavia as a utopia, as a history that never became true, thus ignoring the experience of Yugoslavia by people who lived in it.[339] Milena Dragićević Šešić also points to the same processes as strategies by which national policies change collective memory for the sake of reshaping collective identity. The most prevalent is the model of *anti-culture* which, by means of appropriation and annihilation, "sought to destroy all traces of the common socialist, anti-fascist and communist past,"[340] while the less used model of *culturalization* "represented decontextualization through univerzalization or muzealization."[341] Historians of architecture, similarly, notice that the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is marginalized, either by simple abandonment or utter neglect, either way, "abandonment, negligence, ignorance, refraining from action—all become deeply political acts."[342]

In this context, the act of quoting architecture of Yugoslav modernism builds on the emancipatory achievements and cosmopolitan values of the Yugoslav project, in opposition to neoliberal or nationalist denial of Yugoslavia. It is the artistic method that is not characterized by nostalgia, but by a critical and deconstructive view of the causes that resulted in the collapse of the Yugoslav project, and of the social realities that replaced it. It is a process of constructing a specific network of contemporary artists, researchers, architects, communities of tenants and other (in)formal associations of citizens, institutions, conservationists and other workers in culture – both those who share the common Yugoslav heritage and those from other countries. It establishes a space for discussing art, representational,

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[339] See: Tanja Petrović, *Yuropa. Jugoslovensko nasleđe i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društvima* [*Yuropa. Yugoslav Heritage and Future Policies in Post-Yugoslav Societies*], Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, 2012

[340] Milena Dragićević Šešić, "Memory Policies and Monument Building in Southeastern Europe," in: Dušica Dražić, Slavica Radišić and Marijana Simu (eds.), *Memory of the City*, Belgrade: Kulturklammer – centre for cultural interactions, 2012, 76

[341] *Ibid.*, 79

[342] Šentevska and Mrduljaš, "Remembering Haludovo," 520

ideological, social and other values/functions of Yugoslav archi-
tecture, as well as other legacies of non-aligned Yugoslavia.

   In this part of the book, we analyze selected contemporary
artistic practices and works within which the architecture of Yugoslav
modernism appears as a *quotation*. They are organized by the type of
quotation used by the artists, following theories of quotation and
intertextuality by Dubravka Oraić Tolić and Michael Riffaterre. The
selected works were produced by contemporary art institutions in
Canada, Belgium, Cuba and the republics of former Yugoslavia, by
associations of citizens, within the representation of Serbia at the
Biennale of Architecture in Venice, within the project Rijeka 2020 –
European Capital of Culture, or they were self-produced by the artists.
Most of them were shown internationally, making the architecture of
Yugoslav modernism visible internationally in the 21st century, and
making it an active agent in contemporary artistic practices.

3.2.   *Illuminative* **Quoting of Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism**

According to Dubravka Oraić Tolić, "quoting is an explicit memory of culture,"[343] it protects culture from oblivion and self-destruction. Similarly, Graham Allen points out that intertextuality is and will remain a crucial element in an attempt to understand culture in general.[344] Focusing on the ways in which quoting preserves culture, Oraić Tolić defines two basic types of quotation, depending on how the quoting text relates to the quoted: in the *illuminative* type a new text quotes an older text in order to create completely new forms and meanings, while in the *illustrative* type, the quoting text is subordinated to the quoted one. Relying on this theoretical framework, we focus on the first type in this chapter, that is, on artists who in their practices quote architecture of Yugoslav modernism in an *illuminative* way, while in the next chapter, we turn to those who apply *illustrative* quoting.

In the case of *illuminative* quoting, the meaning of the new, quoting text "is created on the principles of defamiliarization of known cultural meanings, contrast or homology, creation and metonymy in Jakobson's sense of the word."[345] The quoting text can conduct an equal intertextual dialogue with an older, quoted text, or use it to "create a new and unexpected meaning, taking another's text and its quotations only as an occasion to create its own unpredictable meanings."[346] In the first case, we are having *quotational dialogue*, where quotations are perceived as a neutral zone so that a free cross-cultural dialogue can be conducted between them and new elements that together constitute the new text. In the second case, we are having a *quotational polemic*, where the new text, while quoting an older text, completely negates and destroys its meaning.[347] As we will see in this chapter, when the architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as quotation within artistic works and practices, *quotational dialogue* is

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[343] Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti*, 207

[344] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, London: Routledge, 2006, 7

[345] Oraić Tolić, 40

[346] *Ibid.*, 45

[347] *Ibid.*, 40

more prevalent than *quotational polemic*, which occurs only in the case of changing certain misperceptions, rather than all the meanings of architecture.

Relying on Charles Morris'[348] categorical semiotic triangle, to which she adds a fourth dimension—the *cultural function*—Oraić Tolić indicates what happens in the process of *illuminative* quoting at the level of semantics (relation between signifier and signified, sign and referent, text and object), syntax (relation between elements within the system—the quotation and other elements which constitute the new text), pragmatics (the relation between sign and user, text and audience) and the global cultural function that the new text, with all its relations, performs in the cultural system to which it belongs:

> on the level of semantics [*illuminative* quoting] creates surprise, contrast or homology, metonymy and new meanings on the basis of old ones (*quotational polemic* and *quotational dialogue*), on the level of syntax there is coordination between equal partners, on the level of pragmatics there is a dynamic orientation towards the author's unknown view of the cultural tradition that breaks established receptive habits, and in terms of cultural function, one's own text and one's own culture are presented regardless of and often in opposition to other's texts and other's culture.[349]

Following this model by Oraić Tolić, we analyse in this chapter selected works of Jasmina Cibic, Radoš Antonijević, Dušica Dražić and Milorad Mladenović who quote architectural objects that were primarily built as pavilions, museums, housing projects or hybrid complexes. Within their artistic practices, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism becomes a quotation, a "treasury of values that should be seen again, reassessed and thus preserved on a new level in the

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[348] According to Charles Morris, semiosis has three dimensions: semantical, syntactical and pragmatical. For each of these dimensions, there are three areas of study: semantics, syntactics and pragmatics, that is, the study of relationship between signs and concepts, of the relationship between signs in a communicative system and of what happens to a person upon receiving a message. Charles Morris, *Foundations of the Theory of Signs*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938, 6-7

[349] Oraić Tolić, 44

process of quoting."[350] In such a process, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism becomes a metaphor about the violent end of the state, about transitions and transformations of the state into a plural *other*, and about cultural, housing and urban policies in the broadest sense. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism for these authors overcomes the borders and divisions between Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav, becoming part of narratives about any architecture, any community, any society and state.

3.2.1. Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism and *Das Unheimliche*

In the essay "Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen" (1906), Ernst Jentsch describes *das Unheimliche* as the dismay of learning that something we thought close to us is actually something completely unknown to us, as, for example, that a person we are in love with is something inanimate, a doll-automaton. In the wake of Jentsch's research, *das Unheimliche* is attributed to the feeling that arises from the encounter with inanimate things that bear too much resemblance to humans (life-size dolls of infants or adults), doppelgängers, clones; anything that represents a duplicated, separate entity which is very similar to us, but has its own existence. It is thus unpredictable, unknown and makes us shudder when thinking about what it could be used for or in what way could it replace us. *Das Unheimliche* is a feeling caused precisely by the combination of amazement that there is some-one just like us and the fear of what is beyond our knowledge – how differently from us will our clone or double react; will they do something bad that can be attributed to us, will they take over something that belongs to us (our identity, family, work), etc.

Sigmund Freud in the text "Das Unheimliche" (1919) expands on this understanding, noting that the term *unheimlich* has slightly different meanings in German, Latin, Greek, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic and Hebrew. In German, *heimlich* means

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[350] *Ibid.* 208

domestic, familiar, intimate, known, and therefore safe.[351] However, *heimlich* also means hidden from the view of others, for example, a secret relationship, adultery, sin, or doing something behind someone's back. *Heimlich* thus begins to acquire the characteristics of something that causes fear and its meaning "develops in the direction of ambivalence, until it finally coincides with its opposite, *unheimlich*."[352] Freud bases his interpretation of the *das Unheimliche* sensation precisely on this, indicating that something that has been known for a long time and inspired trust, can in one moment become something completely unknown that causes chills and fear. According to him, the creepiest and scariest thing is exactly what was once close and familiar, or someone who was close and familiar.

Das Unheimliche, according to Freud, occurs "when infantile complexes which have been repressed are once more revived by some impression, or when primitive beliefs which have been surmounted seem once more to be confirmed."[353] Therefore, it is something "which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression,"[354] such as traumas, fear of unconscious incest, fear of losing sight, feeling powerless as in a dream, superstitions, fear of spells and envy of others, fear of a secret intention to commit evil, fear of incomprehensible diseases whose cause is attributed to demons, fear of being buried alive. These subconscious fears can be awoken by some very ordinary object that surrounds us – for example, a carving in the form of a crocodile on a table can give us *das Unheimliche* feeling that crocodiles can come out of dark corners of the room. *Das Unheimliche* is therefore "a domesticated version of absolute terror, to be experienced in the comfort of the home,"[355] a disturbing, strange closeness "between the known and the unknown – when the known

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[351] Sigmund Freud, "The Uncunny," (1919), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. XVII – An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works (1917–1919), London: The Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1999, 222

[352] *Ibid.*, 226

[353] *Ibid.*, 249

[354] *Ibid.*, 241

[355] Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny – Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, 3

emerges under an unknown form/appearance or when that unknown is revealed as close, familiar."[356]

Both Jentsch and Freud begin their consideration of *das Unheimliche* through analysis of fiction, specifically the stories of Ernst Hoffmann, which is why Freud also approaches *das Unheimliche* as an aesthetic category. In doing so, he notes a paradox: what we would experience as *das Unheimliche* in real life, we do not experience as such in fiction, because we understand fiction is unreal, although there are many more means of creating *das Unheimliche* effects in fiction than there are in real life.[357] Freud thereby opens the topic of artistic methods that create the *das Unheimliche* effect, a topic that is not closed because there are more and more artistic practices and thus the possibilities to produce this effect. According to Mariela Cvetić, *das Unheimliche* "occurs when a subject identifies with someone 'living' or 'inanimate' in space, and therefore has a dilemma about the ownership of the space; or when the unknown space is recognized as known and vice versa."[358] Based on such a situation of an familiar space appearing unknown, Anthony Vidler defines *das Unheimliche* as a "social and individual estrangement, alienation, exile, and homelessness,"[359] as a "powerful trope for imaging the 'lost' birthplace."[360] According to Vidler, *das Unheimliche* is also the return of history in unexpected and unwanted moments, which makes living comfortably in the world impossible.[361] Estrangement and unhomeliness, generated by war or unequal distribution of wealth, have become keywords of modernity and contemporaneity.

Vidler underlines that *das Unheimliche*/uncanny is an aesthetic dimension, a mental projection, not a peculiarity of space – there is no such thing as uncanny architecture; from time to time and for different reasons any architecture can invoke the *das Unheimliche*

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[356] Mariela Cvetić, „*Das Unheimliche* manevar udvojavanja prostora: format prati (podeljeni) subjekt" [*Das Unheimliche* Maneuver of Doubling the Space: form is following the (divided) subject], *Art + Media Journal of Art and Media Studies*, 2 (2012), 92

[357] Freud, "The Uncunny," 249

[358] Mariela Cvetić, *Das Unheimliche: psihoanalitičke i kulturalne teorije prostora* [*Das Unheimliche: Psychoanalytic and Cultural Theories of Space*], Beograd: Orion art, Arhitektonski fakultet, 2011, 97

[359] Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, ix

[360] *Ibid.*, xi

[361] *Ibid.*, 5

feeling.[362] This can be especially said of the legacy of Yugoslav modernism, and perhaps of other modernisms, too. Not only architectural legacy, but all forms of societal and public property, economy, industry, health care, communal service, public transport and other areas that are left to ruin until they start causing *das Unheimliche* effect, which then justifies removing them from public/social domain. This process is most visible in architecture – the longer a building remains unused, unmaintained, the more it becomes a burden, and in drastic situations a ruin; it increasingly causes a *das Unheimliche* feeling, chills and uneasiness, which are used as argument to demolish it and build something new in its place. Decaying and abandoned sites that used to be symbols of well-being, prosperity and the future, such as abandoned or unfinished shopping malls, hospitals and kindergartens, are those that invoke the *das Unheimliche* feeling.

Although there are many examples of architecture built during Socialist Federative Republic Yugoslavia that, due to circumstances, became associated with the *das Unheimliche* effect, in this chapter we are focusing only on works of Jasmina Cibic and Radoš Antonijević who quoted buildings that symbolically represented SFRY. As we will see, both artists use this artistic method to address topics that go beyond SFRY. The *das Unheimliche* effect that arises in connection with their works originates from the process of quoting selected architectural objects in an *illuminative* way, that is, from correlating those quotations from architecture with new elements that constitute the new texts/artworks and new narratives in/about contemporaneity.

Jasmina Cibic quoted the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in several of her works. The architectural model of the National Assembly building in Ljubljana (arch. Vinko Glanz, 1954–1959) is central to her video work *Fruits of Our Land* (2012), which was part of the installation *For Our Economy and Culture* that represented Slovenia at the 55th International Art Exhibition – la Biennale di Venezia. Vjenceslav Richter's conceptual solution for the Yugoslav pavilion at the 1958 EXPO in Brussels was quoted by Cibic in her work *NADA, act I* (2016), and the "25th May" Museum in Belgrade (arch. Mihailo Janković, 1962) in her work *The Gift* (2019). The building of the Presidency of the Government of the Federal People's Republic Yugoslavia, later the Federal Executive Council (arch. Vladimir

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[362] *Ibid.*, 11

Potočnjak, Zlatko Neumann, Antun Ulrich, Dragica Perak, 1947 / Mihailo Janković, 1961) is one of the key elements in Cibic's video *Tear Down and Rebuild* (2015). The Memorial House to the battle on Sutjeska (arch. Ranko Radović, 1974) and telecomunications tower at Avala, Belgrade (arch. Uglješa Bogunović, Slobodan Janjić, const. eng. Milan Krstić, 1959–1964) appear in her latest film *Beacons* (2023), contextualized with feminine voices, music, choreography and speeches delivered in 1985 at the first conference of cultural workers from countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, which took place in Titograd, Yugoslavia.

Apart from that, Cibic quoted several interior elements from the same period. She recreated a decorative light that is above the staircase in the Federal Executive Council building and incorporated it in her installation *Spielraum – Give Expression to Common Desire* (2015). She also created a duplicate of a chandelier that was installed during one of the numerous renovations of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito's residence in Bled, Slovenia, and included it in the installation *Situation Anophthalamus Hitleri* (2012). Cibic also quoted the architecture of an earlier period. The pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes for the 1929 EXPO in Barcelona (arch. Dragiša Brašovan) appears in the form of a de-assembling scale model in her screendance *The Pavilion* (2015), while the never-built halls that were planned for the 1941 international fair in Ljubljana appear as a glass maquette in the aforementioned installation *Situation Anophthalamus Hitleri*.

Cibic placed the depicted architectural quotations within new artistic *texts*, through a process that combined film and theatre methods, research work in archives and museums, interior and textile design, as well as collaboration with experts from various disciplines (choreographers, glass designers, international biological illustrators, composers, etc.). The idea that architecture and film are tools for spreading ideology, but that they can be used also as tools for its deconstruction, runs through all of her aforementioned works. Architecture thus, like any design, represents a connection "between political, economic and cultural factors, which intersect, articulate, manage and control social relations and human behavior."[363] It can be

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[363] Predrag Maksić, „Savremene politike vizuelnog oblikovanja: oslobađanje dispozitiva moći" [Contemporary Design Policies: The Release of the Power Dispositive] – doctoral dissertation, Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 2016, 93

seen as "a dispositive, a biopolitical mechanism of control in urban space…over the bodies that occupy that space,"[364] as something that "regulates relationships through which meanings, values, ways of life and statuses are established and shared;"[365] as is also indicated by Umberto Eco in connection to the semiotics of architecture. Design connects laws, measures, forces, and discourses, it shapes daily life and society as a whole, but it can also be "the basic point of resistance to the biopolitical system."[366] Cibic focuses on this second view of design, and therefore of architecture. In her works, architectural objects, which used to 'exhibit' ideology that now belongs to the past, become means of perceiving and deconstructing dominant narratives and drastic changes in any society.

In this respect, she also approached the pavilion of Yugoslavia for the 1967 EXPO in Montreal, which she quoted within her screendance piece *State of Illusion* (2018, Image 08). Yugoslavia recognized EXPO in Montreal as a place where it could promote its socialist and economic reform based on self-management and social property implemented by the 1963 Constitution. The pavilion was, therefore, supposed to show the humanistic character of "Yugoslav socialist democracy in which the interests of one person as a producer and a citizen is harmonized with general social interests,"[367] and to show "achievements of modern production, as well as economic, social and cultural achievements of the new state."[368] Such an image was not intended only for countries with which Yugoslavia wanted to cooperate and for potential tourists from Canada, but also for Yugoslavs who immigrated to Canada. That image was to be presented by exhibited displays and accompanying contents of the pavilion, but the pavilion itself was supposed to symbolically present these aims and achievements of Yugoslavia.

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[364] *Ibid.*, 6

[365] *Ibid.*, 93

[366] *Ibid.*, 174

[367] Младен Г. Пешић, „Изложбене праксе архитектуре у Југославији и југословенски културни простор од 1945. до 1991" [Exhibitionary Practices of Architecture in Yugoslavia and Yugoslav Cultural Space from 1945 to 1991] – doctoral dissertation, Архитектонски факултет, Универзитет у Београду, 2018), 114
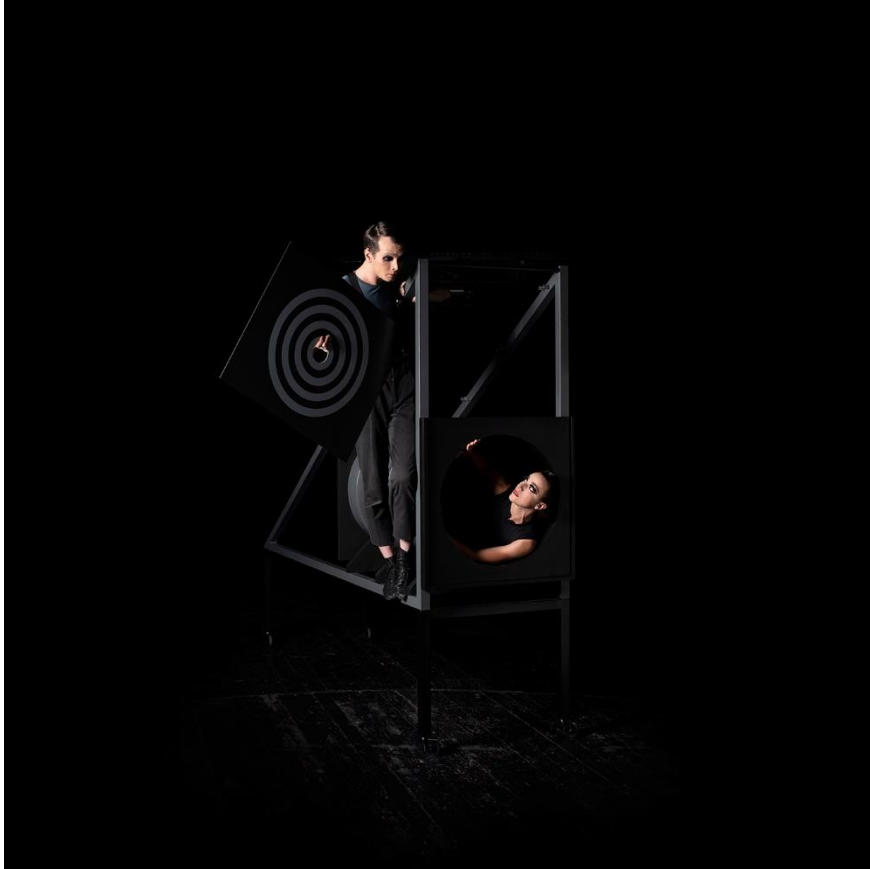
[368] *Ibid.*, 9

Image 08   Jasmina Cibic, *State of Illusion*, single channel HD video, stereo, 16:9, 19 minutes, 2018. Commissioned by DHC/ART Fondation pour l'art contemporain, Montreal, supported by the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in Fine Art, Kunstmuseum Ahlen, MSU Zagreb and the Northern Film School – Leeds Beckett University. Quoted text: pavilion of Yugoslavia for the 1967 EXPO in Montreal, Montreal / Grand Bank, arch. Miroslav Pešić, 1967

The open call for the architectural solution of the pavilion received 59 entries and Miroslav Pešić's proposal was chosen as the most successful in symbolically representing Yugoslav prosperity and international cooperation. Pešić composed the pavilion as "seven triangular prisms strung together beside one another in a straight line, but the fourth, sixth and seventh prisms were twisted. [...] They were thirty meters long and sixteen meters high, although the central prism – the fourth one, also twisted – stood out by being nine meters longer than the others."[369] Apart from the fact that this solution provided a dynamic structure, it also achieved significant symbolism because six prisms represented the six Yugoslav republics, while the seventh, the largest, represented Canada, the host country. Their mutual relationship of harmony and permeation was symbolically presenting the desired cooperation between the two countries.[370]

The pavilion was used to present the prosperity of the authentic Yugoslav non-aligned self-management and ensured the visibility of the new socialist state in the world. Cibic approaches it from a historical distance, knowing that the state it was representing was disintegrated in the war. The prismatic elements of the pavilion that presented the united six republics and their desired cooperation with Canada, in the screendance *State of Illusion* become mobile, disassembled elements. Apart from that, they become an illusionist device in which the Illusionist, the personified figure of the state, disappears six times. The pavilion is thus quoted in *illuminative* way; its semantics are estranged, and the inherited architectural culture is seen in a dynamic and new way as an introduction to the new artistic *text*.

The scale model of the pavilion in *State of Illusion* is large enough so that the Illusionist can fit into each prism, and disappear over and over, with the help of her assistants. It is during this process of disappearing that the *das Unheimliche* effect occurs. Assistants are becoming more and more rude and violent towards the Illusionist, so

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[369] Lara Slivnik, "Yugoslav Pavilions at World Exhibitions," *Arhitektura, raziskave*, Ljubljana: Arhitektonski fakultet, 2 (2014), 37. Prefabricated steel structures of the pavilion were made by architect Oskar Hrabovski, while the interior of was designed by Vjenceslav Richter, who also submitted a proposal to the open call, but it was not selected for implementation.

[370] After the EXPO, the pavilion was re-assembled in 1971 as the Provincial Seamen's Museum in the city of Grand Bank. Its white prisms, instead of representing the Yugoslav republics, began to represent the sails of fishing boats.

it becomes unclear whether the violence is acted or real. The *das Unheimliche* feeling arises from the dynamic relationship between the prismatic boxes (the scale model of the pavilion), the Illusionist and the violent assistants. The box, as a specific secret room, is something familiar, intimate, safe (*heimlich*) to the Illusionist, however, it becomes its exact opposite—a coffin in which she is trapped alive. Something unknown, terrifying and terrible thus emerges in the place that the Illusionist knew in its smallest details. In the same way, Yugoslavia turned from something prosperous, known, familiar, *ours*, into a growing debt-ridden war zone of disintegration and *das Unheimliche*.

For this reason, within the *State of Illusion*, the pavilion transforms from an object that represents a certain idea to an international audience, into an object that represents the end of that idea, an illusionist device that enables the act of disappearance. In the same way that state-building is similar to the art of illusion, the demise of a nation-state is similar to an illusion to the degree that it requires a previously established atmosphere in which its disappearance would seem plausible.[371] However, any illusionary effect immediately disappears with acts of violence. By pointing out that the process of creating or disintegrating a state is something general, which goes beyond a single state, Cibic shifted the focus from Yugoslavia to any state and any national identity, as they are all constructs, *illusions*, that disappear, often through violence.

While the pavilion presented SFRY in another country, the building and institution of the Museum of Contemporary Art were a means of presenting it within the country, in New Belgrade. The Museum building was finished in the early 1960s in the immediate vicinity of the governmental buildings that were the first architectural objects in New Belgrade—the Federal Executive Council and the Central Committee. It was opened on the anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade, on October 20, 1965. The location of the building gave both the Museum and modern art great symbolic importance for the Yugoslav identity. Designed by architects Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, the Museum building "embodied the key modernist ideas

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[371] Jasmina Cibic, *State of Illusion*, single channel HD video, stereo, 16:9, 19 minutes, 2018

about space, form, and tectonics,"[372] and became "probably the most significant example of architectural-sculptural poetics in the architecture of this period."[373]

Antić and Raspopović designed the Museum building on the principles of modern architecture such as free spatial plan and flow, but they also introduced modularity, structural principle and group form, which were in contrast to the practice of constructing monumental museum buildings at the time. In doing so, they initiated "the main themes of the architectural discourse of the 1960s"[374] and created a very contemporary museum building. The shape of the Museum building comprises six cubical forms, rising above the ground floor, all rotated by 45 degrees in relation to the basic grid of columns, which produced "an original artistic and spatial motif."[375] Mihailo Lujak sees these six cubes as an "ideological layer in the design of the object, signifying, in that period, the six member republics of SFRY."[376]

This geometrized crystalline form of the building allows for its extension if needed, because its elements "in an appropriate proportion, can be multiplied without impairing the concept and the idea."[377] By combining a transparent, glass facade on the lower floors and the marble cladding above, on the rotated cubes, Antić and Raspopović achieved "the impression of dematerialization of the ground floor and the consequent effect of the floating, heavy mass of the higher levels."[378] They originally planned for the Museum building to have façades in brick and concrete, but the materials were changed

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[372] Vladimir Kulić, "Land of the In-Between: Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945–65" – PhD dissertation, Austin: University of Texas, 2009, 299

[373] Ignjatović, „Tranzicije i reforme", 702

[374] Ljiljana Blagojević, „Kultura savremenosti i Muzej savremene umetnosti u Beogradu" [The Culture of Contemporaneity and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade], u: Dejan Sretenović (ur.), *Prilozi za istoriju Muzeja savremene umetnosti*, Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2016, 121

[375] Милан Попадић, „Архитектура Музеја савремене уметности у Београду" [The Architecture of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade], *Наслеђе*, 10 (2009), 165

[376] Лујак, 140

[377] Dijana Milašinović Marić and Igor Marić, "Ivan Antić – Architectonic," in: Jelena Iva-nović Vojvodić, Danica Jovović Prodanović and Ružica Sarić (eds), *From* Communis *to* Communication – 13th Belgrade International Architecture Week, Belgrade: Association of Belgrade Architects and Cultural Centre of Belgrade, 2018, 28

[378] Blagojević, „Kultura savremenosti", 118

into glass and white marble to make the building more similar to the neighboring buildings of the Executive Council and the Central Committee. This modification moved the Museum building from the discourse of neo-brutalism to the centre of state and diplomacy, which the Museum certainly was in the following decades.

The Museum of Contemporary Art played a significant role in presenting the Yugoslav, "middle" path. It organized frequent presentations of Yugoslav art abroad and hosted over a hundred exhibitions from Great Britain, USA, France, Italy, side by side with exhibitions from India, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, thus defying the Cold War boundaries.[379] These exhibitions were also seen by foreign officials when they came to New Belgrade, that is, they represented the openness of Yugoslavia towards the countries of both Blocs and the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. As Aleksandar Ignjatović and Olga Manojlović Pintar point out,

> The museum's ideological agenda was clear: art represented a cohesive force of a rather complex social and ethnic structure of the country, and the museum itself bolstered the mediatory identity of Yugoslavia – both internally, as regards its cultural and national complexity, and externally, in relation to the country's status in the Cold War World realities.[380]

Thus, the Museum and its building became "a symbol of a distinctive and, at the same time, emancipated Yugoslav identity that was simultaneously conceived as Serbian, Yugoslav and universal, mediating and sharing internationally recognizable values and ideas."[381]

However, in 2012, this Museum building was dilapidated and was closed to the public for five years due to the damages it suffered, even though it had been protected as cultural heritage since 1987. In response to that situation, the curators of the Museum organized the group exhibition *What Happened to the Museum of Contemporary Art* (June 23 – September 30, 2012), which took place in the damaged building. On that occasion, Radoš Antonijević made *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art* (2012, Image 09), an olive-green rainproof tent in

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[379] Vladimir Kulić, "New Belgrade and Socialist Yugoslavia's Three Globalisations," *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 2 (2014), 140-141

[380] Ignjatović and Manojlović Pintar, "Catalysts of Intricate Identities," 258

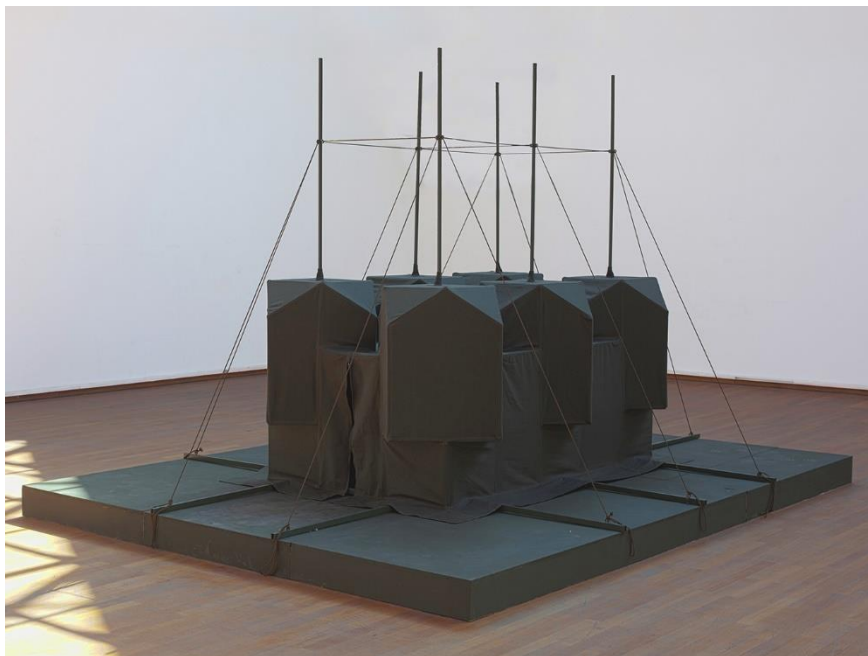[381] *Ibid.*, 257

Image 09   Radoš Antonijević, *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art*, 2012.
                Photograph: the author. The work is part of the collection of the
                Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. Quoted text: Modern
                Gallery / Museum of Contemporary Art, New Belgrade, arch. Ivan
                Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, project: 1959, finished: 1965,
                reconstructed: 2017, protected cultural heritage since 1987

the shape of the Museum building. Along with it, Antonijević created a short text in the form of an advertisement, offering this 'product' to anyone who feels homeless.

Antonijević created a new *text* by combining specific form, function, material and color, that is, by combining elements from different discourses: (1) the building of the Museum (something permanent, endurable, monumental) presented in scaled version, (2) the function of the tent (something portable, soft, easily damaged, a basic shelter), (3) the olive green color (symbol of militancy, conquest and defence in the broadest sense, permanence of wars in the Balkans, life in danger and destruction), and (4) the advertisement that puts all previous elements in the hypothetical process of a sale. The tension between these equal elements creates a narrative about transition and change in value from public property (the museum) to private property (the tent), from long-term planning and production to a temporary solution, from an emancipated Yugoslav identity that was simultaneously understood as ethnic, supranational and universal – to the national, Balkan, postmodern identity.

It is important to note that the *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art* is one in a series of sculpture-tents that Antonijević designed; in the shape of the Dečani Monastery, Hagia Sophia, the old Romanian Denshus Church, the unbuilt Vidovdan Temple and the mountains Lovćen, Olympus, Ararat and Sinai. All these *topoi* are characterized by "iconicity (identity, historyical significance, emotional relation to the subject), clear character of the form and its comprehensibility, as well as monumental selfsufficiency."[382] They also represent mythical places of importance to civilization and collective identity, but shaped like tents, they are placed in the context of homelessness, migrations and bare survival. The Mount Olympus, Ararat and Mount Sinai have been firmly established for millennia in the myth of salvation from barbarism, lawlessness, godlessness and divine punishment.[383] However, these same mountains are the geographical area from which hundreds of thousands of refugees are moving towards Europe in the 21st century due to war conflicts in their home countries. In this context, tents appear as something more crucial for survival than myths.

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[382] Radoš Antonijević, corrspodence, February 6, 2021

[383] Olympus is the center of the Greek pantheon, one of the oldest cultures, Mount Sinai is the place where God appeared to Moses and gave him the Ten Commandments, while Ararat is where humanity found salvation after the Great Flood.

Since tents are empty, Antonijević exhibits the emptiness that has always fascinated him in bronze sculptures. According to Slađana Milićević, the experience of emptiness is traumatic because in contemporaneity, "every possibility to really reside/dwell in a place, to establish a binding relationship between the subject and the world, has been abolished."[384] The external world has become repulsive and distasteful, because of which a subject remains in exile, in a *dissociative space* that is "an expression of the dislocation and separation of the modern subject in relation to the modern world."[385] *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art* is a shaped void of a *dissociative space* that is not a space of calmness, refuge, or self-realization, but "quite the opposite, a space of a permanently unfinished state, permanent uncertainty and anticipation."[386] It is a space in which individual freedom can be realized, but also remain trapped; "the experience of it is essentially expressed by Freud's concept *das Unheimliche*."[387]

When encountering the *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art*, *das Unheimliche* feeling arises for several other reasons. That object is the product of a deconstructed world, it points to the impermanence of buildings, institutions, states, housing; everything that should give an individual a sense of comfort. Its olive green color is associated with the return of history in unexpected and unwanted moments, with alienation and homelessness generated by war or the unequal distribution of wealth. In this context, the tent appears as something handy because one can never know when another war will break out or when will one become homeless for some other reason. One can never know when something familiar, known and close will become a source of chills and horror. Within the *das Unheimliche* character of contemporaneity, the tent appears as a personal portable package of a *heimlich* feeling that one can take anywhere, and it will "always carry with it the story of the Museum of Contemporary Art, of modernism in Yugoslavia, of contemporary art in Serbia, and of us in general."[388] Viewed

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[384] Slađana Milićević, „Disocijativni prostor modernosti: diskurs praznine u arhitekturi i vizuelnim umetnostima XX i početka XXI veka" [Dissociative Space of Modernity: The Discourse of Emptiness within Architecture and Visual Arts in 20th and at the Beginning of 21st Century] – doctoral dissertation, Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, Departman za arhitekturu i urbanizam, 2017, 90

[385] *Ibid*.

[386] Milićević, 88

[387] *Ibid*., 16

[388] Antonijević, correspodence.

in the context of the current migrant crisis, to which Antonijević's other sculpture-tents refer, this work indicates that *das Unheimliche* feeling goes beyond the disintegration of Yugoslavia and that the loss of home, birthplace, and stability, is an increasingly distinctive feature of contemporaneity.

When we analyse the *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art* according to the categorical quotational quadrilateral introduced by Oraić Tolić, we see that in that work

> mimesis of cultural meanings that the Museum acquired in recent history dominates on the level of semantics. On the syntactic level, the principle of equal inter-quotational dialogue dominates, in which different quoted discourses (military, architectural, museological, cultural) are in an equal relationship with each other and with the quoted work. At the level of pragmatics, the work is oriented towards the known experience of an average addressee, and in terms of cultural function, the work respects the older, quoted.[389]

Jasmina Cibic and Radoš Antonijević applied *illuminative* quoting to two architectural objects that represented the republics of SFRY and were very important for the international presentation of the country – the Yugoslav pavilion at EXPO 1967 in Montreal and the Museum of Contemporary Art in New Belgrade. Both artists used these symbolically significant buildings as quotations to create new narratives about the fragility of a state and about the changes that have followed in the years since these buildings were conceived. Both artistic texts in which these objects are quoted evoke the *das Unheimliche* effect, Sigmund Freud's aesthetic concept expanded to space and architecture by Anthony Vidler. They represent something familiar becoming something horrifying, evoking the violence of war and the struggle for bare survival. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism thus becomes part of wider narratives about general alienation and homelessness as key features of contemporaneity.

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[389] Соња Јанков, „Цитирање архитектуре као уметничка и интерпретативна стратегија у савременој скулптури: пример Радоша Антонијевића" [Citing Architecture as Artistic and Interpretational Strategy in Contemporary Sculpture: The Case of Radoš Antonijević], *Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности*, 48 (2020), 312

3.2.2. *Illuminative* Quoting of the Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism as Purification of an *Abject*

In the book *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (*Pouvoirs de l'horreur. Essai sur l'abjection*), Julia Kristeva aims to define an *abject*, bearing in mind that the term, that is, what it signifies, escapes designation and definition. *Abject* is neither subject nor object; it exists in the border area, in the liminal space. It belongs to the subject or any other entity (society, collective identity, etc.), but it must be rejected because it represents a danger. As the ultimate example of the *abject*, Kristeva sees the body of a deceased. Someone who used to be a member of a community, suddenly becomes a corpse that must be removed quickly as something detrimental to the health and life of the community, while the speed with which someone is relabelled into a source of infection is also disgusting in itself. While there is a rational explanation and a real reason for such relabelling of the body of a deceased, Kristeva notes that *abject* can be constructed. For her, one of the most important questions is how members of society are declared *abjects*, as a result of which other members of the same society create such an aversion towards them and physically react in repulsion and disgust. Examples of such constructed *abjections* Kristeva finds in anti-Semitism and homophobia.

Abject is, therefore, something expelled, radically excluded. It violates the identity (of society, individual), system, order, it does not respect borders, places, rules, it is the in-between, the ambiguous, the composite,[390] "something" impure, inappropriate, which causes horror, disgust and repulsion, but also the *das Unheimliche* feeling when we recognize it to have similarities to ourselves. Kristeva indicates that *abject* can be physical, psychological and/or moral, but also that one reacts to it physically, psychologically and/or morally. As the most typical example of a physical *abject*, Kristeva lists all bodily secretions that violate a body's boundaries (faeces, sweat, slime, menstrual blood), but also moldy food, that is, everything that must be removed for an organism to function normally and remain healthy. We

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[390] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, 4

can react to *abject* physically, as when the strong unpleasant smell of faeces urges us to vomit, as well as psychologically – we instinctively avoid touching faeces, but we can also react morally by, for example, condemning defecating outside the places designated for it.

Kristeva points out that the morals and the conscience deal with an *abject*, that is, moral norms as regulators of behavior – "To each ego its object, to each superego its abject."[391] As the superego develops under the influence of a living environment, different communities have different approaches to an *abject*, as well as different mechanisms of rejecting it. For example, the body of a deceased person is dignifiedly removed in many different funeral customs of different communities. For this reason, Kristeva pays a lot of attention to religion, pointing out that "various means *of purifying* the abject—the various catharses—make up the history of religions, and end up with that catharsis par excellence called art."[392] It is art that thematizes incest, phobias, taboos, and sins, but also outcasts from society and the marginalized, *abjected*; groups such as convicts, unmarried mothers, individuals with developmental difficulties, homosexuals, transgender people, sex workers and others.

Abject is, therefore, something that is a part of a whole (social, physical or any other), but it becomes rejected because it is a real or constructed danger. In the case of architecture, real danger is represented by buildings that have been damaged in earthquakes or war, that are built on a landslide, contain harmful materials, or were built inexpertly with their statics were poorly calculated. However, in urban areas there are also phenomena that are not necessarily dangerous, as much as they are considered inadequate and inappropriate, such as self-built constructions that are part of cities, but not part of an urban plan. It is estimated that as much as "98 percent of the architecture in the world is actually not built by architects."[393] Such architecture is still mostly beyond the interest of architectural historians, urban planners or city institutions, however, it is not beyond the interest of the artists.

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[391] *Ibid.*, 2

[392] *Ibid.*, 17

[393] Marjetica Potrč, "Space and Architecture in the Artistic Process" – panel discussion, moderated by Lukas Feireiss, aus: Susanne Hauser und Julia Weber (Hg.), *Architektur in transdisziplinärer Perspektive – Von Philosophie bis Tanz. Aktuelle Zugänge und Positionen*, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015, 385

Informal settlements made of cardboard, metal sheets, nylon, thrown-away doors and other elements, without connection to a water supply, electricity or sewerage, are the most drastic examples of informal urbanism. They are usually completely, physically removed as if they were damaged constructions endangering their users, instead of being their only housing solution. Deflection from them is, thus, caused by the fact that they are constructed *abjects*. They exist in the intermediate space, on the border of meaning, without having their existence acknowledged and without properly dealing with the subjects for whom these are the only affordable homes. For this reason, they become part or theme of artistic practices. In this chapter, we focus on selected works of Dušica Dražić and Milorad Mladenović who turn to those *other* sides of modernist architecture and urban planning which are excluded from the history and reality of architecture.

In her artistic practice, Dušica Dražić often turns to architecture, applying methods of intervention, displacement or reproduction, having in mind the impossibility of copying architecture with all its functions and without changing its meaning. For Dražić, architecture is closely related to time; it is a trace of something that has disappeared or the beginning of something that can be created, a testimony of communities that used architecture and that, with the help of architecture, can create new forms of social relations. Therefore, architecture appears in her works not only as something that is full of potential and that represents a creative tool for building social activities,[394] but also as something that is a trace of history, be it collective, personal, preserved or completely erased, that exists between reality and oblivion, often at the verge of ruinification and destruction.[395]

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[394] See her works *Monument to the future* (2011) and *Modulus* (2015).

[395] See her works *Wien, Neumayergasse 19, 1st Floor, Flat No. 4* (2013), *The Winter Garden* (2010, 51st October salon) and *Prelom – breach, break, breakage, failure, fraction, fracture, infraction, rupture, split, layout* (2008). as well as *Promenade architecturale – Imaginary Space of Art* (2012) with which she re-enacts the position of the visitors at the first exhibition opened at MoCAB, following a photograph by Branibor Debeljković from 1965, but now in an empty building, without works of art, at the time when the building was closed and without its function due to delayed reconstruction.

Image 10   Dušica Dražić, *New City*, 2013. Photograph: Wim Janssen.
                  Technical drawings and architectural models: Goran Petrović and
                  Dušica Dražić. Production: STUK arts center, Leuven, Belgium.
                  Quoted texts: modernist concept of new cities, 46 demolished
                  buildings/complexes, including the Asbestos settlement in
                  Belgrade, built in 1966, removed in 2006–2011

For the works of Dražić, which include architecture as a syntactic and semantic element, we can say that the presence of quotation(s) is their dominant feature. This is also the case with her installation *New City* (2013, Image 10), which is named after the modernist trend of building entire cities in a short period of time, such as Brasilia, New Belgrade or industrial cities. Some of them, like Brasília, showed themselves to be failed projects after several decades because their structures were closed too quickly, and their functions too singular, as a result of which they could no longer change, develop and improve.[396] On the contrary, an open structure of a new city could result in it remaining unfinished, and thus a failed project, because it would not provide the inhabitants with a sufficient framework for qualitative social life. Dušica Dražić turns to this concept of new cities, once considered a progressive megastructural project, later determined as a failed project, and creates the installation *New City*. As an artistic method, she uses scale modeling, which is the favorite means of presenting megastructural projects because scale models are easily readable by a wide audience, and they show the power of state policy to complete such large projects.[397]

The *New City* by Dušica Dražić consists of 46 buildings/complexes: eight residential blocks/towers, eight office buildings, a railway station, a bus station, three schools, a multi-story garage, a general court building, a general hospital, a cinema, cultural institution facilities, two swimming pools, a stadium, an airport, a factory, a prison, five hotels, five multifunctional buildings, three private houses and three shopping centers. Conceived in this way, *New City* contains everything that a city should contain in order to function well. Since the modernist concept of new cities has shown itself to be a failure in most cases, thus something that has been *abjected*, Dušica Dražić with *New City* brings liveliness and sustainability to that concept. She ensures good traffic connections (airport, train station and bus station), sufficient housing, an adequate ratio of the health and education facilities to the number of inhabitants, as well as an

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[396] Rudi Supek, *Grad po mjeri čovjeka* [*A City Tailored to People*], Zagreb: Naprijed, 1987, 117

[397] Dejan Mitov, "The use of Architectural Scale Models in Populist Representation of Megastructural Projects," in: Milena Dragićević Šešić and Mirjana Nikolić (eds.), *Situating Populist Politics: Arts & Media Nexus*, Belgrade: Clio and Faculty of Dramatic Arts – Institute for Theatre, Film, Radio and Television, 2019, 218

abundance of cultural, entertainment and sports content. Her *New City* is not primarily administrative or industrial like the failed new cities in history, where other amenities were neglected. She thereby *illuminatively* quotes the concept of the new city, rejecting its status of a "failed project" and creates a model of a fully functional city.

Apart from purifying the *abjected* modernist concept of the new city with this installation, Dražić goes even further. Namely, all 46 buildings/complexes whose scaled models make up the *New City* used to exist, but were declared failed projects and demolished by city authorities. The *New City*, thus, apart from referencing one *abject*—the concept of new cities—also contains an additional 46 *abjects*— demolished architectural objects from 30 cities in 12 countries. Among them are buildings designed by the most eminent architects of modernism, brutalism and metabolism, such as three buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright, Erno Goldfinger's Odeon Cinema Elephant & Castle, John Bancroft's Pimlico School, Tim Tinker's Heygate Estate, hotels designed by metabolists Kenzo Tange and Kiyonori Kikutake. There are also buildings that have been protected as cultural heritage or represented the highest achievements in architecture at their time of their construction.[398] Despite this, all these buildings became unprofitable and unsustainable over time, which is why the city authorities decided to demolish them. In a publication accompanying the installation, Dražić provides information about each building/ complex whose scale model is part of the installation, including photographs, technical drawings, names of architects, location, func-tion, year of creation and year of demolition. By returning them to the history of architecture after they were *abjected*, that is, by returning them to the symbolic order, Dražić quotes them *illuminatively*.

The *New City* also contains scale models of two failed residential complexes. One of them is Hulme Crescents built in Manchester in 1972 and demolished in 1991 after it showed already in 1975 to have safety issues for children and unaffordable floor

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[398] Some of these are Poltegor Centre B, the highest building in Wrocław in 1982, known for its golden glass façade, Centre International Rogier, built on occasion of the 1958 World's Exposition in Brussels, the State Office Building Sidney, the tallest skyscraper in Australia when it was constructed in 1964. For more info about the architectural objects/complexes included in the installation see: Sonja Jankov, "Re-Thinking Architectural Modernism in Contemporary Art: Jasmina Cibic, Dušica Dražić and Katarina Burin," *AM Journal of Art and Media Studies*, 16 (2018), 85–98

heating. Another is the so-called Asbestos settlement, an experimental residential housing project in the "Bele vode" area in Belgrade. Completed in 1966, it consisted of 28 buildings that were meant to be temporary; however, decades later, the tenants had nowhere else to move. In the mid-1990s, the buildings were discovered to contain asbestos, a highly toxic material used for insulation and as a concrete component, which in the form of dust showed to cause cancerous anomalies and other diseases.[399] The tenants soon started protesting and alarming the authorities about the need for these buildings to be demolished safely and for them to be relocated into other buildings. After ten years, the removal of buildings started in 2006, using a special technique of manual dismantling, instead of machinery that would leave a large concentration of carcinogenic asbestos dust in the air. All buildings were finally removed in 2011, and the material was sent to Germany for recycling. New buildings were built in their place. The Asbestos settlement thus represents an *abject* in the true sense of the word as defined by Kristeva – something that must be rejected in order to survive, unlike most of the buildings within the *New City*, which are demolished because they were unprofitable.

By the use of *illuminative* quoting, *New City* by Dušica Dražić represents a specific study that shows how *abjection* affects city planning and to what extent it mirrors changes in the market value of construction plots that have no regard even for protected cultural heritage. It urges us to think about cultural values of architecture and all its potential functions, before declaring it a failed project that needs to be demolished. Most of the buildings included in the *New City* were public, social and inclusive, while those that replaced them are mostly corporate, private and unaffordable/inaccessible to majority. Unless they were endangering health or safety, as the Asbestos settlement and Hulme Crescents, the demolished buildings could have had new and different functions that would be beneficial to the local communities, instead of being demolished.

Another type of urban and architectural *abject* that has been sublimated in contemporary art are slums, the only housing solution for millions of people around the world. These settlements are not connected to the water supply and sewerage infrastructure, the

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[399] The use of asbestos in construction was suspended in Yugoslavia at the end of the 1970s.

recycled materials they are made of easily catch fire, disintegrate under atmospheric influences and thus don't provide adequate shelter or safety. Their insufficiency is one reason why slums are *abjected* and removed, together with their inhabitants who are also treated as *abjects*. Another, more prominent reason, is that slums rise within city borders, at visible places, showing that many people live in poverty, without basic hygienic conditions and without proper social care. They testify to the state's lack of concern for the most vulnerable communities, those without housing, income, and healthcare that have no other option but to live in slums precisely because they are *abjects*. Systematic removal of slums to peripheries of cities, where they are less visible, presents additional abjectification that does not solve them as social and urban problems. Precisely because of that, artist and architect Milorad Mladenović turns to them in his work *CartonCity* (2009, Image 11).

CartonCity was an ephemeral urban intervention that consisted of three objects-models made of cardboard pieces, placed just beside the Sava Centre, "the largest and most representative facility of hybrid congress-cultural-business-hotel typology in Belgrade and Serbia."[400] Using a contextual approach and site-specificity, Mladenović quoted the Sava Centre, making it an irre-placeable part of his intervention. Such a contextual and site-specific approach is characteristic of his practice that combines elements of artistic research in architectural space, concept-projects,[401] photographic documentation and digital intervention. Mladenović creates site-sensitive interventions as specific machines for viewing the spatial context in which they are placed. According to Mladenović, it is not possible to perceive an artistic object outside of the context in which it is located, and so in order to achieve this, "the context has to be transformed into an object of perception through which the experience of presence is realized."[402]

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[400] Jelica Jovanović, statement in: Katarina Stevanović, „Prodat Sava centar: Zašto je važno sačuvati 'staklenu palatu na obali Save'" [Sava Center sold: Why is it important to preserve the 'glass palace on the bank of Sava river'], November 9, 2020, < https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/svet-53696054>, last accessed March 12, 2021

[401] One such work is the *Project of Panelling the Bauhaus School with Blackboards* (2014), which proposes using blackboards for panelling one of the most significant educational institutions for the history of modern art and design.

[402] Mladenović, *Neposredni konteksti*, 38

Image 11   Milorad Mladenović, *CartonCity*, 2009, created with help of Luka
                 Mladenović. Image: Milorad Mladenović. Produced within the
                 project *Belgrade:Nonplaces / Art in Public Space*, curated by Una
                 Popović and Dušica Dražić, July 31 – September 6, 2009. Quoted
                 text: Sava center, New Belgrade, arch. Stojan Maksimović,
                 construction period 1976–1981, reconstructed in 2023, protected
                 cultural heritage since 2017

For this reason, Mladenović adapts his work to a spatial context, and after extensive analyses he chooses materials and media for the realization of an idea, depending on the space itself. Through his contextual artistic practice, he strives to discover the qualities of space and to affirm them, or to make possible corrections of the given space.[403] Therefore, the materials he uses for his *in-situ* and site-specific interventions are very diverse, including panels of a suspended ceiling, building meters and spirit levels, drawings and scale models that are "supplementary to the spatial structure (place of intervention)"[404] and others. Mladenović's artistic practice is, therefore, at the same time *in* spaces and *about* spaces, which is to say, *in* and *about* spatial contexts of his artistic interventions.

Some such spaces are examples of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. Since Mladenović intervenes within architecture, directly in-situ or in forms of concepts, specific buildings and sites appear as quotations within his works. It is the case even with works in which architecture is presented by other media, such as in the case of glass panel entitled *The Building of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at Ušće is reflected on the structural façade of the European Parliament building in Brussels* (2006), which was exhibited at the 10th International Architecture Exhibition – la Biennale di Venezia. It is also the case with the concept *Plan for the Ušće Park, the Opera House, the extension of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Museum of New Belgrade with a concrete model of nine blocks on the foundations of the Museum of the Revolution* (2008, with Luka Mladenović). If those specific buildings were replaced by any other, Mladenović's works/concepts would become something different and their meanings would have changed. For that reason, we see them as quotations. We can determine the *texts* from which they originate and we can determine what other elements, along with quotations, constitute the new *texts* of the artistic works.

In *CartonCity*, such a quotation is the Sava Centre, designed by architect Stojan Maksimović. The first phase of the Sava Centre was completed as the venue for the second Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1977), the bringing of which to Yugoslavia was "one of the symbolic pinnacles of Tito's policy of peaceful

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[403] *Ibid.*, 42
[404] *Ibid.*, 76

coexistence."[405] In the following years, the Centre was expanded by adding segment B and the InterContinental hotel, and completely finished in 1981, having the most modern technology at the time. It has 15 conference halls with a capacity of 20–40,000 seats, and, considering the extension of the project, the short period of construction and integration of the entire process, "it represents a unique project that, unfortunately, has not been repeated in this region so far."[406]

The Sava Centre was made using a combination of reinforced concrete construction, steel frames and teal façade glass. Technologically and aesthetically, it was in line with the then-most modern architecture in the world, presenting "to all of Europe an emphatic statement of Yugoslavia's success at modernization."[407] It was presented also to countries beyond Europe, as it was later venue for annual meetings of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, Interpol, Foreign Exchange Market, the 6th United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as well as the 9th Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1989. The complex was a symbol of luxury, to which the construction of the Hyatt Hotel in 1989 contributed. It acquired the status of a cultural heritage in 2017, which was extended in April 2021, by the decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, on request by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia. It was sold to the Delta Holding company at the end of 2020, and renovated in 2023.

While the Sava Centre was a specific 'instrument' for establishing Yugoslavia's international position and is recognized for its importance for architectural history, *CartonCity* is its exact opposite. Recycled from cardboard, in a constant process of decay and easily revived with the use of new carton, *CartonCity*

> is the space of utter instability […] the space of settling and displacing for refugees, newcomers, the ones who hide as criminals and ones who occupy this space because they have nowhere else to go; place of complete

[405] Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 53
[406] Jovanović, in: Stevanović, November 9, 2020
[407] Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 53

absence of any defined compatible social plans and
political ambitions.[408]

Because it is deprived of ideology, nation and architecture, a
subject to waste, fragmentation, removal, destruction and conversion,
CartonCity is for Mladenović a *non-place*. It is also an *abject*, because it
doesn't exist on any city map, nor under any city planning parameter,
even though it is part of many cities that try to destroy it or hide it. By
presenting it in a form of scale models, Mladenović includes it into the
architectural discourse, but it disappears from it again when the rain
disintegrates the cardboard. With its temporary position near Sava
Centre, it served as temporary monument to Roma slums and
immigrant camps in the immediate vicinity that were removed prior
to the World University Games in 2009. Relatively close to the city
centre, they were visible to international guests who would come to
congresses in the Sava Centre and stay at InterContinental or Hyatt.[409]

New City and *CartonCity* are examples of *illuminative* quoting
of modernist architecture. Dražić quotes, and in that process subli-
mates, 46 demolished buildings/complexes, transforming *abjected*
architecture into a project for the future, into a model of a functional
new city. In terms of syntax, all elements within her *New City* are equal
and the meaning of the work is created through a dialogue between
three components: the values that the buildings had, the fact that they
had been demolished and the new purpose Dražić gives them while
reanimating them. On the pragmatic level, Dražić provides an
unknown view of the history of architecture and indicates the extent
to which *abjectification* is an integral part of urban planning and
development. On the level of cultural function, Dražić sets up a new
model of revaluing what really had to be *abjected* (buildings
containing asbestos) and what shouldn't have been (protected
cultural heritage and otherwise culturally valuable buildings). In the

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[408] Milorad Mladenović, "CartonCity," in: Una Popović and Dušica Dražić (eds.),
Belgrade: Nonplaces: Art in Public Space, Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art,
2009, 15

[409] Milorad Mladenović, "CartonCity," in: *Umetnik kao publika* [*Artist as Audience*],
editor: Boba Mirjana Stojadinović, November 24, 2010, Kulturni centar REX,
<https://razgovori.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/umetnik-kao-
publika_misam.pdf>, last accessed December 16, 2023

process of sublimating *abjects*, she returns each demolished building/complex into architectural history.

Unlike Dražić, who creates scale models of modernist buildings and the new city, Mladenović quotes an architectural object of Yugoslav modernism by using it as the contextual surrounding of his installation. The meaning of his *text* arises from the polemical relationship between the three carton models and the importance, design, size and luxurious features of Sava Centre and the hotels beside/within it. *CartonCity* comprises, thus, not only the carton models that fell apart after one rainy season, but also the collision created by the opposition between them and the Sava Centre. On the pragmatic level, Mladenović broke the established reception of modernist architecture, by pointing out that parallel to it existed, and still exists, its exact opposites. While the Sava Centre is one of the greatest modernist architectural achievements of one state, *CartonCity* is a symbol of all unplanned non-places around the world, of the only available housing to many people, of unsustainable shelters that are being *abjected*, hidden and removed, together with their users. In both of these works by Dušica Dražić and Milorad Mladenović, the *abjected* is brought back into the domain of the visible and discussible, by means of quoting architecture of Yugoslav modernism in an *illuminative* way.

3.3.   *Illustrative* **Quoting and Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism**

By means of *illuminative* quotation, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism became part of contemporary artistic practices; creating new narratives and meanings, with the selected architectural *texts* being used as metaphors for broader themes. In *illustrative* quoting, on the other hand, the new text is subordinated to the quoted text in order to highlight it, explain it, bring it closer to the contemporary audience. Relying again on Charles Morris' categorical semantic triangle upgraded to a quadrilateral, Oraić Tolić indicates what happens in the process of such quoting at the level of semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and the global cultural function that the text performs in the cultural system to which it belongs:

> on the level of semantics, the principle of mimesis, analogy, metaphoricity and adequacy dominates (quotational imitation), on the level of syntax, the principle of subordination of one's own to others, on the level of pragmatics, static orientation to the familiar experience of the reader, and on the level of cultural function, the principle of representation of someone else's text and culture.[410]

In new texts that result from *illustrative* quoting, quotations are more important than new parts, according to Oraić Tolić, because the cultural tradition and other people's texts are understood as *treasures*, and the new text performs the function of representing someone else's text and someone else's culture.[411] Artistic practices that quote the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in an *illustrative* way include interventions that take place in/on architectural objects. They point out their value, history or significance, which might be known to the audience, or might have remained invisible due to temporal distance, repurposing, ruining or some other factors that can influence valorization of architecture. The form of such artistic approaches depends on the depicted space so they usually have an *in*

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[410] Oraić Tolić, *Teorija citatnosti*, 43-44
[411] *Ibid.*, 45

situ and/or site-specific character that is subordinated, and adapted to characteristics of architecture. Of great importance for this type of quoting, are the current and former functions of a selected archi-tectural object (if they have changed), and its perception in the context of the entire oeuvre of the architect, the history of architecture or the city in which it is located.

The process of quoting architecture in an *illustrative* manner is thus similar to what Višnja Žugić defined as the mechanism of *framing*. Artistic practices that apply it appear as a set of conditions that allow seeing the significance of architecture or some of its less visible aspects. As different architectural objects are in different conditions, site-specific practices in/about them can have different goals and effects. Buildings and complexes that are in good condition, while being quoted in an *illuminative* way, have some of their historic functions or aspects revitalized, or some of their latent capacities discovered. For those that are in a bad condition, ruined, long abandoned and devastated, artistic practices that apply *illuminative* quoting point out their importance for the history of architecture, the cities they are within, and their potentials. Such buildings may also have significance for the local community, but it is necessary to show them as something more than unsanitary ruins, a disgrace to the city and/or dangerous places. Artists turn to such objects precisely to create new ways of perceiving them, through defamiliarization (*ostranenie*) and by introducing contrast—not to the architectural objects themselves, but to their current condition. They show not only the historic value of ruined buildings, but also that they have the potential to be something in the future.

Artistic practices that intervene in/on depicted buildings and architectural complexes are completely subordinated to their spatial characteristic and historic significance. For that reason, we classify them as examples of *illustrative quoting*. They appear as new texts, tailored to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism that in the process become a quotation. The primary aim of the artists who quote architecture of Yugoslav modernism in an *illustrative* way is not to create wider narratives about wider themes, as in the case of *illuminative* quoting, they are primarily doing so to intervene on the sites themselves, to analyze, explain and highlight their potentials or history, or to problematize their conditions and introduce a temporary new function that reanimates them. Such works could not be moved

unchanged to any other building, without losing their spatial characteristics (syntax) or meanings (pragmatics), because the buildings in which the intervene are part of them.

Interventions in/on architectural objects are not necessarily examples of quoting those architectural objects. There are many interventions whose meaning does not depend on formal, semantic or other characteristics of the depicted architectural object. Therefore, they can be exhibited/performed again within other buildings with minor technical changes, but without major changes in their meanings. One such work is the linear-neon installation *Window Washers* by Nina Ivanović, installed in 2019 on the façade of the former Press Hall in Belgrade, now partly used as the Cultural Centre of Belgrade (arch. Ratomir Bogojević, 1957–1960, protected cultural heritage since 2019). The installation was commissioned in response to the insufficient visibility of art in the city center, especially during the Christmas holidays when there are many light decorations in the streets. The work was imagined to be donated after several years to a selected health, educational or child protection institution as a gift from the city of Belgrade. Another installation in this category would be *Nothing spec* by Nadežde Kirćanski, which in 2018 transformed the Gallery of Youth Centre of Belgrade (arch. Dragoljub Filipović, Momčilo Belobrk and Zoran Tasić, 1961–1964) into a hospital waiting room. Despite the site specificity of this work, it can function in any building that is not a healthcare facility, because it is based on simulating a non-artistic environment by artistic means. Interventions that are quoting architecture in *illustrative* ways are inseparable from depicted architectural objects. Any application to another building would require formal and conceptual changes and result in different meanings.

In this chapter, we analyze several examples where *illustrative quoting* has been applied to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, in particular to administrative buildings, tourism complexes, residential complexes and museum buildings. For some of these typologies and functions, we had chosen more than one example, since their conditions differ and artists, consequently, approach them differently, even though they are applying the same type of quoting.

3.3.1. **Artistic Interventions in/about Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism**

In the midst of the privatization of the Rijeka shipyard in 2013, a site-specific video installation *SHIP=CITY* by Rafaela Dražić and the curatorial collective BLOK appeared on the façade of the former Bank of Rijeka, now Erste Bank (Image 12). The video was shown on May 3rd, the day Rijeka was liberated from fascist occupation in World War II, after which the shipyard was named "3. MAJ". The video represents selected statements of workers, artists, activists and journalists that point out the importance of the shipbuilding industry for the development and sustainability of the city and society as a whole. The privatization of the bank is recognized in the video as "an emblem for a series of mechanisms that dissolve the city with more or less visibility."[412] With privatization, the Bank of Rijeka lost its importance for the city and society, for "during the socialist period, it supported the thriving industry of Rijeka and returned the surplus value into its public funds."[413] Without that support, the largest industrial plants like "3. MAJ" are condemned to privatization, personnel cuts, structural change and a generally uncertain future.

The former Bank of Rijeka was directly involved in the social and economic development of the city during the socialist period, which is why the building, specifically designed for it, becomes the signifier of that historic period. Housing the now private bank, the building also points to the contrast between the role of banks in the socialist period and today's global economic system. The building was designed by architect Kazimir Ostrogović and built in 1965 in the void created by bombing during World War II. It connects to the People's Square [Narodni trg], today Jadran Square [Jadranski trg], in multiple ways. The first connection was achieved by pulling in the ground floor of the building behind the façade line, so that the Square symbolically enters the Bank and creates a passage to the surrounding streets. The second connection was made by using a glass façade – above the

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[412] BLOK and Rafaela Dražić, *SHIP=CITY / BROD=GRAD* – concept, May 3, 2013, <http://www.blok.hr/en/projekti/brod-grad>, last accessed November 18, 2023
[413] *Ibid*.

Image 12   Rafaela Dražić and [BLOK] – Ivana Hanaček, Ana Kutleša, Vesna Vuković, *SHIP=CITY*, May 3rd, 2013. Photograph by Aleksandra Mutić. The work was produced within the project *Spajalica* 2013 by the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Rijeka. Quoted text: Bank of Rijeka, arch. Kazimir Ostrogović, 1965

recessed ground floor, where there is a two-story hall with counters and a waiting room that has a direct view of the square; thus creating an illusion of continuity between the external and internal public space.

The third connection between the public square and the building is achieved through its shape, which composed of three volumes: the aforementioned part with the glass façade facing the square, a lower block behind it which contains offices, and a third block further back, eight-stories high and in line with the building behind. The building for the Bank of Rijeka thus rises in a cascade and fits into the surrounding public space, which makes it very different from economic centers of power that are mostly high towers that impose their height and dominate over cities in which they are located. Since the Bank of Rijeka was returning surplus value to public funds, the architectural relationship of its building to the public space symbolically illustrates this, representing a complete reversal in "the way of viewing and understanding the system of financial institutions and architectural typologies that strongly develop new social habits and rules of conduct."[414]

Dražić and BLOK point to this former connection of the bank to the public space and public funds, by depicting the glass façade—a seemingly invisible border between the public and the privatized—as the place for their video installation. As an additional semantic "key" that enables a deeper connection between the former and the current role of the bank, the authors include in their video the logo of the Bank of Rijeka which is shaped as a key and can be still seen on the building. *SHIP=CITY* is thus directly connected with the text of the building designed for a socialist financial institution by architect Kazimir Ostrogović. At the semantic level this installation is dominated by the principle of analogy that highlights the importance the Bank used to have and the absence of its social role nowadays. The installation would thus lose its meaning if it were projected unchanged on another building or within a gallery. The syntax of the video installation is characterized by subordinating one's own *text* to another's (Ostrogović's architectural design) and by choosing a form that, like the façade, is viewed from the public space of the Square. In terms of

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[414] Idis Turato, „Riječka banka: Kazimir Ostrogović" [Bank of Rijeka: Kazimir Ostrogović], October 2, 2011, last accessed November 18, 2023, <https://www.idisturato.com/blog/2011/10/02/rijecka-banka/>.

pragmatics, the video is orientated to the familiar experience of the audience who know that the new private bank replaced the Bank of Rijeka, the then largest enterprise in the city, which employed 30,000 workers and was in the process of being privatized. In terms of cultural function, the video represents someone else's *text*, the opinions of many people, as well as culture and social property that no longer belongs to the workers.

The transition from Socialism had a disastrous effect on factories/enterprises and social property, and numerous architectural objects built for the needs of those factories lost their function over this time. One such building is the Vinalko/Dalmacijavino headquarters with wine cellars in the city harbor in Split (arch. Stanko Fabris, 1958–1959), which has been abandoned and ruined for a number of years. In 2012, it was the venue for "Solidarity Network" forum organized by the artists' association Adria Art Annale (AAA), Non-Affirmed Art Scene (Neafirmirana umjetnička scena – NUS), the Network of Anarcho-Syndicalists (Mreža anarhosindikalista – MASA), students of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Split and the workers of Dalmacijavino. The forum took place as a sign of solidarity with the workers of Dalmacijavino, Jadrankamen, Adriachem, Brodosplit, Uzor and other socially owned factories/enterprises that were drastically damaged by the transition, but were still fighting for production, survival and against personnel cuts. During the forum, an exhibition to which many artists responded[415] took place (March 30 – April 7, 2012) and the whole project temporarily revitalized the building and gave it a new function.[416]

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[415] Božidar Jelenić, Vanja Pagar, Ivan Listeš, Marija Dujmović Kondres, Josip Pino Ivančić, Marko Marković, Marko Borota, Ana Bošković Freund, Damir Čargonja Čarli, Ana Zubak, Petar Đakulović, Igor Zovko, Gildo Bavčević, Petar Grimani, Franko Bušić, Milan Brkić, Rino Efendić, Lana Cavar, Goran Zubak, Predrag Golub, Branimir Lazanja, Igor Grubić, Nikša Čvorović, Jelena Sokić, Nina Jurić, Hrvoje Zuanić, Marija Barkiđija, Davor Stipan, DADAnti, Bruna Tomšić, Maria Marta Radman, KVART, Refik Fiko Saliji, Jakša Matošić

[416] Several years later, in 2017, the building was protected as cultural heritage (No. Z-7005), but the question of its renovation and sustainability remains open. Artist Duška Boban sees its repurposing into a Museum of the Sea as a possibility for its revitalization („Fabrisovo Dalmacijavino – novi, suvremeni i živi Muzej mora" [Fabris' Dalmacijavino – new, contemporary and living Museum of the Sea], April 24, 2015, <http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/fabrisovo-dalmacijavino-novi-suvremeni-i-zivi-muzej-mora/>, last accessed November 18, 2023)

One of the works at the exhibition was the performance *Resistance/Virtues of Capitalism* by Gildo Bavčević, who later edited its documentation into a video work. The performance consists of Bavčević making Molotov cocktails using bottles of Pipi juice, the most popular product of Dalmacijavino. The video also includes information about the origins of the Pipi brand and its importance in the popularisation of the leisure lifestyle, read by Lana Helena Hulenić in the background. A split-screen at times shows the current condition of the building (destroyed insulation, missing windows, holes in the floor, scattered remains of packages and equipment) and TV advertisements from the "golden age" of Dalmacijavino, when the Pipi brand played a significant role in the promotion of tourism and vacations on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast.

By depicting the Dalmacijavino headquarters building for his performance and by including archival footage related to the history of the Pipi brand and Yugoslavia, Bavčević subordinates his text to the text of architecture, thereby creating a representation of the change that occurred in the aftermath of the Yugoslav wars. His work is based on the drastic tension between the former symbolism of Dalmacija-vino's famous product and its conversion into a means of destruction. Such a conversion symbolically indicates that the destruction of social enterprises and devastation of social property should be seen as a post-war destruction of society, and, therefore, resisted. The Molotov cocktails thus create a symbolic connection between war destruction and devastation during the transition, since the damages on the building are so drastic that they seem as if they were created in war, instead of being created in the transition to capitalism. The use of Pipi juice bottles for Molotov cocktails also creates connection between the current utter devastation of the Dalmacijavino headquarters and its product that was most successful at the time when no one could imagine that Yugoslav economic prosperity could end in wars and devastation.

A striking contrast is also visible between the former and current condition of motels that were designed by architect Ivan Vitić and opened in 1965. That year was a turning point for the develop-ment of coastal tourism in Yugoslavia, as the Adriatic highway was opened and the federal parliament passed the law introducing the 42-hour working week and extending the minimum leave to 14 days. For that reason, historian Igor Duda sees this year as the birth year of the

weekend in socialist Yugoslavia.[417] These changes resulted in increased accommodation capacities of resorts that were owned by "the federal and Croatian administrations, administrations of other Yugoslav republics, the Party with its republican and local organizations, the Yugoslav People's Army, the Croatian, federal and other republics' police, the Trade Unions, children and youth organizations, the Red Cross, and various factories and companies."[418] One of those companies was the agricultural industrial complex Sljeme,[419] which opened a number of motels, three of which were designed by the architect Ivan Vitić.

Vitić designed a total of five motels for Sljeme, all of them along the Adriatic highway, near Rijeka, Biograd, Trogir, Umag and Primošten, but the last two were never built due to insufficient funds. All motels were of the same type, based on Vitić's 1962 design for a motel in Trieste, which also hadn't been built.[420] Motels for Sljeme were reduced in terms of scope and number of elements in comparison to the Trieste project, but they were based on the same spatial organization that included the main building connected to two blocks in a "П" shape and separate single-family pavilions.[421] Vitić applied this typology again in 1966 to the "Košuta" motel near Kragujevac, which has ten pavilions, while the motels near Trogir and Biograd have six each. The main motel buildings contained a reception, restaurant and rooms on the first floor accessed by an external staircase. They were meant to be equipped with a heating system that would keep the motel open year-round, albeit in a limited capacity.

Since Vitić had a particularly developed sensibility for the topographical features of the terrain, "all three motels – in Rijeka, Trogir and Biograd, even though standardized elements common to

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[417] Igor Duda, "What To Do at the Weekend? Leisure for Happy Consumers, Refreshed Workers, and Good Citizens," in: Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*, Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 311

[418] Igor Duda, "Escaping the City: Leisure Travel in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s," *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 9 (2005), 299

[419] During 1946–1992 work organisation, since 2006 joint stock company.

[420] Melita Čavlović, "The Motel and the Adriatic Highway," in: Bodrožić and Šimpraga (eds.), *Motel Trogir*, 73

[421] With the exception of the motel in Rijeka, for which the pavilions were also planned, but were not built.

all of them, are still quite individually distinct creations."[422] They differ in stone façades – "in Rijeka it's a stone wall made quarry stone slabs, in Biograd it's rough quarry stone and Trogir has 'cyclopean' masonry style quarry stone."[423] The reason for using stone lies partly in the federal decision that only building materials made by local producers can be used in each republic.[424] Vitić chose stone in particular to better connect the motels with the natural environment, which he also achieved through spatial composition.

The innovative spatial solution made Vitić's motels significantly different from the motel facilities that were built in Yugoslavia at that time. They reflect the basic characteristics of Vitić's late oeuvre – "floating masses," i.e. the use of voids, glass and columns for the main buildings of the complex, "the abstract purity of stereometric forms, the excellent grasp of the coastal idiom (Dalmatian wells, wooden blinds) or fine intuition for the balance and rhythm of the shaped surfaces."[425] Their value is also reflected in "land plot organization, architectural volume specifics, potential landscape value and the strong identity of its stone walls."[426] Despite all that, the motel near Trogir was in peril as early as in the 1970s, when hotel "Medena" was to be built nearby, with ten times the capacity of the motel, demonstrating that Vitić's typology is unprofitable. Its land plot, "although outside of the city limits at the time of construction, had risen in value as the city expanded,"[427] which became a constant threat to the motel.

Aiming to preserve Vitić's motel in Trogir and promote qualities of modernist architecture, the association for contemporary artistic practices Loose Associations (Slobodne veze)[428] and associates Lidija Butković Mićin, Saša Šimpraga and Diana Magdić, launched the *Motel Trogir* project in 2013. Through a series of workshops, organized walks, artistic interventions, presentations, exhibitions and research about modernist architecture, the project emphasized the

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[422] Lidija Butković Mićin, "Between the Road and the Sea," in: Bodrožić and Šimpraga (eds.), *Motel Trogir*, 101

[423] Čavlović, 82

[424] Melita Čavlović, "Constructing a Travel Landscape: A Case Study of the Sljeme Motels along the Adriatic Highway," *Architectural Histories*, 6 / 1 (2018), 6

[425] Butković Mićin, "Between the Road and the Sea," 101

[426] Čavlović, "The Motel and the Adriatic Highway," 83

[427] *Ibid.*

[428] Citizens' association that brings together curators, artists and cultural workers, founded in 2009 by Ivana Meštrov, Tonka Maleković and Nataša Bodrožić, in Zagreb.

value of Vitić's motel which was subsequently registered as cultural heritage in 2013 (No. Z-6169), while the motel in Rijeka was registered in 2015 (No. Z-6506), making it the first Yugoslav modernist building in the wider area of Rijeka to be protected as cultural heritage.

One of the artistic interventions on Vitić's motel in Trogir was an intervention by contemporary artist Neli Ružić on December 9, 2014 (Image 13). To a devastated motel without electricity and water, overgrown with wild greenery and stuck for many years in a court case between several owners, Ružić introduces a light installation by illuminating each of the six pavilions from the inside, with a different color. Activated at dusk, the lights/colors overlap with fading ambiental daylight, "creating a transition from a raw daytime image of devastated pavilions to a contrasting night-time image that combines elements of festivity and decay."[429] This transition is particularly visible in the video *Stolen Future*, which was created from the documentation of the intervention. By introducing light into the pavilions of the motel, Ružić reanimated the complex for a short time and made it visible at night from the highway, after it had been a dark void for decades. Her intervention is thus completely subordinated to Vitić's text which is now over fifty years old, with an uncertain future delayed by the court case. Once social property, Vitić's motel became a ruin and cultural heritage, and with the intervention of Neli Ružić, it transformed from "an eerie location invisible to new generations to a sublime architectural frame that records the passage of time and invites us to collectively make plans for the future,"[430] since one future has been already stolen from us.

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[429] Neli Ružić, correspodence, October 2, 2020

[430] Sonja Jankov, "Implicit (in)abilities of architecture," *Transformations: Contemporary Art in/about Architecture* – exhibition catalogue, (December 3–18, 2020), Pančevo: Gallery of Contemporary Art, 2020, 42

Image 13   Neli Ružić, *Stolen Future*, video HD 1080p, stereo sound, duration:
                  5'23'', BD, 2014/2015. Director and editor: Neli Ružić, sound
                  composition: Ricardo Cortes, camera: Ida Skoko and Darko
                  Škrobonja, color correction: Darko Škrobonja, illumination:
                  MediaRent Split. Quoted text: Motel Sljeme, Trogir, arch. Ivan Vitic,
                  1965, protected cultural heritage since 2013

Contemporary artists do not apply *illustrative quoting* only to ruined or significantly changed architectural objects. They also use it for the purpose of strengthening the community and maintaining the positive aspects of architecture. Such is the case with activities of the Association for Contemporary Art KVART within Split 3, Trstenik City District, Croatia. Split 3 is a specific urban-architectural complex for 40,000 inhabitants, which is composed of pedestrian streets and residential mega-blocks around them. The authors of the urban plan of Split 3 in 1969 were Vladimir Braco Mušić, Marjan Bežan and Nives Starc, while the architects of the residential blocks were Ivo Radić, Frano Gotovac, Dinko Kovačić, Mihajlo Zorić, Danko Lendić, Ante Svarčić, Marjan Cerar and Tonko Mladina. Split 3 was built in 1977, using prefabricated systems IMS and YU-61,[431] and the coordinator of the entire project was architect Josip Vojnović. According to Andrija Mutnjaković, Split 3 is a positive example of the humanization of the environment where free space around a building is perceived as a "space for gathering, and not only as a passage."[432]

In 2013, Diana Magdić, an urban sociologist, conducted a survey and analysis on the quality of such spatial solutions. She focused on residents of Papandopulova Street, designed in 1972 by architect Ivo Radić. The survey showed that 90% of respondents would never move from the Street. Tenants are most satisfied with the availability of services (bank, post office, shops), traffic connections, relations with neighbors, the apartments themselves, the quality of the building, while sports (1.62 on a scale of 1–5) and children's play-grounds (2.08) are rated the lowest. Almost all respondents "warned about parking problems and blocked access to emergency vehicles, which is a direct consequence of interpolation on the area intended for sports and recreational activities."[433]

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[431] YU-61 was an open construction system designed by Bogdan Budimirov, Željko Solar and Dragutin Stilinović for construction company Jugomont in 1961. It consisted of concrete slabs and an open façade that could be finished in any material, usually aluminium with thermo-insulation, which could be cut and placed on construction sites. It was imagined to continuously evolve, but soon it showed that different materials age differently and need maintenance and repairing. It was implemented in many mass housing projects in Yugoslavia.

[432] Mutnjaković, *Endemska arhitektura* [*Endemic Architecture*], 1987, quoted in Стојиљковић, 296

[433] Diana Magdić, „Mjesto, vrijeme" [Place, time], in: Diana Magdić (ur.), *Međuprostori*, Split: Udruga Teserakt za interdisciplinarna istraživanja, 2014, 30

We can look at the practice of the Association for Contemporary Art KVART as a specific form of struggle to preserve the quality of living in Split 3. KVART has been active in the area since 2006, and its members are former or current residents of Split 3 and the Trstenik City District. Since its second annual *Trstenik Openly* [*Trstenik otvoreno*] exhibition, KVART has operated predominantly in the open public space, inviting residents to open conversations about the current problems of the neighborhood, and acting "as an engaged neighbor who raises awareness of social reality and mobilizes the community to action."[434] Besides animating the underground garages, streets, façades, parking lots, beaches, playgrounds and billboards in the area, they also aim to strengthen the community with projects such as the *World Crocodile Exhibition* in 2012, when they invited the residents of Trstenik to draw crocodiles.

In addition, KVART, together with its neighbours, implemented numerous actions to preserve or improve the public space of Split 3. They include planting trees to prevent turning a grass area into a parking lot, protesting against the amendment to the General Urban Plan that replaced the sports hall with a cheaper outdoor playground with underground garages, a performance-action research on the pollution of streams (*Investigation*, 2009), an intervention against the alienation of free parking spaces, protest and action *Right to View* (2011) against the construction of a new building in Papandopulova Street. In 2011, they made the installation *Smisao* (*Sense*, Image 14) which highlights the necessity of connecting the pedestrian zone with the beach, as a form of revolt against the construction of a private facility that would make it impossible. KVART works through practice, contextually, dialogically, and collectively, in the domain of the *social turn* (Bishop), *relational aesthetics* (Bourriaud); art with communities and *connective aesthetics*, while their practice can be also described as a *critical spatial practice* (Rendell).[435] They use art to activate common

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[434] Ana Čukušić, „Udruga za suvremenu umjetnost *KVART*: političnost umjetnosti" [Association for Contemporary Art KVART: The Politics of Art] – diploma thesis, Split: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti, 2019, 17

[435] Artists from KVART run and won elections for the president of Trstenik City District in 2014, using their specific approach to the campaign. During their mandate, "the most money and attention was devoted to the utility sector and infrastructural repairs: installing a fence for dogs, repairing the staircase in Dinko Šimunović Street and filling holes in the asphalt" (Čukušić, *op. cit.*, 11).

spaces made possible by urban and architectural characteristics of Split 3. According to art historian Ana Čukušić, KVART "brings a change in terms of activism and willingness to participate in public actions or protests, that is, breaks the fear of the consequences of public expression of disagreement,"[436] and their greatest success "is that they raised the community's awareness of the right to space."[437]

The artistic/participatory actions of KVART are thus subordinated to the text of Split 3, and its urban and architectural characteristics. They reanimate the positive aspects of public space, activating it as a place for meeting and communication, but also defend it when it is endangered. They also highlight some of its hidden potentials. In 2019, they started planting potatoes and cabbages in urban planters in front of the blocks in Papandopoulova Street (Image 15). Soon after, other residents, including children, started self-initiatively to water the plants regularly. According to Ana Čukušić, this is the first community project that took place without the necessary further participation of the Association; until then, the community was partially passive, which "comes from the expectation that the Association engages and offers solutions."[438] The project of growing vegetables in planters is an indicator that KVART created a micro-community that actively uses, and maintains and improves the public space. The existence of community inevitably has an impact on the further preservation of the urban-architectural complex Split 3, as an important urban and architectural heritage of Yugoslav modernism.

If we return to the semantic quadrilateral of *illustrative quoting*, KVART's actions fulfill all four relations of this type of quoting. Semantic adequacy and syntactic subordination are noticeable in all actions because they are related to that specific residential area and they are concerned with practical problems in it. For the same reason, they rely on the known users' experience and they are even largely based on it, while a participative struggle for common goals creates new common experiences. In terms of cultural function, KVART's actions are fully dedicated to the representation and preservation of other people's text (the public space and urban-architectural complex of Split 3) and of the common culture that artists share with their neighbors; other residents of Split 3.

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[436] Čukušić, 81

[437] *Ibid.*, 108

[438] *Ibid.*, 81

Image 14   Association for Contemporary Art KVART, *Smisao*, 2011. Photograph from the archive of KVART. Quoted text: Split 3, urban planning: Vladimir Braco Mušić, Marjan Bežan and Nives Starc, 1969–1977

Image 15   Association for Contemporary Art KVART and tenants, *Potatoes from Trstenik*, 2019, the action that resulted in harvesting 60kg of potatoes. In the background: sculpture *My piece of Heaven* [*Moj komad neba*] by Boris Šitum (KVART), 2003. Photograph from the archive of KVART. Quoted text: Papandopulova Street, Split 3, arch. Ivo Radić, 1972

All four examples mentioned—the installation on the façade of the former Bank of Rijeka, the performance and video in/about the Dalmacijavino building, the intervention in the pavilions of the Sljeme motel and the actions in Split 3—share a common characteristic: They are all conditioned and enabled by architectural/urban characteristics and by the current states of the buildings/complexes they depicted as quotations/venues. None of these actions could be repeated without modification at another place. Video installation *SHIP=CITY* loses a significant part of itself if not projected exactly on the building to which it refers, the repurposed bottles of Pipi juice are inseparable from the devastated architecture built for the social enterprise that used to produce them, Neli Ružić's intervention is not even applicable to any other object except to the pavilions of Vitić's motel. Actions realized with/by residents of Split 3 seem to be repeatable in any other community of a similar residential complex. However, they represent social as much as artistic practice, thus, changing a community would also mean a change in the working process, the influence of many different factors, and thus a different outcome. They are, as such, *community-specific*, not only site-specific.

The site-specific character of the artistic practices that apply *illustrative quoting* of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, makes them similar to what Višnja Žugić defined as the *mechanism of framing*. But it also makes them similar to what she defined as a *mechanism of correlation* that arises between artistic practices and space, whereby space "has the ability to separate itself from the passive role of an envelope, and becomes an inseparable part and agent of the action."[439] In such a mutually conditioned relationship, architectural space influences the shaping of artistic practices that take place within it, to the same extent that they influence its perception.

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[439] Žugić, „Performativnost arhitektonskog prostora", 193

3.3.2. **Contemporary Artistic Practices and Cultural Memory of the Yugoslav Revolution**

For every traumatic or radical event in history, there are primary witnesses and there are other people and newer generations to whom the memory of the event is mediated. It is usually done by using material objects and narratives that, structured around these objects, tell a story about the event. The objects can vary from photographs to monuments, and they *per se* are irrelevant to people who are unaware of the specific event to which they refer. For that reason, such objects need narratives, which in repetition become an institutionalized and customized explanation of the objects' relation to the past and their importance to a community. These two relations to the past—cultural formation (accumulated objects) and institution-alized communication (repetitive stories) that actualize them—Jan Assmann defines as "figures of memory."[440] They are reconstructing the past, since "[n]o memory can preserve the past."[441]

However, one without the other has no meaning and, according to Jay Winter, sites of memory are invisible until someone points them out or until others "organize acts of remembrance around it. Without such an effort, sites of memory vanish into thin air and stay there."[442] In the same way that cultural practices in the present affect memories of the past, cultural practices that refer to past events greatly influence our present. They result in social memories, which are "varieties of forms through which we are shaped by the past, conscious and unconscious, public and private, material and communicative, consensual and challenged."[443] They are constituted through figures of memory (objects and narratives) which result in cultural memory, that is, in "people's memories constructed from the

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[440] Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring – Summer 1995), 129

[441] *Ibid.*, 130

[442] Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War," in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008, 73

[443] Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 24 (1998), 112

cultural forms."[444] Each anniversary, commemoration or museum presents a form through which our relation to the past is shaped. Furthermore, our relation to the present, other people and ourselves, since "collective identities, whether ethnic, national or continental, are always complex compositions of myth, memory, and political convenience."[445] For that reason, cultural memory defines what historical events will be relevant for us today.

Every society, in order to maintain its collective identity, repeats cultural practices of collective importance, such as the celebration of national holidays. In Yugoslavia, the collective identity was based on the idea of the Yugoslav Revolution that included three complementing areas: (1) brotherhood and unity of the South Slavic peoples in the anti-fascist struggle and liberation, (2) non-alignment, (3) an economic and political system based on decentralization and workers' self-management that created social property. When the common identity started dissolving, narratives and acts of memory that maintained that identity started disappearing, or *vice versa*. Monuments to the anti-fascist struggle were systematically neglected and/or destroyed during the 1990s precisely because there was no longer a need for that common identity. Even earlier, the construction of the Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities was abandoned, because the memory of the Revolution was no longer needed to maintain the collective identity, that is, there was no more need for the collective identity.

In 1959, when the Museum was founded, there were 311 memorial institutions dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle in Yugoslavia (museums, collections, archives, libraries and galleries).[446] Each of them gave a small, local perspective on the topic, so the Museum was conceived as an institution that would provide a complete insight into the people's Revolution, understood both as liberation and united struggle for a progressive society. Moreover, the Museum was supposed to be an educational institution that would inspire younger generations and teach them how to become part of

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[444] Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, Maidenhead and Phiadelphia: Open University Press, 2003, 25

[445] Tony Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", *Daedalus* (Fall 1992), 112

[446] See: Ivan Kovačević, „Muzej revolucije naroda Jugoslavije" [Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution], *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis*, 1 (1962), 127–130

Yugoslav socialism. Like New Belgrade, it was meant to belong to all Yugoslavs and new generations. With an aim to complete it in 1966, an open competition for its building was announced in 1961. The location was already determined by the 1960 regulation plan – the Museum was to form a constellation with the Central Committee, the Modern Gallery (built as the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1965), the Ethnographic Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Party School and three objects that were designated as reserves.[447] None of the 29 submitted works was awarded the first prize, however, Vjenceslav Richter's proposal was selected for further development and construction.[448]

Richter's design represented a specific critique of the established cubic typology of museum buildings that was adopted from International modernism. He added to the modernist cubic mass a sweeping, curvilinear, sculptural roof that would reach 46m in height, following his principle of synthesizing fine and applied arts, in particular sculpture and architecture. The dynamic form of the roof was to be partly made of glass that would enable an abundance of diffused light in the interior. With such a solution for the roof, Richter not only designed a mechanism for adequate use of natural lighting but also created an abstract ideological form that symbolizes striving towards the progress and future. He gave "architectural shape to the hope of achieving a more just society."[449] Conceived in this way, the building of the Museum of the Revolution would become "one of the most expressive manifestations of essential reflections of the social context and ideology in the spatial and architectural concept."[450]

However, already in 1964, the process of relocating the Museum began, which in time showed itself to be a process of postponing and abandoning its construction. By 1977, nine locations

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[447] Марија Милинковић, „Архитектонска критичка пракса: теоријски модели" [Architectural critical practice: theoretical models] – doctoral dissertation, Београд: Архитектонски факултет, 2012, 148

[448] The collaborator in the competition phase was Božo Antunović. In addition to the Museum of Revolution in New Belgrade, Richter also designed projects for the Belgrade City Museum (with Zdravko Bregovec, 1954, unrealised), the Archaeological Museum in Aleppo (with Bregovec, 1956), the Museum of Spatial Exhibits (1963) and the Museum of Evolution in Krapina (1966).

[449] Kulić, "The Scope of Socialist Modernism," 61

[450] Zeković, Konstantinović, Žugić, *Koncepti, programi i funkcije arhitektonskih projekata paviljonskih struktura*, 131

in New Belgrade were chosen, analyzed and declared unsuitable.[451] During this period, Federal Law on Museums of the Revolution was passed, as well as amendments to regulations in construction technologies, so Richter's project had to be adapted to comply with them.[452] Then the final, tenth location was selected, between the two most important Yugoslav administrative and political institutions— the Federal Executive Council and the Building of Social and Political Organisations (formerly Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia). The Museum was by this decision "deprived of its role in cultural politics, and given an exclusively ideological role, invested in the politics of power," by which it lost "its main attributes of contemporaneity: a-temporality and a-contextuality."[453] The first construction works began in 1978, seventeen years after the open call. By 1981, when the Museum was to be finally opened, only the underground level was partially completed and several columns in reinforced concrete. The project was completely shut down in 1982, and the funding was suspended.[454]

This entire process, from the open competition, through changes of location, to the beginning of construction works and abortion of the whole project for the Museum of Revolution, "historically coincides with the process of social re-examination and gradual abandonment of the political and ideological content that was identified by it and spatially shaped by it."[455] As the Museum was "a product of the epoch in which it was created, a representative of its ideals and social values,"[456] its abandoned construction reflects the change in social values, that is, the disappearance of the uniting ideals that connected working peoples of Yugoslavia in an effort to create a better society. Conceived as a signifier of the revolutionary beginnings

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[451] For an architectural study of all proposed locations and photographs by Andrea Palašti showing how those locations looked in 2014, see Igor Sladoljev (ed.), *14–14: 100 Works [and] Museum of the Revolution*, catalogue, 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia, Serbian Pavillion (June 5 – November 23, 2014), Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2014

[452] Милинковић, „Архитектонска критичка пракса", 152

[453] Благојевић, *Нови Београд: оспорени модернизам*, 228–229

[454] The artefacts that would had been in the MRNNJ collection were added to the "Josip Broz Tito" memorial centre in 1996, creating the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, which was renamed in Museum of Yugoslavia in 2018.

[455] Милинковић, „Архитектонска критичка пракса", 146

[456] *Ibid.*, 156

and socialist development of the community, the Museum "became, by not being realized, just as it would become by being realized at a new location, a representative of the disaccord of the disappearing community." [457] Still visible abandoned foundations "remain as a strangely appropriate symbol of the failed project of socialist Yugoslavia,"[458] as signifier of the "declining status of the federation, which for more than 20 years could not bring itself to finish a project of such symbolic significance for its own ideological system."[459]

The voids and new buildings erected on sites that were considered for the Museum of Revolution, such as a shopping mall and church, testify to "new feudalism, historical revisionism and the new position of the church in society."[460] Along with the unfinished foundations of the Museum building, they are symptoms of strategic forgetting as a means of denying the existence of a former common identity. When it comes to strategies of forgetting, Paul Connerton defines seven types, which Milena Dragićević Šešić and Milena Stefanović consider to be the *policies of forgetting*: repressive erasure, prescriptive forgetting, forgetting as a necessity for a new identity, structural amnesia, forgetting as annulment, forgetting as planned obsolescence and forgetting as humiliated silence.[461] Dragićević Šešić and Stefanović add two more policies of forgetting to these: forgetting as shameful silence, related to traumas sent to oblivion due to feelings of guilt and shame, and forgetting as confused silence, when it's unclear how to react to a certain controversial event which is therefore sent to oblivion.[462] Contemporary artists react through their practices to these nine strategies/policies of erasing the past, memory and common identity.

Arguing that the change of the location for the Museum of Revolution meant its end, architects Marko Salapura and Igor Sladoljev created a specific full-scale representation of Richter's

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[457] Лујак, „Промена парадигме архитектонско-урбанистичких концепата на објектима културе", 105

[458] Kulić, "The Scope of Socialist Modernism," 52

[459] Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 50

[460] Marko Salapura, correspodence, November 2, 2021

[461] See: Paul Connerton, "Seven types of forgetting," *Memory Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2008), 59–71

[462] Milena Dragićević Šešić and Milena Stefanović, "Organizational trauma – Types of organizational forgetting in the case of Belgrade theaters," *Етноантрополошки проблеми*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2017), 628

Museum in the first location, for which it was designed. Their installation *1:1* was part of the project "14-14" which presented Serbia at the 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia in 2014. It was a simulation of the Museum building, constructed of weaved cords and helium, which, despite the material difference, shared similarities to Richter's idea of the Museum of Revolution. Richter "proposed a building that was more a forum and a classroom than an exhibition space for the artifacts of the Revolution,"[463] and *1:1* installation was primarily educational. It resulted from a deconstruction of the history of the project for the Museum building and a critical analysis of the main factors that influenced it. When erected, it became a forum for discussing the inexistence of the Museum of Revolution at that place. It made the Museum changeable and adaptable, as Richter envisioned it.

The method of quoting, in this case, is of special significance in relation to memory, since "all texts participate, repeat, and constitute acts of memory."[464] Salapura's and Sladoljev's installation at the same time reconstructs and creates something that has never existed, apart from in architectural history, and enacts some of its aspects in real space for the first time. Their installation is, therefore, both *monument* and *agent*, in the same way, all texts characterized by intertextuality exemplify the fact that memorial dynamics "progress through all sorts of loopings back to cultural products that are not simply media of memory (relay stations and catalysts) but also objects of recall and revision."[465] Their work reminds us that "[c]ultural memory remains the source of an intertextual play that cannot be deceived; any interaction with it, including that which is skeptical about memory, becomes a product that repeatedly attests to a cultural space."[466] Their intervention on the site in New Belgrade also presents what Slobodan Danko Selinkić defines as *memory architecture* – "the practice of reconstructing a building that is materially absent, but is part of the history of architecture."[467] Using drawings, simulations, architectural

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[463] Salapura, correspondence, November 2, 2021

[464] Lachmann, "Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature," 305

[465] Rigney, "The Dynamics of Remembrance," 352

[466] Lachmann, *op. cit.*, 304

[467] Slobodan Danko Selinkić, *Paviljon* Serbia *u Rimu 1911. Modernizam, arhitektura i rana ideja jugoslovenstva* [*Pavilion* Serbia *in Rome 1911. Modernism, Architecture and an Early Idea of Yugoslavia*], Novi Sad: Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 2021, 21

objects or art on the very location, *memory architecture* introduces absent buildings "as a memory of absence, gives them a new meaning and provides new reading possibilities, creates a free space for knowing and understanding the future and inspires new works."[468]

If we look at the installation *1:1* in relation to Oraić Tolić's semantic quadrilateral of *illustrative quoting*, we can see that it is subordinated to Richter's text in terms of semantics and syntax. In terms of pragmatics, it is oriented towards the fact that the Museum was never realized, so the installation is the first model/simulation of the Museum building in full scale, the only one that people could actually experience, even only for a very brief period. In terms of cultural function, the *1:1* installation indicates that the buildings of Yugoslav modernism are not only aesthetically valuable, "they are artifacts which prove that a different society is possible."[469] It testifies "that the condition for the emergence of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is a society that does not rest on identity politics and market-oriented spatial politics."[470] Thus, focusing on the unfinished Museum is no longer only the act of thematizing the reasons why its realization failed and the act of analyzing cultural memory of the Revolution from the perspective of the 21st century, but also an act of pointing out that the social reality we live in is not the only possible world.

When it comes to quoting finished buildings of museums of the Yugoslav Revolution, most of those museums have had their names and scope changed since the early 1990s, so dealing with them inevitably leads to dealing with issues of cultural memory. This is, for example, the case with the building of the Museum of Labor Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina, which today houses the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina (MoCAV) and a segment on recent history by Museum of Vojvodina. The Museum of Labour Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina was founded in 1956, by a decision of the People's Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The space allocated to it at the Petrovaradin Fortress soon proved to be insufficient, so in 1958, it was decided that the Museum should have a new building, closer to the central area of the city. As a result, there was an open competition the next year, which required a monumental museum building, which would be a monument to the

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[468] *Ibid.*, 27
[469] Salapura, correspodence, November 2, 2021
[470] *Ibid.*

people's liberation war. There were 38 competition entries, however, according to the jury none of them "achieved the required level of overall quality, both in terms of functional organization and in the formal representation of the idea of the Revolution."[471]

Ivan Vitić's project was finally chosen for implementation, and was similar to Le Corbusier's museums in Chandigarh (1952), Ahmedabad (1953–1957) and Tokyo (1957–1959), that is, to the "museums of unlimited growth" of International modernism.[472] The project was completed only partially up until 1966, resulting in a monolithic, cohesive concrete cube approached from a large plateau. In contrast to Le Corbusier's designs, Vitić turned the cube into a floating, airy structure using partially glass facades – a method he applied in numerous buildings, including the aforementioned motels on the Adriatic highway. The airy aspect of the building becomes especially visible at night when the Museum is lit from the inside and its entire first story seems transparent. Above is a concrete cubic mass of exhibition spaces and the only thing that stands out is a stained glass window, designed by Zoran Pavlović.

The space within this building is organized into three levels. The first one, partly underground, contains depots, conservation studios, workshops, technical rooms, a photo library, and a separate economic entrance. The second level, with glass façades, is accessed by the main entrance; it contains offices and a meeting room, which was converted into a small cinema hall. All the offices are placed on the outer edges of the square base, in a circular plan around an empty core of the building that is an open atrium and an inner garden. The third level contains an exhibition space that receives diffused natural light from the atrium and narrow windows under the roof. Since the building was designed for a permanent exhibition, there is no elevator and the size of exhibits is limited by the size of entrances, corridors and staircases.

The building of the Museum of Labour Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina is one of only a few that were purposefully built for the museums of the Yugoslav Revolution since departments dedicated to it were mostly attached to already existing museums or placed in existing buildings of any type. When the permanent

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[471] Лујак, „Промена парадигме архитектонско-урбанистичких концепата на објектима културе", 76

[472] *Ibid*., 80

exhibition opened in 1972, the name of the Museum was changed to the Museum of Socialist Revolution of Vojvodina. In 1990, when the disintegration of Yugoslavia began, its focus and name were changed to the History Museum of Vojvodina. In 1992, it was annexed to the Vojvodina Museum, forming a new institution – the Museum of Vojvodina, within which it became the Department of Recent History. The Museum's material on the Yugoslav Revolution is still mostly in the same building, although very little is exhibited about the labor movement or generally in relation to the history of Vojvodina after 1945. The largest part of the building is now used by the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina. Archives of the Radio and Television of Vojvodina and offices of the Vojvodina Academy of Sciences and Arts were also placed within the building, until several years ago.

It is precisely this intertwining of histories, ideologies, contemporaneity and museum-archival discourses that Slobodan Stošić thematized in a site-specific intervention *Usefulness* (2013, Image 16). His intervention consisted of moving a workshop of museum technicians from the first level to the exhibition space at the third level, with all objects in it, arranged in the exactly same way. As the objects from the workshop were from different periods of the building, such as the first furniture and several non-cataloged artifacts, all of them were fragments of different semantic layers of the space that was built for the Museum of the Revolution, and in the meantime became MoCAV. At the time of Stošić's intervention, there were rumors that MoCAV would be moved to another space. For that reason, Stošić intervened within the very *text* of the building, moving one part of its syntax and function from one position to another. At the same time, he advertised in newspapers that the building was for rent, stating only the address, without specifying which building it was.

With the intervention *Usefulness*, Stošić created *détournement*[473] on several levels. By exhibiting the content of the

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[473] *Détournement* (fr. displacement, distortion, diversion, subversion) was applied by the Situationists as a method by which existing things (images, news, platitudes, works of art) were placed in a new environment with the aim of breaking the meaning and introducing subversion and criticism of social reality. Situationists distinguished *minor* and *deceptive détournements* with the help of which they made the public aware of the mechanisms of ideology. Within *minor détournements*, an element which has no importance in itself "draws all its meaning from the new context in which it has been placed." In *deceptive détournements*, we have "intrinsically significant element, which derives a different scope from the new

Image 16   Slobodan Stošić, *Usefulness*, site-specific installation within exhibition "Situations. Installations in Vojvodina," MoCAV, curator: Sanja Kojić Mladenov, May 5 – 31, 2013. Photograph: Slobodan Stošić. Quoted text: Museum of Labor Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina / Museum of Socialist Revolution of Vojvodina / History Museum of Vojvodina / Museum of Vojvodina and Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad, arch. Ivan Vitić, project: 1959, works finished: 1966

context." Guy Debord and Gil Wolman, "Directions for the Use of Détournement," excerpt [1956], in: David Evans, (ed.), *Appropriation*, London: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2009, 35

space that is not visible to the public, he highlighted internal mechanisms that drive the museum and someone who is necessary, yet invisible, as a technician. At the same time, he sabotaged the technician who was not able to use the workshop while it was moved and exhibited. Apart from that, appropriation, which Stošić often uses as an artistic method, can represent a boycott, a strike, a refusal to create a new work of art, and thus the statement of the artist in contemporary society. According to Nicolas Bourriaud, appropriation belongs to "processes and practices that allow us to pass from a consumer culture to a culture of activity, from a passiveness toward available signs to practices of accountability,"[474] thereby contributing to the creation of a *culture of activity*.

With a seemingly passive act of refusing to create new, original work, Stošić took an active and, thus, engaged role. He questioned his position as a creator of art, which allowed him to critically analyze concepts of production, originality and reception of culture, as well as of cultural memory which is constantly in the process of transition as a sum of "traces, interruptions and moments of suspension."[475] His simple act of relocating resulted in a multi-discursive environment in which exhibits from different contexts, different spaces and norms of behavior, come together and visitors became users of two spaces that merge into one. By subordinating his work to the *text* of the building, Stošić revealed a part of the building that is never visible to the public, encouraging us to think about what makes a museum or memory, how they function and whether relocating any part of it is essentially a sabotage, subversion or/and *détournement*.

Within the analyzed artistic interventions, the buildings of former museums of the Yugoslav Revolution were quoted by the method of *illustrative quoting*. The *1:1* installation is a specific reconstruction/simulation of a non-exiting museum building, but more than that, it follows Richter's idea that the Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities should be a changeable and adaptable place of education. The installation is a place of education about Richter's work, about the history of architecture, about the history of the idea of Revolution, its fading and its importance for the Yugoslav collective identity, and about the fact

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[474] Bourriaud, *Postproduction*, 92

[475] Slobodan Stošić, *Usefulness* – concept, 2013, last accessed December 4, 2023, <https://slobodanstosic.tumblr.com/post/45786791353>.

that an ephemeral, fragile installation is more permanent than a never-built monumental architectural object made of reinforced concrete. Slobodan Stošić's installation is also subordinated to the *text* of the architecture, that is, to the building of the former Museum of Labor Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina. It is adapted not only to the spatial characteristics of the building but to the semantics of the building, i.e. to the traces of different layers of its history and different types of heritage preserved and presented within/by it. Bearing in mind that some of those traces are cultural memory of labor movement and people's revolution, which are fading due to various circumstances, Stošić's installation inevitably warns us that all functions and contents of the building can fade and become part of history. History, memory, contemporary art, social ideas and ideologies all depend on whether we relate actively or passively to them.

These two interventions can therefore be seen as specific *counter-monuments*, where the monument is understood as a place of memory in the broadest sense. According to Milena Dragićević Šešić, the *counter-monument* generates a narrative *from below*, thereby representing a form of resistance to official policies of remembering and forgetting – it is "a specific artistic media, often created through participation, but even more within crucial social debates, responding both to official memory politics and to politics of forgetting."[476] The *counter-monument* "can extract and re-appropriate (forgotten) traces of the past, and offer them for the co-creation of new narratives or interpretations, for individuals, communities or new collectives."[477] It is precisely these two processes that characterize the analyzed interventions of Salapura, Sladoljev and Stošić. Both *1:1* and *Usefulness* retrieve forgotten or invisible traces of the past and adapt them to a new context so that they are available to individuals, communities or collectives.

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[476] Milena Dragićević Šešić, "Mediating the Past: Monument Policies & Practices of Dissent," in: Nevena Daković, Mirjana Nikolić, Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović (eds.), *Media Archaeology: Memory, Media and Culture in the Digital Age*, Belgrade: Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Institute for Theatre, Film, Radio and Television, 2016, 207

[477] Milena Dragićević Šešić, "Dissonant Memories and Subversive Memorialization Practices," in: Jonathan P. Vickery and Mechtild Manus (eds.), *The Art of the Multitude. Jochen Gerz – Participation and the European Experience*, Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2016, 127

While mapping the artistic practices of resistance in the Balkans during the 1990s, Dragićević Šešić developed the typology of *counter-monuments*: (1) performances and interventions on/of existing, abandoned or forgotten monuments, (2) reconstructions or interventions of destroyed monuments, (3) performances and actions against new monuments or monument policies, (4) virtual monuments, museums and memorial spaces, (5) interactive monuments and workshops, (6) performances *as* monuments, (7) ironic or dark humor monuments.[478] The intervention of Salapura and Sladoljev overlaps with several of these categories, having the characteristics of a symbolic reconstruction and an interactive workshop. Stošić's installation at first glance can be characterized as an ironic or dark-humor monument, but it is also an intervention in the existing place of memory, that is, a reflection on a specific place and process of collective remembering and forgetting.

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[478] *Ibid.*, 126

3.4.   **Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism as/and Syllepsis**

In the text "Syllepsis," Michael Riffaterre analyses Derrida's interpretation of the role of syllepsis in the poetry of Mallarmé[479] and distinguishes three types of intertextuality, depending on three functions that syllepsis can have in a text. Syllepsis is most often encountered as a stylistic figure in poetry, but, essentially, it represents any word or sign that carries two contrasting meanings (or is assigned contrasting meanings) that are both active at once and thus affect the understanding of the entire text within which such sign appears. The opposing meaning of the syllepsis is "not just different from and incompatible with the first: it is tied to the first as its polar opposite or the way the reverse of a coin is bound to its obverse."[480] As a result, the syllepsis creates an "ambiguity, or the kind of obscurity that prevents the reader from quite discerning which of a word's pertinent meanings are equally acceptable in context."[481]

The two opposing meanings of the text that are created by the two opposing meanings of syllepsis, Riffaterre sees as the *text* and its *intertext*. Therefore, an external connection to another text is not necessary to achieve intertextuality; it is achieved by a double, conflicting meaning that the text has by itself due to one sign – the syllepsis. Furthermore, Riffaterre points out that a text containing a syllepsis is always double-coded, its "[a]mbiguity is not the polysemy most words display as dictionary entries but results from the context's blocking of the reader's choice among competing meanings."[482] A text containing a syllepsis, therefore, necessarily has two meanings and it is not possible to choose just one of them. Based on the three different roles that syllepsis plays within a text, Riffaterre distinguishes three types of intertextuality:

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[479] For Derrida's interpretation of syllepsis, see: Jacques Derrida, *La Dissémination*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972

[480] Michael Riffaterre, "Syllepsis," *Critical Inquiry*, 6 (1980), 629

[481] *Ibid*., 628

[482] *Ibid*.

1. *Complementary type* of intertextuality – the syllepsis alone is sufficient to initiate an intertext and convey meaning by itself, "every sign has a reverse and an obverse; the reader is forced to interpret the text as the negative, in the photographic sense, of its intertext."[483] In this type of intertextuality, the text carries two different meanings, the second of which is in direct opposition to the first, rather than some arbitrarily different meaning. If we take into account the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, we will come across numerous buildings and complexes that have opposing meanings – for example, it is impossible to look at the ruins of the Haludovo resort, on the island of Krk in Croatia, and not remember the glamour, luxury and elegance that characterized it while it was in its prime.[484] Riffaterre points out, however, that there are not many words that by themselves have two opposing meanings that are simultaneously activated, but a word can have only one meaning and yet be turned into a syllepsis. As shown in chapter 3.1.1. of this book, the word *Heimlich* also means its opposite – *Unheimlich*,[485] so it is a syllepsis.

2. *Mediated type* of intertextuality – implies the existence of a mediating *interpretant* that points to the contrasting meaning of the syllepsis, and thus to the existence of an intertext that is an opposite coding of the text itself. Bearing in mind that architecture can change its functions over the years, or some of its hidden values can be revealed over time, different functions of architecture that exist on a synchronic or diachronic level can be also considered as the opposite coding. Thus, one building can be primarily built as army quarters and in time become a community center, or be designed for multiple functions, but they get lost over time. The *interpretant* of these different functions of architecture would be a new *text* (text in the narrower sense or in the broader sense – a performance, a film, a photograph, etc.) that

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[483] *Ibid.*, 627

[484] This is shown in the project *Haluddism* (2018) by Damir Fabijanić who places, side by side, photographs of the Haludovo resort, as it looked in its most representative years and as it looked in 2018, completely ruined.

[485] Freud, "The Uncunny," 226

indicates to viewers that the building used to be something else in history or that it can become something else in future. The *mediated type* is thus similar to the *illustrative type* of quoting as defined by Dubravka Oraić Tolić, in a sense that the *interpretant* is subordinated to the older text to which it refers.

3. *Intratextual type* of intertextuality – "Syllepsis symbolizes the compatibility, at the significance level, between a text and an intertext incompatible at the level of meaning."[486] If we return to the example of the Haludovo resort, although its past and present appearance are opposite to each other, they are both symbols of Yugoslavia, of what it used to be, and of what happened to it. It turns out that Yugoslavia—as an idea viewed from today's perspective—is syllepsis. In the *intratextual type*, the reader will read both texts together "and interpret them as two variants of one invariant."[487] Haludovo is both what it was during the SFR Yugoslavia and what it is now; Yugoslavia is both what it used to be when it existed and how it has been perceived during and after the war that ended it. Riffaterre's understanding of *intratextuality* is somewhat different from that of Daniel Chandler, according to whom *intratextuality* refers to mutual relationships within a text.[488] For example, as we saw in chapter 3.1.1. of this book, in the *State of Illusion*, Jasmina Cibic quotes the Yugoslav pavilion for EXPO in Montreal, but she also uses choreography, narration, directing, editing, music, props, design of light, male and female figures. Relationships between these elements of the artistic text would be, following Chandler, established through *intratextual* analysis.

For all three types of intertextuality classified by Riffaterre, a quotation, as the explicit presence of another text, is not necessary, because the ambivalence of the text itself is sufficient to make an

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[486] Riffaterre, "Syllepsis," 629

[487] *Ibid.*, 636

[488] Daniel Chandler, "Intertextuality," *Semiotics for Beginners*, <http://www.visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem09.html>, last accessed November 14, 2023

intertext out of its own opposite meaning. The text then begins to look like an image produced by lenticular printing, so that two different images are seen within one. Nevertheless, Riffaterre's notion of intertextuality does not exclude the use of a quotation – it is not necessary, but its presence does not reduce the effect of syllepsis. Moreover, a quotation itself can be a syllepsis. Since an architectural object can be a quotation, it can be also a syllepsis, depending on its characteristics. Architectural objects built during the Yugoslav period can be described as syllepsis due to opposing meanings attributed to them in different periods of history, and while appearing as quotations within artworks, those artworks acquire the characteristics of a text and its opposing intertext, due to the dual meaning of the syllepsis.

For example, when Saša Tkačenko creates a 1:1 replica of a small, kiosk-like, auxiliary object for the never-finished Museum of Revolution in New Belgrade (*Pavilion*, 2015), that object begins to represent "the history and destiny of the Museum and is at the same time unable to present all those things and ideas the Museum should have had presented. Together with the foundations, it is a reminder of the *empty* space of that museum."[489] By appropriating it into an artistic text and relocating/duplicating it in the context of an art gallery, it becomes evident how that object is a syllepsis. It is the embodiment of the contradiction between Richter's project for the great idea of the Museum of Revolution and what was realized of that idea. Riffaterre's definition of intertextuality can be thus overlapped with the *illuminative* or *illustrative type* of quoting described by Dubravka Oraić Tolić, although, in essence, it goes beyond this division and encompasses a much wider field of intertextuality besides quoting.

This chapter presents analyses of contemporary works of art within which, by means of direct quotations, architectural objects of Yugoslav modernism function as syllepsis due to the contrasting significance and/or functions they have had throughout history. Such architectural objects are found in the selected works by Mileta Prodanović, Lana Stojićević and Saša Tkačenko, whose process of quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism results in a *complementary type* of intertextuality (Diagram 01). The analysis shows that none of the authors aimed to show concrete formal

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[489] Sonja Jankov, "Full-Scale Architectural Models in Post-Yugoslav Art Practices," *Interkulturalnost* (18, 2018), 62

changes on the selected building, but through artistic means, they symbolically presented the socio-historical changes as a whole, which affected the entire social space of the former Yugoslavia, not only architecture.

Following that, the chapter turns to works in which the *mediated type* of intertextuality is found (Diagram 02): the long-term interdisciplinary project *Inclusive Gallery*, the interdisciplinary community art project (human-urban network) *Vitić Dances*, intervention *Skyscraper for Birds* by Vladimir Perić and video work *Presente y Futuro* by Vesna Pavlović. As quotations, within these analyzed artworks appear objects of primarily administrative, touristic, museological, hybrid (sports-business-cultural), and residential function. In the final part, the chapter presents works and practices by Sanja Iveković, Viktor Popović, Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić and Erwin Wurm. Their process of quoting the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, in particular, residential, cultural, governmental buildings, office buildings, or housing projects, resulted in examples of *intratextual* intertextuality, as defined by Michael Riffaterre.

architecture of
Yugoslav modernism

Post-YU and/or
other elements

syllepsis
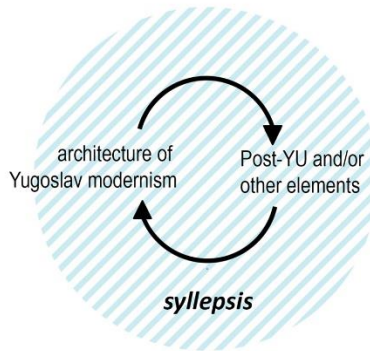
objects – the result of contemporary
artistic practices

mediation of meaning

**discarded
non-existent / new**
functions/meanings

polyvalent
functions/meanings

interpretant
contemporary artistic
practices

syllepsis
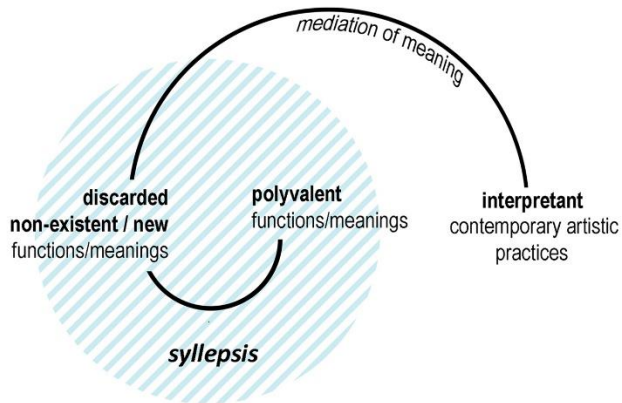
architecture of Yugoslav modernism

Diagram 01 (up):   *Complementary type* of intertextuality with the
                          architecture of Yugoslav modernism as quotation

Diagram 02 (down):   *Mediated type* of intertextuality with the
                          architecture of Yugoslav modernism as quotation

3.4.1. *Complementary Type* of Intertextuality and Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism

In his work, *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition* (2013, Image 17), Mileta Prodanović quotes the tower-block of the business and shopping center "Ušće," one of the largest commercial properties for renting in New Belgrade. What is not visible from the image itself is that the building used to have great importance for Yugoslavia and the beginnings of contemplating architectural expression that would be best suited to represent Yugoslavia. It was built for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia that was renamed in 1952 the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. At the time of its completion in 1964, it was officially known as the Building of Social and Political Organizations, but it is still referred to as the C-K building (Centralni komitet / Central Committee) by the wider public.

The first competition for the design of the building was announced in 1947, which meant that, along with the Presidency of the Government of FPRY, it was to be the first building in the new city of the new society, symbolizing the beginning of Yugoslav socialism and its developmental goals. Moreover, it was meant to be the central architectural object of New Belgrade, while the buildings of ministries would create an architectural framework for it. The competition required it to have a monumental and dominating appearance, reminiscent of Moscow propagandistic architecture – "[t]he absolute dominance in height, the role of a centerpiece of the city, the geographically prominent position at the bank of a river and on the axis of a broad ceremonial boulevard, pronounced monumentality, 360-degree visibility, the relationship to the historic city, assumed sculptural decoration."[490] Due to the importance of the task and the ideological symbolism it was meant to embody, as many as an eighth of the then-active architects in Yugoslavia (111 out of 889) submitted entries, and, since the competition was open to all citizens of Yugoslavia, there were also 36 non-experts who participated.[491]

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[490] Kulić, "Land of the In-Between," 148
[491] *Ibid.*, 150

Image 17   Mileta Prodanović, *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition*,
                    2013. Quoted text: the Building of the Central Committee of the
                    Communist Party of Yugoslavia, renamed into the Building of Social
                    and Political Organizations, New Belgrade, arch. Mihailo Janković,
                    Dušan Milenković, Mirjana Marijanović, construction engineer
                    Milan Krstić, partly realized project, built in 1964, renovated in
                    2005

The open call also expressed the need for an architectural expression that speaks of the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples. However, no one had an idea what that architectural expression should look like, and the competition itself did not specify it. It was known that it was out of question to present the new Yugoslavia with architecture that represented pre-war Yugoslav identity. Therefore, the competition for the Central Committee building represented "a historical 'zero point' in the architecture of Yugoslavia,"[492] along with the competition for the building of the Presidency of the Government that was also announced in 1947. Both competitions were "a kind of survey whose aim was, in addition to obtaining conceptual projects for new buildings, the final definition of the architectural expression of the new Yugoslav socialist system."[493] The proposed projects showed "all the dilemmas and instability of the architectural discourse from this period."[494] Instead of answering the question of what the architectural language representing Yugoslav socialism should look alike, these competitions were "the first in a series of architectural discussions that set the basis of practice in the following period,"[495] thus representing only "the beginning of a long-term process."[496]

The original location that was intended for the building was the bank of the very confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube, but, over time, this location was abandoned and the building was assigned an attractive place right after the bridge is crossed, where we see it today. The competition was repeated in 1959, however, the first prize was not awarded. Instead, in 1961, the project of architects Mihailo Janković, Dušan Milenković, Mirjana Marijanović, and construction engineer Milan Krstić was chosen as the final solution. Their project proposed a 23-story tower with a cantilevered canopy on the 24th floor and a circular annex, which would house a 600-seat plenary hall and additional seating for audience, journalists and special guests. The tower was built between 1963 and 1964, becoming the tallest building in Yugoslavia and "proclaiming the arrival of socialism"[497] with its height. Its position, which allowed for great visibility, also enabled it

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[492] Живанчевић, „Социјалистички реализам", 122

[493] Лујак, „Промена парадигме архитектонско-урбанистичких концепата", 27

[494] Благојевић, *Нови Београд*, 91

[495] Живанчевић, 108

[496] Лујак, 27

[497] Kulić, "National, supranational, international," 41

to stand out and be imposing. The building was "all-seeing – it was observable from nearly every point in the city, and simultaneously, almost the whole city could be seen, or more accurately, *supervised* from it."[498] The circular annex with the plenary hall, however, was never built.

The building is characterized by a glass façade and specific concrete pillars on every floor, covered in aluminum, placed immediately behind the glass, at a distance of one glass panel. This combination creates a visual illusion of a curtain-wall made of aluminum and glass, which was used in Western countries for the construction of business centers during the 1960s. For that reason, architectural historians perceive this feature of the building in different ways. According to Vladimir Kulić, it is an attempt to mask the building into Western construction, it is "an attempt to prove that Yugoslavia has 'caught up' with the developed world by its 'own strength,' using self-management and following its own, non-aligned path."[499] According to Ljiljana Blagojević, it is more appropriate to compare the building to those of Alison and Peter Smithson than to American skyscrapers of steel construction and curtain-walls for façades, because of its core in the center and because of concrete columns coated in aluminum in the plane of the façade.[500] The coating in aluminum, thus, should be seen as effective insulation, not as an attempt at masking – "given that the most modern mechanical air conditioning devices were used in the building, the facade was detailed with great care and precision in achieving suitable thermal insulation."[501] Either way, it is a building that, according to Blagojević, fulfilled the ideological requirement of the first competition and became the strongest symbol of the Yugoslav socialist era.[502]

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[498] Mileta Prodanović, "Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition" (2007), in: Svetlana Mladenov, *Sculpure in Urban Space: Objects, Installations, Ambiences, Interventions*, Novi Sad: Visart and Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, 2008, 115

[499] Vladimir Kulić, „Izgradnja Beograda u periodu socijalizma (1945–2000)" [Construction of Belgrade during Socialism (1945–2000)], in: Anamarija Kovenc Vujić (ur.), *50 beogradskih arhitekata (rođenih posle 1954)*, Beograd: Akademska misao, 2002, 15–27, quoted in Благојевић, *Нови Београд*, 170

[500] Благојевић, *Нови Београд*, 170

[501] *Ibid.*, 171

[502] *Ibid.*, 167

After the breakup of Yugoslavia, the building became the Business center "Ušće," resulting in a significant change when it came to the right to use what was a societal property. Mileta Prodanović refers to this as the first transition of the building.[503] In late April 1999, the building was hit by 12 NATO missiles that caused significant damage, although the reinforced concrete skeletal system remained. This enabled its cheap sale, followed by reconstruction by the European Construction team in 2005, a process that, according to Miško Šuvaković, "symbolically shows how capitalism during the transition period 'absorbed' and transformed the architectural symbols of the era of real- and self-management socialism."[504] During the reconstruction, two new stories were added so that the building "is no longer that dark center for frowning observation of citizens, now it is a *belavista*, a place of unforgettable parties,"[505] a venue for theatre plays such as *The Social Game* by Egon Savin, and award ceremonies such as the award of Ministry of Culture and Information for the best sponsor and cooperation between economy and culture. Prodanović sees this as the second transition of the building, which continued with the addition of a large shopping center as an annex in 2009.

According to Prodanović, the building could function as a representative monument to the Serbian transition without any intervention.[506] This is certainly confirmed by the changes that occurred after 2012, when Prodanović claimed this. From 2018 to 2020, another 22-storey tower was built right beside it – the Business Centre "Ušće" 2. It completely changed the spatial characteristics the building has had since 1964 – its singular dominance disappeared, as well as its visibility from all sides, and the new composition of twin towers completely changed the reception that had been formed in the collective memory for more than half a century. Once the shopping center and another tower were added, the building once made for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia completely changed in terms of ownership, function, availability and social role. It became the exact opposite of what it used to be; it became *syllepsis*.

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[503] Prodanović, 116

[504] Miško Šuvaković, *Neo-Aesthetic Theory. Complexity and Complicity Must Be Defended*, Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2017, 170

[505] Prodanović, 116

[506] *Ibid*.

Precisely because of the strong symbolism that the building had, and the transition it has been going through, Prodanović turns to it in his work *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition*. Prodanović's conceptual intervention consists of a proposal for placing two decorative lion figures, 12.5m high, made of polyester or expanding plastic (inflatable form) on the rooftop of the building. The monumentality of the building would thus become a pedestal for another characteristic sign of Serbian transition—plaster lion figures. Prodanović sees such figures as symbols of contemporaneity and focuses on them in detail in his book *Transitional Haberdashery* [*Tranziciona galanterija*]. There, he points out that the lion is a symbol of power and wealth, and that "beliefs, fears, desired power are projected onto its image or sculpture."[507] According to Prodanović, "the one who puts lions on the house, lions reduced to a sign, does not necessarily show that he is rich [...] but that he is powerful or that he wants to be powerful."[508]

Lions on top of the Central Committee building, i.e. two figures cast from the same mold, stand as a symbol of power, as a mark of private territory, but also as a representative feature of the *zeitgeist.* For that reason, Prodanović concludes: "the fact that the material dimension of today's sign is reduced to poorly poured concrete in often worn molds also speaks eloquently about our society today."[509] The decorative lions thus become the exact opposite of the Central Committee building, which was built on soil drained by the voluntary actions of hundreds of thousands of people, socially owned, one of the centers of the state leadership, symbol of a new progressive society, a building which withstood the bombing and which is still such a powerful symbol that it is the subject of a several decade long re-symbolization.

Although the transitions turned the building into a syllepsis—a sign that has conflicting meanings and is perceived both as what it was and as what it is now—it has not changed significantly on the visual level. By introducing figures of lions, Prodanović creates a visual syllepsis from it. The resulting image functions as a visual sign that is

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[507] Mileta Prodanović, „Betonski safari" [Concrete Safari], in: *Tranziciona galanterija* [*Transitional Haberdashery*], Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka „Žarko Zrenjanin", 2011, 7

[508] *Ibid.*, 23

[509] *Ibid.*

oppositely coded on the level of symbolism, style, and material, within which the architectural object of Yugoslav modernism is quoted. The conflicting meanings of the syllepsis (the quoted architectural object) thus coincide with the conflicting meanings of the text and intertext, which on a material level result in one object, one sign, in which the borderline between the syllepsis and text/intertext is lost.

The fact that the *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition* is only a conceptual work, and not a realized intervention on the building itself, does not diminish its importance in understanding the history of the Central Committee building and the changes of its socio-political context. Prodanović's *Sketch* is located in the context of unrealized projects – the annex with the plenary hall from the original project of Janković, Milenković and Marijanović, and the Museum of Revolution, which was supposed to be part of the same constellation of the most symbolically and operationally significant buildings in New Belgrade. Prodanović's work is also in the context of imple-mented interventions – the most luxurious stories added during the reconstruction, the added shopping center, and the added second tower. For this reason, Prodanović's syllepsis acts as no less or more realistic text/intertext of the Central Committee building than all the realized and unrealized texts of which it was a part. The building remains a strong symbol, but this time it is a symbol of the Serbian transition. Quoting this architectural object of Yugoslav modernism thus acquires the purpose of presenting a wider social picture and illustrating the changes that have taken place in the last fifty years.

Contemporary artist Lana Stojićević also uses the motif of decorative lion figures and adds them to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in order to depict the tension between private and public/social interests through visual language. In her works, Stojićević often uses architecture as a semiological and artistic element because "architecture communicates a much wider social context in contemporary art."[510] Society is viewed through archi-tecture that is emerging, architecture that is decaying, through spatial policies based on seizing spatial resources, through numerous private interests that dominate the space today. We can read from buildings how modern society relates to them, but also more than that – how it relates to historical periods in which those buildings were created. For

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[510] Lana Stojićević, correspondence, 2021

this reason, in her artistic research, Stojićević often focuses on spatial layers in a specific location, using models as an expressive tool.[511] When it comes to the role of an architectural model in contemporary artistic practices, she points out:

> I prefer the way a three-dimensional model communicates a certain idea – a model in the architectural profession (in a utilitarian sense) already represents the idea of a building that should (or could) be built, while a model in contemporary art can go in several directions – it can imagine the potential realities of a certain existing building (e.g. upgrades in a literal and/or symbolic sense) or imagine a utopian or unfeasible architecture and thereby communicate certain social phenomena (certainly different than, for example, a two-dimensional representation).[512]

One such model/object is the work *Case Study: Motel Sljeme in Biograd* (2017, Image 18). The model is a quotation of one of the single-family pavilions of the aforementioned "Sljeme" motel chain, designed by architect Ivan Vitić and built in 1965 near Rijeka, Trogir and Biograd. Like the motel in Trogir, the motel near Biograd is of the same type, moreover, it is a mirror image of the Trogir motel – completely the same, but rotated to adapt to the ground configuration and access from the highway. It is therefore composed of two-story pavilions and a central building that was extended and remodeled beyond recognition at the time when Stojićević created her object.[513]

At the time, the pavilions, which were used to accommodate seasonal workers, were not significantly changed in comparison to their original appearance. However, to the model/quotation of the pavilion, Stojićević adds another story, as an extension that is completely different from Vitić's design. While the original pavilion

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[511] Stojićević, in addition to models, uses/designs costumes (*Black Hill* [*Crno brdo*], 2015; *Sunny Side*, 2018; *Façade* [*Fasada*], 2019; *Betonicus*, 2020), logotypes, photographs, objects, sculptures, performance and dramatic writing.

[512] Stojićević, correspondence, 2021

[513] Vitić's motels near Rijeka and Trogir were not extended, which is partly due to the fact that they have not been in operation for a long time, and that they are ruined. Unlike them, the central building of Vitić's motel "Košuta" near Kragujevac in Serbia was significantly changed.

Image 18   Lana Stojićević, *Case Study: Motel Sljeme in Biograd*, 2017. Photograph: Lana Stojićević. Quoted text: Motel "Sljeme," Biograd, arch. Ivan Vitić, built in 1965, demolished in 2019

Image 19   Lana Stojićević, *Sunny Side* (detail), 2018. Photograph: Lana Stojićević. Quoted text: hotel "Zora," Primošten, arch. Lovro Perković, built in 1969, renovated in 2006

has a pure modernist form, exterior walls made of Dalmatian stone, a flat roof with metal window and door frames, the extension is the complete opposite – the side wall contains visible horizontally perforated clay blocks without finishing layers, PVC window frames, gable roof, small round PVC window on the gable end, as well as a balcony with decorative balustrade and two lion figures. Stojićević does not thereby create a scale-modeled copy of an existing extension of the central building, which is too large to be a private house, but creates a symbolic extension where it does not exist in reality.

In this way, the extension becomes an image of a broader social reality, as in the case of Prodanović's work, going beyond a symbolic representation of social property turned private. The object Stojićević creates is therefore not a realistic image of that pavilion, but it is realistic in the sense that it represents "the most common destiny of modernist heritage: personalized, often unprofessional and unfinished extensions of buildings, especially those with flat roofs."[514] People resort to them due to insufficient housing space, or for the purpose of renting them. The resulting object in the form of an architectural model, as a pseudo-documentary medium, thus shows a broader social picture that is full of contradictions between the inherited and the contemporary. Like the syllepsis, it is coded oppositely, and the borderline between the syllepsis and the text/intertext is lost, as in the work *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition*. It should be noted that two years later, in July 2019, the motel was demolished even though it was the only one of Vitić's motels that was still used for its primary function. As the key spatial determinant of each of Vitić's motels is "the exceptionally small scale of development with respect to the size of the land plot, which was envisioned as a unit complete with a park,"[515] the typology of his motels has proven to be unprofitable.

For the purposes of the work *Sunny Side* (2018, Image 19), Stojićević once again created a model-syllepsis, this time quoting hotel "Zora" (arch. Lovro Perković) in Primošten, Croatia (1966–1969), which has been completely renovated since its construction. The object she created is partially a literal miniature replica of the hotel's innovative swimming pool, which features a transparent plexiglass

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514 Sonja Jankov, "Architectural Scale Models within Contemporary Art Practices in Post-Socialist Europe," *Život umjetnosti*, 102 (July 2018), 35

515 Melita Čavlović, "The Motel and the Adriatic Highway," 75

dome. This dome has the ability to open and close, depending on weather conditions, so the pool is essentially a controlled micro-climate. For this reason, Stojićević extended the model into a model of spacecraft and painted it red, that is, intensified the pink color that the otherwise white hotel received during the renovation. She placed it within a larger installation that included photographs, costume design, *in situ* action, archival material about Orson Welles' vacations at this hotel, and research that confirms that Welles considered using the pool dome as a film set to represent a spaceship for his unfinished film *Don Quixote*.

The installation *Sunny Side* thus becomes the fictional narrative about producing a film about a space mission, with several quotations, such as archival materials and the model as a quasi-documentary medium. The name of the work is also a reference to the book *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*, edited by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (2010), while the pool, as an example of Yugoslav tourist architecture, becomes itself a tourist who travels to other planets. By adapting an architectural object into a spaceship, Stojićević refers to the positioning of Yugoslavia beyond the division into East and West and its successful use of tourism and famous people to declare its worldviews. Like the object/model that contains the quotation in the work *Case Study: Motel Sljeme in Biograd*, the object/model in *Sunny Side* installation, through quotation becomes a syllepsis, a sign which contains opposite meanings:

> The swimming pool / flying saucer becomes a metaphor for the contradictory character of that period, characterized by faith in a utopian future, leisure, glamor, and consumer culture (which architecture of tourism manages to signify and make possible) on the one side, and on the other, fear of the destruction of the planet, fallout shelters, and the Space Race (which the artist introduces through direct allusions to the Space Programme).[516]

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[516] Sonja Jankov, "A project for ecological/economic future", in: *Lana Stojićević: Sunny Side* – exhibition catalogue (June 6 – 27, 2019), Belgrade: Cultural Centre of Belgrade, 2019, [non-paginated]

Eternal Flame by Saša Tkačenko is also a syllepsis (2018, Image 20). The object consists of a model, cast out of concrete, of the already mentioned Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities (arch. Vjenceslav Richter), which Tkačenko connects to a propane gas cylinder so that there is a flame at the center top of the model. Richter envisioned the Museum building as a synthesis of fine and applied arts, which would reflect the Yugoslav synthesis of diversities. Although the Museum was supposed to be the most important building and institution to (re)present the revolution of the Yugoslav peoples, it was never built and the only three-dimensional form the building took was in the form of Richter's model. When quoting this never-built Museum, by making a scale copy of the model out of concrete, Tkačenko brings to mind "the history of its (in)existence in physical space and collective memory, its symbolism, its authoritative and unifying position in relation to all Yugoslav museums of revolution, its artistic value and shift of social and political contexts which conceived and abandoned the idea which it represents."[517]

The model itself is a syllepsis, an object with conflicting meanings. On the one hand, it testifies to the importance that the Museum was supposed to have and the importance of Richter's design for the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. On the other hand, it indicates that the unique narrative about the Revolution was abandoned and that the Museum building was never constructed, even though it was supposed to be part of the constellation of the most symbolically significant buildings of the new society. The flame that Tkačenko adds to it can be seen as a symbol of the ideas we believe in, but which last only as long as we are interested in maintaining them. However, Tkačenko does not only add flames, but he leaves the gas cylinder openly visible, which makes it an equal element to the model. By connecting the model with the gas cylinder, Tkačenko synthesizes it with the utilitarian object and creates a new object that is characterized by even more contradictions than the model itself.

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[517] Sonja Jankov, "Museum of Revolution and Synthesis in Saša Tkačenko's *Eternal Flame*," *Synaxa: Matica srpska International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture*, 4–5 (2019), 82

Image 20   Saša Tkačenko, *Eternal Flame*, 2018, within exhibition *Ruins of Future Utopia*, February 22 – April 3, 2018, Eugster || Belgrade. Photograph: Ivan Zupanc. Quoted text: Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities, New Belgrade, arch. Vjenceslav Richter, project from 1961, construction works started in 1979–80, unfinished

On the one hand, this process suggests that ideas live only if there are social forms through which they can act and that places of memory disappear without repeated commemorative acts. On the other hand, the use of the propane gas cylinder indicates that the great idea of Yugoslavness can no longer be seen without everything that followed it, such as the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–1995) which, among other things, are remembered for drastic restrictions on electricity that required using gas for cooking. Tkačenko thus synthesizes different discourses and memories of different socio-political periods of history within his object that, as a syllepsis, acts through binary oppositions: symbolic – utilitarian, unique – mass-produced, metanarrative of the idea of Revolution – kitchen appliance, social – private, eternal – expendable, unrealized – concrete, a developed country – war, hyperinflation, embargo, sanctions, restrictions.

Each of the objects/concepts by Prodanović, Stojićević and Tkačenko contains an example of Yugoslav architectural heritage as a direct quotation, all of which had significant symbolic value that is now drastically different. The Central Committee building had a strong propagandist-ideological role but is now completely repurposed; Vitić's motel in Biograd has been demolished, which reflects an attitude not only towards unprofitable buildings but also towards the authentic legacy of Ivan Vitić and towards the (architectural) heritage of Yugoslavia; the swimming pool in Lovro Preković's hotel is now just a pool, while it used to be a diplomatic meeting place for Yugoslav socialism, Hollywood glamour and luxurious leisure; the project for the Museum of the Revolution was abandoned during the Yugoslav period. Apart from that, they were all once social property, and now they are privatized or non-existent.

Each of these architectural projects became syllepses during history, and when quoted, their double meanings create an opposite coding of the texts within which they appear as quotations. Since all artists merged the quotations with other elements and created singular objects as new *texts*, the border between the syllepses and texts within which they appear became blurred. The added elements only serve to visually highlight the opposing coding which is otherwise not recognizable on the visual level alone. Those opposing meanings arise from the diachronic alternation of different historical narratives that contemporary art shows on a synchronic plane using visual and

symbolic means. The capacity of architecture to be an indicator of changes on a wider social level allows it to be a syllepsis, which affects the new texts/artworks within which it appears as a quotation. In short, the architectural objects of Yugoslav modernism are precisely those that enable the artifacts, created in contemporary practice-based artistic research, to be double-coded texts/intertexts.

3.4.2. *Mediated Type* of Intertextuality and Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism

According to Michael Riffaterre, the *mediated type* of intertextuality differs from the *complementary type* by the presence of a mediating *interpretant* that points out that a sign has two opposing meanings. The syllepsis is thus not noticed out of context, but only when a new sign—the *interpretant*—highlights it. In our case, that new sign is contemporary artistic practice, and the double-coded text with its intertext is the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. Double coding can be read in the fact that a certain object should have some function and characteristic, but it does not. On the other hand, double coding can be the subject of a double perception, when an object is perceived both as a potential and as a ruin, as a superior architectural solution and as a source of danger due to ruinification, as valuable heritage and as an unsustainable burden from the past. In such cases, contemporary artistic practices appear to emphasize the positive aspects of architecture, that is, those less visible, neglected, harder-to-achieve characteristics or functions of architectural objects.

An architectural example that can be seen as syllepsis is the sports-business-cultural center SPENS in Novi Sad (arch. Živorad Janković, Duško Bogunović and Branko Bulić, 1981). The contradiction that this center contains is not in its multiple purpose, but in the fact that it should contain certain functions and contents, which is barely the case for various reasons. For example, its cinema hall, which is better than some cinema halls in the city center, is hardly ever used and has been completely forgotten since the new shopping mall Promenade with a cinema hall, was built right next to SPENS. Visual and contemporary art are generally unrepresented, which was not always the case. From 1984 to 1999, SPENS housed the Gallery of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, which became the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina in 1996, and Gallery Macut used to be very active there.

The extent to which contemporary art is absent from SPENS becomes fully noticeable only through the *interpretant*, which in this case is a small, mobile, demountable gallery that was temporarily installed at SPENS in December 2018 as part of the *Inclusive Gallery* project (Image 21). The project is run by the School for Elementary

and Secondary Education "Milan Petrović" for children and adults with all kinds of developmental disabilities. Even before this project, the School had a well-established cooperation with art collectives, individuals and institutions, so the *Inclusive Gallery* project represents its continued professional involvement in contemporary art for achieving social equality and interaction. Launched in 2018, the project aims to make art accessible to everyone, regardless of gender, race, disability, social status, age, or origin, while striving to remove the prejudices about disability that are rooted in society. The program takes place through open, juried calls for the production of inclusive works of contemporary art, which are exhibited in several smaller gallery spaces in the city and in the aforementioned mobile, demountable gallery.

The mobile gallery was inherited from the artists' association Shock Cooperative (Šok zadruga), which grew out of the Led Art Multimedia Centre, established in 1993. As part of its program Art Clinic (2002–2013), MC Led Art had a Shock Gallery in its former space – the smallest gallery in the Balkans that was modeled after shock rooms in clinical centers and was intended for all those who needed isolation and intensive art therapy. With an area of only 2.5m², the Shock Gallery required site-specific exhibitions, different from exhibitions at larger exhibition spaces, which resulted in many original concepts and installations. The gallery also allowed for a specific relationship between a visitor and art because it could only accommodate one visitor at a time. Since the shutdown of the Art Clinic, that is, since its "self-euthanasia" as its members call it, the Shock Cooperative launched a similar long-term project in 2013, but with the aim of introducing art to the peripheral parts of the city. For this purpose, it founded three shock galleries in existing buildings of different purposes and two mobile shock galleries: PCA (Point of Contemporary Art), which was set up in 2015 in Vranje for the first time, and the mobile gallery in Novi Sad, which became part of the *Inclusive Gallery* project.

The mobile shock/inclusive gallery was designed by sculptor Dejan Jankov. It consists of eight elements that form a cubic gallery with a cylindrically shaped interior, equipped with electricity, lights and audio-visual equipment. It has a large red cross on its outer wall, as a link to the former Art Clinic and a symbolic reference to paramedics in a sense that it was urgently bringing art, as the first aid,

Image 21   Mobile, demountable gallery used within the *Inclusive Gallery*
                  project, made in 2013, temporarily installed at SPENS in December
                  2018. Photograph: from the archives of the *Inclusive Gallery*.
                  Quoted text: SPENS, Novi Sad, arch: Živorad Janković, Duško
                  Bogunović and Branko Bulić, 1981

to those parts of the city that lacked contemporary art and artistic content in general. As the gallery is very small, it is most suitable for exhibitions that can be viewed independently, such as productions in inclusive art that are raising awareness about disabilities and pointing out that "barriers to inclusion are not only architectural but also sensory, intellectual, emotional and social-cultural."[518] When this smallest, mobile, and inclusive gallery in the city is placed temporarily within SPENS, the largest facility in the city, it becomes an *interpretant* that highlights SPENS' potential for contemporary artistic content intended for everyone.

Another architectural example that due to circumstances had become syllepsis is Vitić's residential complex built for the employees of the National Bank of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, in Matko Laginja Street no. 7–9, in Zagreb (1957–1962). The complex contains horizontal blocks of 3 and 4 stories and a vertical 10-story block. Together, they form a small park as an additional spatial value, so that the whole complex constitutes "a contemporary construction, architectural and formative concept, which did not adhere to the given urban-planning frameworks as exclusive parameters, but rather, deliberately modernized them."[519] There are a total of 72 residential apartments in the blocks, which at the time of construction were significantly above the housing standard at the time. The whole complex, however, had significant shortcomings caused by deviation from Vitić's original project.

One of those shortcomings is what makes the complex stylistically recognizable and authentic—brise-soleils. Even though Vitić required them to be made of aluminum, they were made of wood, which was a much cheaper material. Each brise-soleil therefore weighed much more than aluminum, over 100 kg, and was supported by an inadequate sliding system, which is why the building inspection in 1962 indicated that they could fall off.[520] The brise-soleils soon distorted the sliding profiles with their weight and were indeed at risk of falling off, so that they began to pose a constant danger to anyone who passed below. In addition, most of them remained stuck in one

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[518] *Inkluzivna galerija*, <https://www.inkluzivnagalerija.rs/>, last accessed November 13, 2023

[519] Zrinka Paladino, "Possibilities of Renovating the Architecture of Ivan Vitić in Laginjina Street in Zagreb," in: Bodrožić and Šimpraga (eds.), *Motel Trogir*, 151-152

[520] *Ibid.*, 154

position for 30-40 years, so they created constant darkness in the interior of the apartment and lost their function.[521] The dysfunctional brise-soleils thus made Vitić's complex a *syllepsis* – instead of being a dynamic solution that provided tenants with quality lighting or shade, they deprived many apartments of light and protection from direct sunlight and cold. From an architectural complex that was supposed to be dynamic and the embodiment of a high housing standard, inadequate brise-soleils created its opposition, turning it into a source of long-term frustration and dysfunctionality.

Recognizing the importance of this architectural complex for the history of modern architecture, for the legacy of Ivan Vitić, and for the entire city, the Shadow Casters association,[522] immediately after moving its offices into one of the apartments in 2003, began working on habilitating, and later renovating the common areas of the complex. Thus, in 2004, the long-term interdisciplinary Community Art Project *Vitić Dances* was initiated, aiming to restore common spaces in the complex – the elevator, roof terrace, staircase, green area, facades, as well as the brise-soleils which would carry out Vitić's idea that the complex "dances" when the tenants move brise-soleils depending on their daily habits. The biggest obstacle at the beginning of the project proved to be the lack of community since the participation of tenants/co-owners[523] was crucial for the success of this project. Therefore, the Shadow Casters team led by Boris Bakal initiated a series of actions to create the community: extended meetings of tenants with invited architects, artists, and writers; the building's history created in participation with the tenants; a human-urban network (Shadow Casters, tenants, wider neighborhood, institutions, professional associations, etc.); an archive of memories of the building and the immediate surroundings; establishing a residency for architects in one of the apartments; lectures, workshops, concerts, performances, etc.

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[521] Barbara Matejčić, „Vitićev neboder nikada nije dobio uporabnu dozvolu" [Vitić's skyscraper never received a use permit], *Pogledaj.to*, 28. 2. 2014, <http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/viticev-neboder-nikada-nije-dobio-uporabnu-dozvolu/>, last accessed November 13, 2023

[522] Artistic and production platform for interdisciplinary collaboration, creativity and reflection on intermedia art, founded in 2001 in Zagreb, Croatia

[523] During the 1990s, the tenants became apartment owners. See: Sandra Uskoković, "Choreographing architecture. Man is Space, Vitić dances," *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, Vol. 21, No. 6 (2017), 852

Artists and experts from various disciplines were involved in the project, as well as tenants and the wider community. Their joint action was based on the creation of a common history and the creation of an archive of the memories of the building. Through the process, they realized that the common history of the building went was significant for far more people than they previously anticipated. The joint actions resulted in the creation of a community and in the protection of the complex as a cultural heritage site in 2005 (No. Z-2146). Elevators were replaced in 2007, and gradually all common areas of the entire complex were restored. Vitić's complex was completely renovated in 2018, funded by the City of Zagreb (Fund of memorial rent), the European Fund for Sustainable Development, and the tenants' contributions to the maintenance of the building. Brise-soleils were replaced with new aluminum ones, the sliding system was changed so that the load-bearing capacity was transferred to the upper profile while the lower one serves only as a support, and the insulation of the blocks and roofs were completely renovated.[524]

Thus Vitić's complex became the first example of energetic renovation of the heritage of modernist architecture in Croatia, which was achieved by applying artistic practices in strengthening the community of tenants and their connection with associations and institutions. Shadow Casters has presented the project internationally on many occasions as a renovation model applicable to similar buildings in a similar condition. That model is based on a balance between tangible heritage (modernist architecture) and intangible heritage (community), which together create a resource of sustainable renewal and use. Both legacies become significant actors in the redefinition of the post-socialist landscape,[525] and the artists appear in this model of renewal as mediators between the material and the immaterial.

Through the project *Vitić Dances*, Vitić's residential complex in Matko Laginja Street was realized after more than fifty years in the way the architect envisioned it, having adequate brise-soleils installed on adequate supports. It thereby transformed from its opposition (a dangerous place with non-functional protection from direct sunlight

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[524] For details, see Paladino, *op. cit*. The renovation increased the market value of the apartments, so that 20% of the owners sold their apartments (Uskoković, "Choreographing architecture," 858).

[525] Uskoković, "Choreographing architecture," 859

and cold) into its projected appearance (quality housing that "dances"). In this process, the participation of artists, residents and specialists from other disciplines was necessary in order to see the contradiction between these two conditions and to begin the process of realizing Vitić's original idea, and thus the full capacity of this architectural example of Yugoslav modernism.

Another specific *interpretant* of residential architecture built in Yugoslavia is the *Skyscraper for Birds*, an urban intervention in Rijeka by Vladimir Perić (Image 22).[526] Perić's work is characterized by "hybridization of meaning and sense, or, just the opposite, questioning the basic meaning of a certain object, questioning everyday relationships and questioning wider political and social processes," which is why his practice represents "a record opposed to the key tendencies of the ruling social and artistic paradigms."[527] Bearing this in mind, we can analyze the *Skyscraper for Birds*. Although an art installation, the *Skyscraper for Birds* functions as a permanent urban mobilier made of wood and metal. It is 11m in height and comprises 160 houses for small city birds (sparrows, tits, black redstarts), which are arranged on 20 floors so that on each floor there are 8 houses. As part of the project Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture, on February 29, 2020, the *Skyscraper for Birds* was installed in Pećine, the eastern coastal part of Rijeka.

Since Rijeka used to be an industrial city that employed hundreds of thousands of workers, there was a drastic need for housing in the 1960s. Due to topographical characteristics, the solution to that problem was a typology of skyscrapers, which suited the slope of the terrain better than horizontal residential blocks that were mostly built on flat terrains. The *Skyscraper for Birds* is, therefore, close to the sea, it is surrounded by greenery, but also by skyscrapers that rise high over otherwise low buildings in Pećine.

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[526] Perić made the first, wooden, *Skyscraper for Birds* in 2003, within the international artists' residency in Austria, organised by Griffnerhaus – factory for luxury houses made of wood. It is still on the factory grounds, used by several species of small birds. After the *Skyscraper* in Rijeka, he installed the third one in the City Park in Čačak, within the artistic manifestation Nadežda Petrović Memorial in 2020. That time, he blocked entrances into boxes by red crosses and turned the entire object into the *quarantine for birds*, referring to the global lockdowns and impossibility of migrating during the COVID-19 pandemic. The act of removing the red crosses was the symbolic opening of the *Skyscraper for Birds*.

[527] Dragićević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, 225
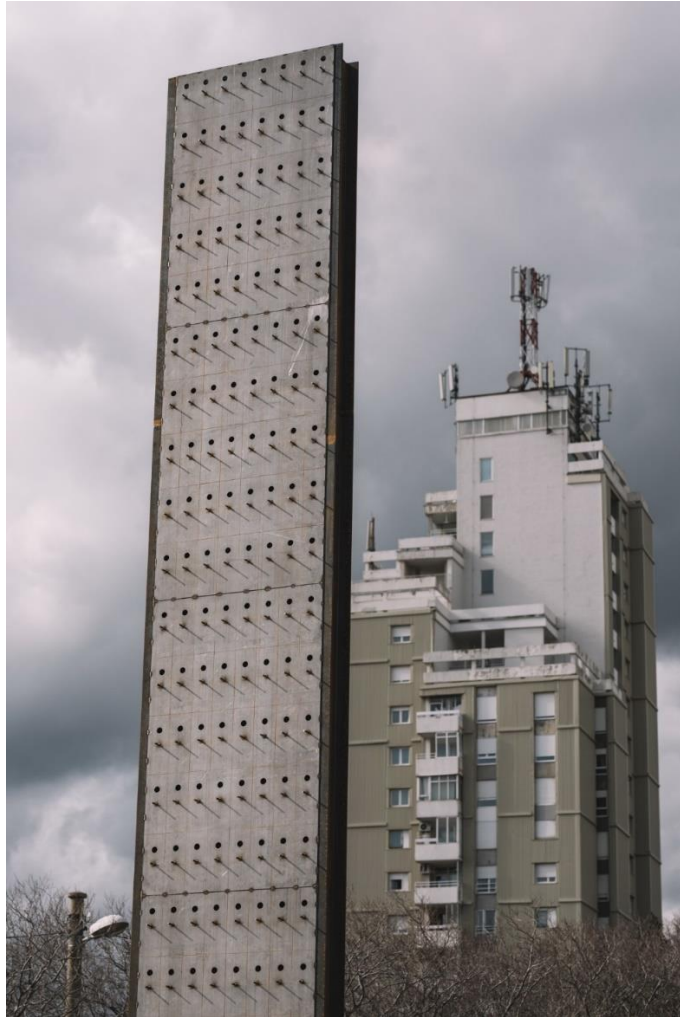
Image 22   Vladimir Perić, *Skyscraper for Birds*, permanent object since
                  February 29, 2020. Produced within the project *The Turned out
                  Pocket – Artistic Interventions in Public Space* run in 2020 by the
                  Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art (Rijeka), as part of the
                  Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture project. Photograph:
                  Tanja Kanazir. Quoted text: Vulkan skyscraper, Rijeka, arch.
                  Ninoslav Kučan, 1972

One of those skyscrapers was designed by architect Ninoslav Kučan in 1972 for the workers of Vulkan (Volcano) factory. This skyscraper is specific for its orientation towards the sea, high-quality apartments and roof terraces at different levels.[528] It shapes the eastern entrance to the city, and "with its height and position, but certainly also with its formal expression, it forms a recognizable symbol of the location (landmark)."[529] However, just a little further from the Vulkan skyscraper, one can see its exact opposite – the commercial Rijeka Tower Shopping Centre, built in 2006, which is rather a symbol of specific era than a landmark.

According to Perić, the *Skyscraper for Birds*, in addition to benefiting birds, ironically examines the changes in the urban landscape and housing policies, as well as the humanity of the structures that man creates in different socio-cultural contexts, which are governed by constantly changing positions of power and interests.[530] While the Vulkan skyscraper was built for workers, affordable, part of a self-management system that was based on social property and returned surplus value to public funds, Tower Centre is a typical contemporary shopping center, based on a capitalist economic system, part of construction policies driven by profit. These two skyscrapers also differ in their relationship to the environment – while Kučan's is characterized by roof terraces on different levels, as well as terraces for each residential unit, Tower Centre is a cube with

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[528] Residential skyscrapers usually contain only one roof terrace at the rooftop, but these are also out of use. In 2017, Gorana Stipeč Brlić conducted a survey in Rijeka, focusing on skyscrapers constructed by various architects. Her research showed that 73% of tenants think that common spaces, including roof terraces, are not used enough, 73% of them have never been on the roof of a building, while 93% would like to have access to it. The research also gave suggestions for possible new purposes that would improve the quality of life and 86% of the respondents wanted an urban garden on the roof, 66% expressed the need for a space for socializing, and 46% would like to have deckchairs on the roof (Gorana Stipeč Brlić, „Neboderi – grad među oblacima" [Skyscrapers – A City in the Clouds], *Zbornik radova Građevinskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci*, Vol. 20, No. 1 / 2017, 207–226).

[529] Đuro Mirković, „Stambena arhitektura u opusu arhitekta Ninoslava Kučana" [Residential architecture in the oeuvre of architect Ninoslav Kučan], *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, Vol. 4, No. 1/11 (1996), 114

[530] Vladimir Perić, in: Romina Peritz, „Moj neboder sa 160 stanova i 20 katova čeka useljenje prvih stanara – vrabaca i sjenica" [My skyscraper with 160 apartments and 20 floors is waiting for the first tenants to move in – sparrows and titmice], *Jutarnji list*, 16. 3. 2020

glass facades and its own climate system, inauthentic, devoid of identity, without history and relationship with the environment.

Within that spatial context, Perić's *Skyscraper for Birds* serves as a critical object that indicates that in Yugoslavia there was an integral theory of space that "was based on widely discussed ideas about the human environment understood as a complex interdependence of various natural and social functions, which all belonged to an integral, organic whole."[531] Different functions, such as work and housing, not only coexisted in the architectural and urban space, but they were in synergy that enabled urban development. The *Skyscraper for Birds* indicates that this synergy no longer exists, and points to the synergy between nature and the urban environment, encouraging the return of small urban birds that were not settling in the area while the Vulkan factory was operating at full capacity. In this way, it becomes similar to ecologically sensitive examples of Yugoslav modernist architecture, such as skyscrapers and blocks by architect Dinko Kovačić in Split 3, which contain planned holes in which birds could nest.

Architecture can be *text* and *intertext* at the same time when it is a representation of two cultures at once. One such example is the Cuban appropriation of prefabricated construction systems from Yugoslavia and the USSR, which is the focus of the video work *Presente y Futuro* (*Present and Future*) by Vesna Pavlović (2019, Image 23). Pavlović intertwines archival footage of the Institute for Materials IMS in Belgrade with her own footage of buildings in Cuba that were built using the modified technology of the Yugoslav IMS system or the Soviet construction technology based on the panel system. Both systems date from the second half of the 1950s, and in addition to being used in their countries of origin, they were exported as construction technology because the elements could be produced by hand on-site, and not only in highly industrialized and controlled environments of factories.

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[531] Ignjatović and Stojiljković, "Towards an Authentic Path," 861

Image 23   Stills from Vesna Pavlović, *Presente y Futuro*, single channel video installation, stereo sound, duration 9'44'', 2019. Production: XII Havana Biennial, *Intermittent Rivers*, Matanzas, April 16 – May 16, 2019. Video editing: Vladan Obradović, sound editing: Nikola Mladenović. Courtesy of Vesna Pavlović. Quoted text: IMS system, engineer Branko Žeželj (1957), and the Soviet construction technology based on the panel system

The IMS Institute conducted professional research and visits to the Cuban construction industry as early as 1966, demonstrating the features of the IMS system through experimental construction sites, aiming to implement it in the local Cuban context. As a result, in 1968, under the supervision of Yugoslav experts, the first building in Cuba using the IMS system was completed. It comprised 48 apartments and "was built as part of the experimental settlement that was the testing ground for several prefabricated systems."[532] In 1971, Cuba evaluated the IMS system "as the most adequate fundamental industrial construction system"[533] and continued cooperation with experts from the IMS Institute for the purpose of adapting it to its climatic conditions. Over the next several years, "Cuba imported three factories from Yugoslavia with a capacity of 1500 apartments per year, which included the equipment, documentation, and sporadic collaboration of experts from the two countries."[534] Cuba had a total of eight prefabricated systems factories, with all models modified to suit local climate conditions and available capabilities. An interesting fact is that the Cubans distributed their IMS system factories further, so when Yugoslav construction experts went to Luanda (Angola) to set up ministries and establish joint Anglo-Yugoslav construction companies, they "found a factory of IMS Žeželj prefabricated housing technology already in operation, which was provided by the Cubans after the 1975 intervention."[535]

Vesna Pavlović uses a clip from an archival documentary-promotional film produced by the IMS Institute, which shows building systems that have been adopted in Cuba to match the climate conditions and general lifestyle in the Caribbean area. Pavlović's video also shows how, over time, residential and administrative blocks built using those prefabricated construction skeletal systems were assimilated into Cuban culture. Pavlović shows this through the use of music, that is, by filming a local resident while he plays the trumpet. The cultural assimilation is also visible from the use of different colors, which are all very vivid and differently applied to each terrace, depending on whether the tenants prefer purple, green, yellow or red.

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[532] Jovanović, Grbić and Petrović, "Prefabricated Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia," 416

[533] *Ibid.*, 417

[534] *Ibid.*

[535] Jovanović, "From Yugoslavia to Angola," 175

It can be seen from the shots that not all terraces are painted; some preserved the original shade of concrete. Most of them, however, have been painted by the tenants themselves, manually and not always with the same degree of skill. The filmed buildings are where the program for collective housing and individual preferences meet, as well as the Yugoslav and Cuban construction industries. In general, they are objects that show clashes of Yugoslav and Cuban cultures, histories and economic cooperation and while filming them, Pavlović adds intangible cultural heritage in the form of music.

Video *Presente y Futuro* was created in the context of Vesna Pavlović's wider interest in the heritage of Yugoslavia and its presentation in an international context. In the photographic series *Hotels* (2000–2002), she showed the interiors of around twenty hotels that were built in Serbia during the 1960s and 1970s. Her *Collection, a* series of photographs (2003–2005), presents two art collections in their original interiors – the Federal Executive Council in New Belgrade and The Chase Manhattan Art Collection in New York. Both collections are of great importance for the history of art and design of post-war modernism, and Pavlović arranges the photographs of both collections in such a way that at times it is not clear which interior and which works of art belong to which building, that is, which geographical and socio-political area.

In the series *Lost Art* (2017) and *Fabrics of Socialism* (2013), Pavlović places historical photographs of Tito's diplomatic travels in new installation sets, playing with the dual meaning of the word *fabrics* as factories and as textile materials. She projects these historical photographs onto grey curtains, as a symbol of the Iron Curtain that divided the Eastern and Western Blocks. Apart from the photographs of Tito visiting various countries, she also adds a flag of SFRY cut into the letter "Y," presenting thus in a symbolical way that Yugoslavia was above and beyond that division. In these series, the artist initiates and enables a view of the heritage of Yugoslavia in a contemporary context. In the video *Presente y Futuro*, on the other hand, it is the users of architecture built by the IMS system who are making it visible in the contemporary context. The artist appears more as a documentarian, narrator, and curator, who, through a combination of archival, recorded and directed material, shapes a narrative of the Cuban appropriation of prefabricated building systems from Yugoslavia.

In all the aforementioned architectural examples – SPENS in Novi Sad, Vitić's complex of three residential blocks in Zagreb, Kučan's skyscraper for the workers of the Vulkan factory in Rijeka and the Yugoslav construction system adapted to the Cuban climate – we notice multiple, ambivalent coding. It includes or has included binary relations such as possible – unrepresented, planned – unrealized, high-quality building – neglected and dangerous, technically assimi-lated – culturally assimilated. In relation to all these architectural examples, artistic practices appear as *interpretants* that indicate the double meaning, and, in some cases, contribute to the improvements into a more beneficial meaning or state of the building/complex. Thus, the *Inclusive Gallery* adds a specific contemporary art program to SPENS, which certainly has a great, but unused capacity for contemporary art; the project *Vitić Dances* adds to the residential complex what it should have had according to Vitić's project, but was denied during construction—the quality of housing made possible by movable brise-soleils. *Skyscraper for Birds* by Vladimir Perić indicates that contemporary building practices are not taking into account the quality of living and offers an alternative in which birds and people are tenants of the same urban structures and typologies. The video *Presente y Futuro* by Vesna Pavlović indicates that the architectural legacy of Yugoslav modernism is not something that is affected by ruinification, but also something that is assimilated into other cultures and societies that change over time.

3.4.3. *Intratextual Type* of Intertextuality and Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism

According to Riffaterre, the third role the syllepsis can have in a text is to symbolize the compatibility between a text and an intertext at the level of significance, when they are incompatible at the level of meaning. Such a role of syllepsis results in the *intratextual type* of intertextuality, where both text and intertext are read as two variants of one invariant. As such, this role of syllepsis is the opposite of the role it had in the *complementary type* of intertextuality – instead of activating two opposite meanings, it symbolically equalizes two existing opposite meanings in terms of significance.

As we saw, in the case of architecture of Yugoslav modernism and *complementary type* of intertextuality, artists would add elements to scale models of buildings in order to visually represent what is not visible – that each of those buildings is the syllepsis, an opposition to its own earlier self in terms of functions, ownership or some other aspect. If compared to elements of semiosis defined by Charles Sanders Peirce, architectural objects appear as *representaments* (material characteristics of the sign) which refer to *objects* (including concepts and programs, for example, Yugoslavia, the Brotherhood and Unity, self-management), but their *interpretants* (meanings) have changed over time and became opposed to their earlier meanings. For that reason, the same building, without having undergone any physical changes, can have two completely opposed meanings over time, that is, it can be *text* and *intertext*.

In the *mediated type* of intertextuality, artistic practices were *interpretants* that pointed out the less noticeable hybrid functions, hidden potentials, or intercultural characteristics of depicted architectural sites. In the *intratextual type*, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism had/has been having visible opposing or incompatible aspects within itself, aspects that are not compatible at the level of meaning but are of significance for all those who approach/use that architecture. Those contradicting meanings were perhaps visible only for a brief moment and artists focus precisely on them. Artistic practices are not pointing them out, as in the *mediated type* of intertextuality, but they are building upon them. Since such contradictions in meaning were not necessarily caused by the

distinction between Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav discourse, we are also including in this chapter the analysis of two works by Sanja Iveković from 1979 in which we notice *intratextual* intertextuality related to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. We then turn to the contemporary artistic practices of Viktor Popović, Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić and Erwin Wurm.

Sanja Iveković is one of the first visual artists in the Yugoslavian scene who used a feminist standpoint in her work to place the personal within the political, to address issues of the public sphere, the ideological apparatus, the fall of communism, the rise of the market economy, and especially the effects they had on living conditions of women. She was most interested in the fact that both "the artists' work and the unpaid reproductive labor done by women in the private sphere share common denominators: invisibility and functional-ization."[536] During the 1970s, she was part of the conceptually oriented New Art Practice movement that aimed at democratizing art and was one of the streams from which contemporary artistic practices developed. In 1979, she created two interconnected works: *Triangle* and *New Zagreb (People behind the Windows)*, each of them building upon temporary contrasting meanings of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism.

Both works depict May 10, 1979, when Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito visited Zagreb. On that occasion, the presidential procession went through the main boulevards in the city. For security reasons, all residents of those boulevards were instructed to stay away from windows and balconies and to keep them closed, with the shutters down. Despite this, Iveković sat on a chair on her balcony, poured whiskey, lit a cigarette, read a book and simulated masturbation. Neither her performance nor the whiskey was visible from the viewpoint of the procession, however, they were seen by security services placed on the rooftop of the 17-storeys InterContinental hotel (today Westin) across the street. As Iveković describes it, they were probably informed by walkie-talkie a police officer on the boulevard, who soon rung on her doorbell ordering that "the persons and objects are to be removed from the balcony."

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536 Ruth Noack, *Sanja Iveković: Triangle*, London: Afterall Books, 2013, 85

Iveković presents this action in four photographs and the text that describes the event and states that it lasted for eighteen minutes. Three photographs are arranged vertically – at the top is the photograph of the hotel with a figure of the security service officer at the rooftop. Below are two photographs of the presidential procession, one capturing the president's cabriolet limousine, the other capturing the other side of the street, with the Yugoslav flag in the foreground and the crowd in the background. All three images were taken from Iveković's balcony, at the time when it was forbidden to be at balconies, let alone photograph the procession. The fourth photograph is aligned with the middle one that captures the president. It shows Iveković on her balcony, sitting on a chair, having her legs lifted at another chair. She is reading the 1966 Pelican/Penguin edition of Thomas Bottomore's *Elites and Society*,[537] in a T-shirt with an American logo that is partially hidden by her arm and the book, so only the "of America" remains visible, as if it refers to her, or to any young woman in general. She is in a short skirt, and having her other hand between her legs. A glass of whiskey is on a window counter; an ashtray is on the floor. At the very edge of the photograph, behind the parapet wall of the balcony, one can see people on the street. This act of drinking, smoking, reading, masturbating, performing, working/non-working, created an ambivalent event in which "there is no product, just a means of production (the artist's self) and an effect (a new art practice)."[538]

The whole action was an interconnection between her, the security services on the rooftop and the police officer who was on the street, arranged in a triangular position until the officer knocked on her door. Such triangular positioning of three persons in relation to the presidential procession was enabled by architectural objects, which on that particular day had their meanings and functions inversed due to the presidential procession. The hotel, built in 1968–1975 by architects William Bonham, Slobodan Jovičić, Mira Hahl-Begović and Franjo Kamenski, was the first hotel in Zagreb purpose-built to belong to a large hotel chain. It was one of the most luxurious continental hotels in Yugoslavia, a venue for many conferences, cultural events and New Year's parties in its Crystal Hall. It had one of

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[537] In an alternative image, she is reading Yugoslav translation of Marx and Engels *On Literature and Art*, and holding a cigarette by her other hand.
[538] Noack, 85

the first underground garages in Zagreb and Opera restaurant on the top floor, a chic gastronomical place, offering a sublime view of the city. On May 10, 1979, the top of the hotel became something completely else—a viewpoint for surveillance and lookout for disobedient citizens.

Similarly, the balconies gained the opposite meaning on that day. Instead of being places that enable being outside while still in the zone of privacy, they were denied to their owners and put under surveillance. Iveković built her action on that denial of freedom, using her balcony in the residential-office complex at 1 Savska Street, designed in 1959 by architect Milan Žarnjević and built in 1962. Based on the opposition between the usual function of balconies and that on the day of the procession, Iveković connected in the *Triangle* oppositions such as private—public, exposed—hidden from view, feminism—state power, erotic—ideological, socialism—elites, freedom—surveillance, inside—outside.

In her work *New Zagreb (People behind the Windows)* (Image 24), Iveković focuses on windows on the day of the presidential procession. Using an enlarged newspaper image of a building in the Proletariat Brigades Street (Ulica Proleterskih brigade, today Vukovarska Street), she highlighted other citizens who were watching the procession from their flats, despite the instructions to stay away from the windows and to keep the shutters down. To the black and white photograph from the newspaper clipping, she added the basic Bauhaus colors (red, yellow, and blue) to those flats in which their owners were looking out from behind their windows. The resulting image not only showed the dissident character of the Yugoslav community but also connected the building to the history of its design and to the wider community.

The newspaper image Iveković depicted shows one of the key modernist residential buildings in Zagreb – the block at 43–43a Proletariat Brigades/Vukovarska Street, designed by architect Drago Galić and finished in 1957. It was one of few buildings in that street at the time that took "into account the concept of the dominant arterials – the boulevard, and its representative role – the monument (in) the new social order."[539] Prior to this building, Galić designed one at

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[539] Vedran Ivanković, „Moskovski *boulevard* – Ulica grada Vukovara u Zagrebu 1945.-1956. godine. Arhitektura i urbanizam na razmeđu Istoka i Zapada" [Moscow
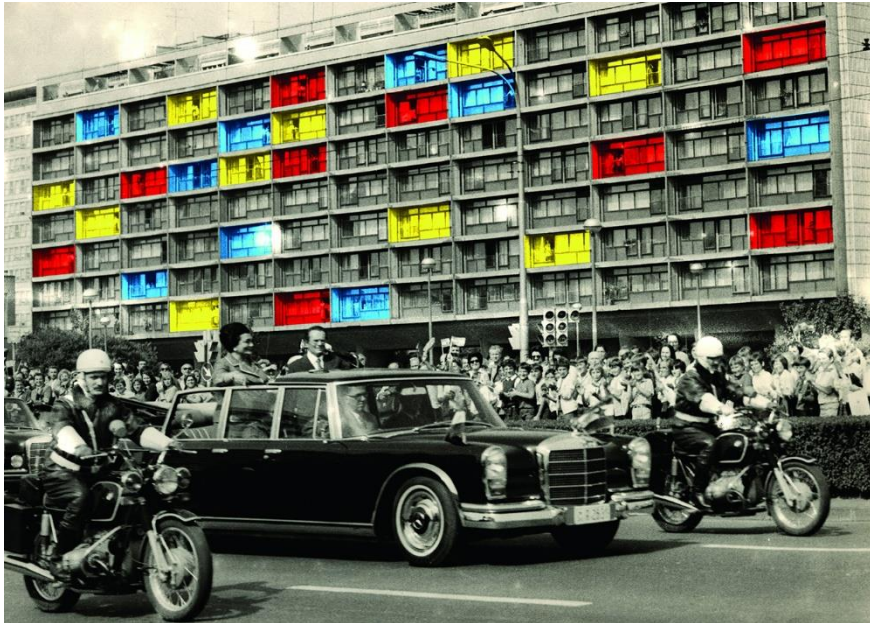
Image 24   Sanja Iveković, *New Zagreb (People behind the Windows)*, 1979, 126
                  × 172cm, enlarged newspaper photograph with an intervention by
                  the artist. Quoted text: residential block at 43–43a Proletariat
                  Brigades/Vukovarska Street, arch. Drago Galić, project: 1955,
                  finished: 1957, preventive protection: 1969, permanently pro-
                  tected cultural heritage since 2003

Boulevard – Vukovar Street in Zagreb, 1945-1956. Architecture and Urban Planning
between East and West], *Prostor*, 14 (2006), 191

35-35a Proletariat Brigades/Vukovarska Street, both of which in many ways reflected Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation in Marseille (1947–1952). Like Le Corbusier's Unité, Galić's buildings were erected on strong pylons that allowed common areas on the first floor and the facades are characterized by horizontal strokes of ribbon windows and concrete elements that served as brise-soleils.[540] However, Galić's buildings differ by having less common spaces and by being "twice as narrow as Marseille's. There are no centrally located longitudinal corridors (internal streets), but the apartments are accessed from open galleries."[541] The two-story flats (*maisonette* units) are oriented on both sides and have different inner organization to respond better to the local mentality.[542] Both Galić's buildings are protected as cultural heritage in the Republic of Croatia (Z–2138, since 2005 and Z–675, since 2003).

The flats in the building at 43–43a Proletariat Brigades/ Vukovarska Street are having window walls facing the Street, while the balconies are at the other side. Therefore, between the presidential procession in 1979 and the residential spaces, there were no balconies, no in-between space like in Iveković's flat in Savska Street. The residents could only look outside, not actually step outside. By coloring the windows in the colors of Le Corbusier's Unité, Iveković created that in-between space and highlighted the community in their little dissident act of using their freedom to look outside. At the moment when balconies and windows lost their main purpose and significance, Iveković gave them even greater significance, by symbolically connecting the residents of Zagreb to those of Le Corbusier's buildings and, generally, to all citizens who can freely look through their windows.

A site-specific approach in combination with archival images is also something that the contemporary artists have been using more recently. In his most recent works, Viktor Popović quotes the architecture of Yugoslav modernism site-specifically and by quoting documentary photographs. In 2015, he started a long-term project

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[540] Jasna Šćavničar Ivković, „Obnova pročelja zgrade u Vukovarskoj 35–35a arhitekta Drage Galića" [Renewal of the Facade of the Architect Drago Galić's Building in Vukovarska Street 35-35a], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, 35 (2011), 221

[541] *Ibid.*, 223

[542] *Ibid.*, 224

based on the research of the archives of the urban-architectural project Split 3, where he grew up, following an invitation of the artist Neli Ružić, who was at the time art director of the Gallery of School of Fine Arts, located within Split 3. As he soon found out, there was no consistent archive of the project, due to the long-term negligence and disappearance of the construction companies that carried out the project but never fully implemented it. He found most of the archival photographs and documents in the Institute for Urban Planning of Dalmatia (Split, Croatia), the Department of Architecture of the Museum of Architecture and Design (Ljubljana, Slovenia) and the archive of the Slovenian architect Vladimir Braco Mušič.

Over the years, Popović created installations and objects by quoting photographs of Split 3 taken by Zvonimir Buljević in 1969, photographs of the destroyed scale model of Split 3 from 1968, technical drawings of the project, and chosen segments from the document "Split 3: Basic Urban Design – textual part: preliminary technical description and report" from November 1969, issued by Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia. In some installations, he added industrially produced elements, such as mechanical pencil leads to create isometric objects from them (Image 25), or color filters, scaffolding, and aluminum clips. In 2019, he quoted Ante Roca's documentary photographs of the military hospital in Split 3 (arch. Antun Ulrich, 1958–1965) in his work *Untitled (Archive ST3: Military Hospital)*. To the photographs of the hospital's exterior, he added industrial color filters, while the photographs of the interiors, presenting technically superior hospital equipment of the time, he printed on canvas, mounting them afterwards to the vertically positioned old metal hospital beds. By adding lights behind each photograph/bed, he created specific light-boxes that connected views of hospital appliances, once considered advanced, nowadays obsolete. The combination of historic photographs and artifacts, displayed as quotations from the same period, resulted in the installation that gave them spatial characteristics, becoming a specific simulation of the 1965 hospital space brought into the present time.

His most recent work that focuses on Split 3 was a two-part intervention *Untitled (Archive ST3: Content)* in 2021. It was partly set up at the Cultural Institution Kula Gallery, a constitutive part of the perimeter of Diocletian's Palace in Split (January 19 – February 19, curator: Jasminka Babić) and partly installed on the façade of the
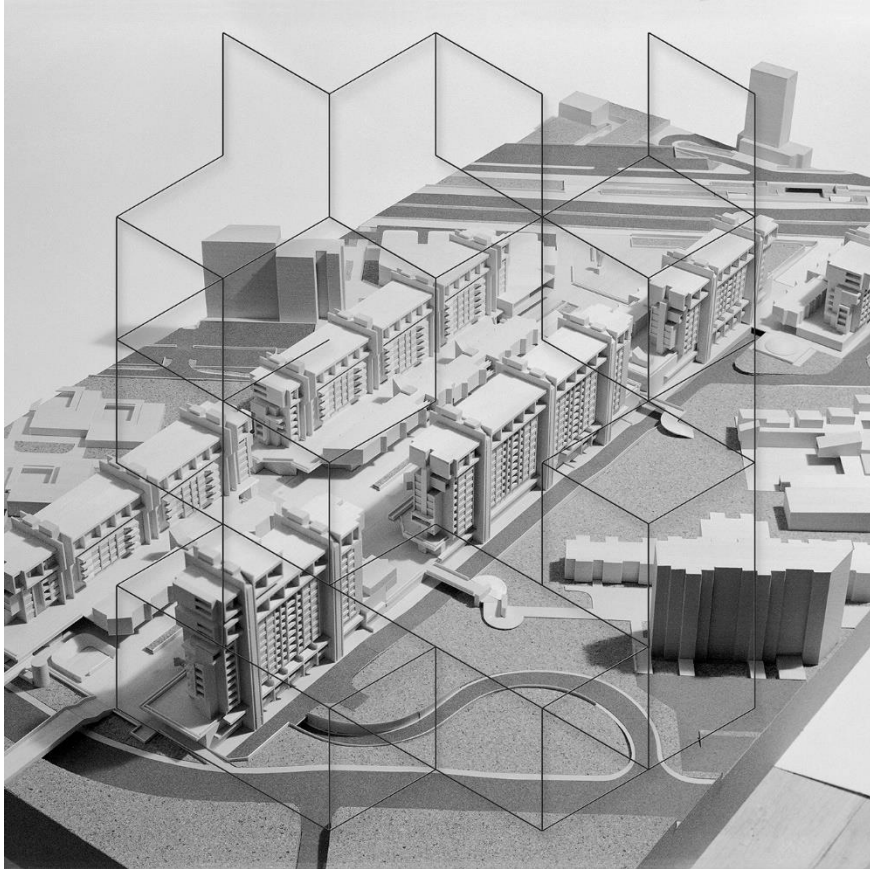
Image 25   Viktor Popović, *Untitled, (Archive ST3)*, 2015, digital print on paper, black leads, 44,5 x 44,5 x 2cm. Archive photograph: Photo Archive of the Institute for Urban Planning of Dalmatia – Split, Croatia showing the model made in 1974 by Zlatko Viđak, the model maker of the Institute. Quoted text: Split 3, the Ruđer Bošković Street, arch. Ante Svarčić, 1970–1979

former Brodomerkur Company building in Split 3 (January 19 – February 1, curator: Dalibor Prančević). In the installation at the Kula Gallery, Popović quoted Zvonimir Buljević's photographs that document the construction of Split 3, by placing them on scaffoldings and adding red fabrics. The location of the Gallery within the Roman Diocletian's Palace played a great role in Popović's work, since he aimed at highlighting the relation of good planning practices that are almost two millennia apart, yet both visible and experienceable in the present. Apart from that, the project of Split 3 directly refers to the harmony of public and private life achieved at Diocletian's Palace, as well as to the Roman Centuriation.

The second part of his intervention was site-specifically appropriated to the offices building of the Brodomerkur Company, which was built for 500 employees within the program of providing jobs for the local population of Split 3 near their residential areas. Since 2018, the building has housed the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Split. Designed in 1985 by architect Danko Colnago, and completed in 1990, it "abounds in postmodern syntax ('*the place of concentrated quotations and references*')."[543] The building has a parallelepiped structure, 141.05m long and 24.235m wide, that "retains tectonics, a feature of durability and power through size and weight," clearly showing "the totality of its reinforced concrete structural origin."[544] It has three floors, an inner atrium, and several facilities at the basement level, including a restaurant, coffee bar, and server rooms.

It is characterized by a defensive wall that gives it sculptural individuality, but more importantly, creates a shadow that protects the windows from the intensity of Mediterranean sunlight during the summer. Within the wall, there are two openings, resulting in a *double portal/bridge construction* effect that "represents a series of historical associations, the most prominent of which is a metaphor for the city gate from one of the city's two main roads."[545] The façade is covered in grey-blue tinted thermos glass (modernist glass "curtain wall") and in stripes of black granite and beige limestone from local sites in Jablanica and the island of Brač. In the black and white façade cladding

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[543] Dina Ožić Bašić, "Postmodern Brodomerkur Office Building in Split by the Architect Danko Colnago, 1985-1990," *Prostor*, 29 (2021), 99
[544] *Ibid.*, 94
[545] *Ibid.*, 85

in rows, Dina Ožić Bašić finds references to antique architecture, the Tuscan medieval architectural tradition, modernity and the 1980s postmodern architecture that invokes historical styles, such as Mario Botta's the Watari Museum of Contemporary Art in Tokyo, Japan (1985–1990) and the Mediatheque in Villeurbanne, France (1984–1988).[546]

To the limestone stripes of the façade, Popović added short quotations from the 1969 document "Split 3: Basic Urban Design – textual part: preliminary technical description and report" (Image 26). Some of the quotations are specifically related to Split and Split 3, highlighting the significance of the project: "The new value that appears in the Split 3 complex is conditioned by the character of this complex as an organic continuation of the city center towards the east,"[547] "The remains of the Roman Centuriation could be used in the planning of traffic connections and other structural elements in the new part of the city."[548] Other quotations reflect the ideas behind the Split 3 project, but, more importantly, they can be applied to any urban-planning process in the future: "The city is an act of the will and must increasingly be the subject of a conscious shaping effort and preoccupations of the most conscious and intelligent forces in the social community,"[549] "The street becomes a social center again."[550] By adding the quotations to the building that is "at the crossroads of two epochs with different socio-political paradigms, as business and commercial building,"[551] Popović turned the façade "into an active drawing; questioning the appearance and temperament of the city today."[552]

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[546] *Ibid.*, 95-96

[547] „Novo mjerilo koje se javlja u kompleksu Split 3 uvjetovano je karakterom ovog kompleksa kao organskog nastavka gradskog centra prema istoku."

[548] „Ostaci rimske centurijacije mogli bi koristiti u planiranju prometnih veza i drugih strukturalnih elemenata u novom dijelu grada."

[549] „Grad je akt (čin) volje i mora biti sve više predmet svjesnog napora oblikovanja i preokupacija najsvjesnijih i najinteligentnijih snaga u društvenoj zajednici."

[550] „Ulica postaje ponovo društveni centar."

[551] Viktor Popović, *Untitled (Archive ST3: Content)*, project description, 2021, last accessed March 3, 2023, <https://www.viktorpopovic.com/projects/2021-st3-content-faculty-of-humanities/>.

[552] *Ibid.*

Image 26   Viktor Popović, *Untitled (Archive ST3: Content)*, 2021, self-adhesive
                  vinyl, 660 x 1120cm. Exhibition view: *Untitled (Archive ST3:*
                  Content), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Split, Croatia,
                  2021. Photograph by the artist Quoted text: offices building of the
                  Brodomerkur Company, arch. Danko Colnago, 1985–1990

Apart from quoting the historic and present Split 3 in an attempt to highlight good examples of urban planning, Popović quoted the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in his 2020 work *Untitled (Archive Zenčišće).* Here, he connected archival and present photographs of the former children's resort complex at the Zenčišće Bay beside Jelsa, on the island of Hvar in Croatia (arch. Bogdan Ćosić, Branislav Simović and Milena Đurić). The complex, now completely ruined, used to be an exemplary piece of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, visited by many generations who could spend 21 days at the seaside at the expense of the state. It was built during 1972/73 by the Children's Resort and Rehabilitation Center of the City of Belgrade, which was established in 1956, and had built resorts in the mountains, as well as additional five resorts at Croatian seaside, on the islands of Hvar and Brač, near Makarska, Dubrovnik and Split. The resort beside Jelsa had a capacity of 400 beds and an adapted shore that was suitable for children and for smaller boats to dock. It was like a small village, spreading over 64,000 square meters of land and comprising dormitories, classrooms, workshops, a library, shops, a health clinic, a swimming pool, restaurants, kitchens, sports facilities, a TV room, storage units, garages, gas station, tower-observatory. It was closed after the break-up of Yugoslavia and since 2006, it is no longer the property of the City of Belgrade.

Popović intervened in the living urban space by using archival rather than recent documents and photographs, which "speaks of a critical departure from the current state of urban chaos and an insistence on the values by which those spaces were originally intended."[553] Popović's work builds upon the discrepancy and incompatibility between contemporary proliferation of commercial urban contents and good practices of urban planning presented not only by the example of Split 3, but also by its connections to the Roman grid in the city. In contrast to those good planning practices (*text*), the recent influx of profitable content in the same area (*intertext*) functions as the opposing sides of one urban unit. While quoting the history and ideas that made the Split 3 project as it is, Popović harmonizes the significance of the initial ideas with the present reality,

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[553] Jasminka Babić, „Umjetnost gradu" [Art to the City], *Revizor – nostalgija budućnosti*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2019), 29

arguing for their importance for the future development of Split, or even some other city.

Popović's works related to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism can be described as artistic practice that creates archives, given that a complete and unified archive of Split 3 project does not exist. Such practices, according to Nikola Dedić, "reject the romantic and nostalgic return to the 'good old days' and instead insist on the hard politicization of both art and all segments of depoliticized everyday life."[554] By replacing nostalgia with an archive, contemporary artistic practices intervene in the field of the current, articulating a space of resistance to decay and ruin, and thus directly changing everyday life and a wider social context.

We notice *intratextual type* on intertextuality in the works of Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, within which the most frequent quotes are the large housing blocks, built in New Belgrade during/by the Yugoslav socialism. He often turns to them because, for him, they "have a double meaning, which resonates with the ambivalent idea of 'the end of the world.' As living relics of modernism, they question the sustainability of our way of life, while as products of socialist housing policy, they become part of an almost futuristic imagination."[555] The large housing blocks like those in New Belgrade were built for workers (the socialist middle class), not only as their need and right but also as social practice.[556] Yugoslavia was the first socialist country in which social housing was the responsibility of labor organizations[557] and such large housing projects increased the standard of living for the majority. Since New Belgrade was a collective, socialist, and representative project, the housing blocks there were diverse, high-quality, and built to respond to the future needs of their users, not only to the housing crisis of the time.

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[554] Nikola Dedić, „Jugoslavija u post-jugoslovenskim umetničkim praksama".

[555] Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, work description in: Sonja Jankov (ed.), *Habitats – Interdisciplinary Approach* – catalogue for the exhibition in the Gallery of Contemporary Art (Dec. 9–23, 2023), Pančevo: Cultural Centre of Pančevo, 2023, 18

[556] Sara A. Nikolić, „Antropologija novobeogradskih blokova: urbano stanovanje, stvaranje društvenih prostora i novi život prostornih zajedničkih dobara" [Anthropology of New Belgrade Blocks: Urban Dwelling, Creation of Social Spaces and the New Life of Urban Commons] – doctoral dissertation, Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 2023, 67

[557] *Ibid.*, 74

Although Brutalistic in style, large housing blocks in New Belgrade, as in Split 3, are examples of humanely thought architecture tailored to the modern residents, due to their affordability, availability, internal spatial organization, thoughtful urban organization with lots of greenery, public contents and good connections to the rest of the city. In the words of Yugoslav architect Milenija Marušić, spoken in conversation with Yamasaki Vukelić, "[t]hat concrete, it's just an outer shell. Inside, everything was soft and tender. Breathable and adaptable to the person."[558] These words inspired Yamasaki Vukelić to create, in 2020, a series of aquarelles in which New Belgrade housing blocks appear as quotations from the past, but also as a reminder to alert us that it is necessary to imagine new futures. As he notices, at the global level, there was a "series of drastic changes – economic, political, ideological; wars and disintegration, poverty, which lead to a certain state of paralysis."[559] In such a context, people are not equipped with survival skills, because all they have learnt is how to live in bygone or falling-apart societies. The issues of quality housing are no longer the concern of states since "along with the delegitimization of socialism came the delegitimization of any social ideas,"[560] such as the right to affordable, quality housing.

With an aim to create atmospheres in which a feeling of a near end is present, but not easy to articulate, Yamasaki Vukelić often quoted the buildings from blocks 45 and 70 in New Belgrade, where he grew up during the 1990s. They appear to be the most common quotations from the architecture of Yugoslav modernism in his work. Block 45 comprises over 60 buildings of different heights (two to sixteen stories). It was built from 1968 to 1972, using the IMS Žeželj system by several construction companies (Inpros, Ratko Mitrović, Napred, Trudbenik, Rad, Neimar, Novi Beograd, July 7th) on the site of drained marshes and deforested river bank. The lead architects were Ivan Tepeš, Velimir Gredelj, Jovan Mišković and Milutin Glavički, while many more architects were in charge of specific building types: arch. Rista Šekerinski (G+2 and G+4 semi-atrium buildings), arch. Stana and

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[558] Milenija Marušić, cf. in Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, „Unutra sve biće meko i nežno" [Inside it will all be soft and tender] – interviewed by Aleksandar Lukić, *Oblakoder*, Sep. 15, 2020, last accessed Feb. 1, 2024, <http://www.oblakoder.org.rs/nebojsa-yamasaki-vukelic-unutra-sve-bice-meko-i-nezno/>.

[559] Yamasaki Vukelić, „Unutra sve biće meko i nežno"

[560] *Ibid.*

Branko Aleksić (G+6), arch. Grgur Popović (G+12 and G+14), arch. Mihailo Čanak (G+16). One of the requirements for skyscrapers "was to include at least five studios for artists."[561] Almost the identical block 70 was finished in 1975. Built for almost 30,000 residents, blocks 45 and 70 also contain buildings of public services, such as primary schools, kindergartens, post offices, markets, centers of local communities, libraries, and single persons' hotel.

In Yamasaki Vukelić's works, various types of buildings in the blocks appear along an oversized blender that could blend them all. The blender, however, serves as a strong reference to the feeling and status of homeliness, of having a place to live in. As a reference to the ongoing housing crisis, in the work *Building as a Gift* (*I* and *II*, 2020), the blocks become a part of a fantastic image in which they mutate into a self-reproducing residential building whose smaller version jumps out of itself. It acquires the biological characteristics of polyps or other beings that are reproducing by binding or fraction, indirectly pointing out the disappearance of the society that would plan, build and maintain such needed housing typology. Either placed beside a huge blender, or portrayed as a self-reproducing gift, the housing blocks in the works of Yamasaki Vukelić become critical and poetic objects that reflect the past, problems of the present, and concerns for the future (Image 27).

Yamasaki Vukelić also quotes blocks 61 and 62, which are just across from block 45. These blocks were designed by the architects Milenija Marušić, Darko Marušić and Milan Miodragović, while the idea of their stairs-like structure came from the architect Josip Svoboda who completed the urban plan in 1965. Such a gradual shape that rises from two to twenty stories enables the adequate amount of light, views and privacy for all users. The blocks 61 and 62 together contain 28 buildings, constructed from 1975 to 1977, using mostly the French construction system "Balancy," modified for the Yugoslav market and local context, and in considerably smaller amounts the IMS Žeželj system. In Yamasaki Vukelić's aquarelle-drawings, buildings from these blocks are very tiny and dispersed by an electric fan, which is more a reference to their fragility than to the winds in the area.

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[561] Damjanović Conley and Jovanović, "Housing Architecture in Belgrade (1950–1980)," 304
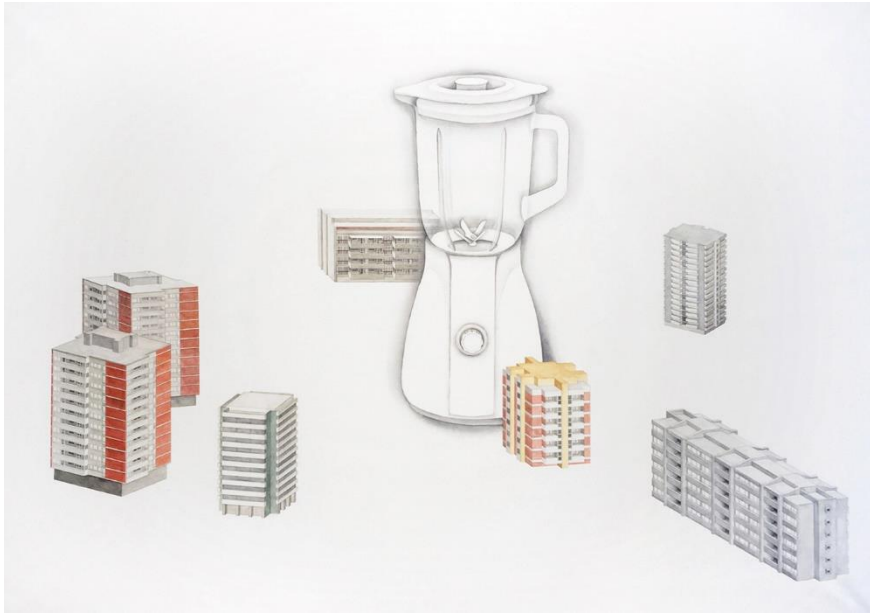
Image 27   Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, *Untitled (Blender)*, from the series
                  Inside it will all be soft and tender, 2020. Quoted text: Block 45, new
                  Belgrade, 1968–1972, lead architects: Ivan Tepeš, Velimir Gredelj,
                  Jovan Mišković and Milutin Glavički, architects specific building
                  types: Rista Šekerinski, Stana and Branko Aleksić, Grgur Popović
                  and Mihailo Čanak (G+16)

Besides the quoted buildings in his works, Yamasaki Vukelić places oversized household appliances to refer to the tenderness, lightness, and humanity of that architecture. He also does this to highlight the "inability to imagine a radically new and positive future" whereas "the attempts to establish more humane societies are seen as something 'retro.'"[562] In his more recent works that represent a multimedia narrative about post-apocalyptic and soon post-anthropo-cene world, he also includes images of housing blocks and adds poetry, images of fantastic greenery, ambiental sound composition, and the whiteness "that rushes into those images and erases them. For me, it represents, among other things, the impossibility of imagining, describing, and defining the world-after-the-end-of-the-world."[563]

The architecture of Yugoslav modernism in his works, thus, appears as *text* and *intertext* – two opposing meanings of one invari-able that are of the same importance to us today. Referring to the period these buildings were built in, the main question he asks is whether an artist, an individual, today can be a participant in radical social changes—as architects of those housing blocks were—which are very necessary if we want to get out of the ongoing global multiple crises. Within that context, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as a reminder that the imagined future it was built for has not ended yet, and that humanistic ideas and hope for radically new, more ethical societies have not yet been delegitimized just because socialism ended.

The architecture of Yugoslav modernism also appears as a quotation within one of the recent performative sculptures by Erwin Wurm. Building his work on the interaction between people and objects, Wurm initiated performative sculptures in the 1990s. They include scale models in clay, made after architectural objects of various types (a psychiatric clinic, a prison, warehouses, bunkers), in which the artists sculpted by attacking them in the *House Attack* series. Later, the models were modified by performers who would step on them, push against them, fall, sit, lean on them, or interact with them physically in some other way. As each move leaves a mark in the clay,

562 Yamasaki Vukelić, Nebojša, „Unutra sve biće meko i nežno"

563 Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, „Kraj sveta je nešto što možda i priželjkujemo" [The end of the world is something we may wish for] – interviewed by Milan Vukelić, *Nova*, Dec. 13, 2022, last accessed Feb. 1, 2024, <https://nova.rs/kultura/nebojsa-yamasaki-vukelic-kraj-sveta-je-nesto-sto-mozda-i-prizeljkujemo/>.

the models are at the end of performance slightly modified, but their original shape is still visible under all the traces. Like his other sculptures based on scale models, they become artworks only when the viewers and the artist start interacting with them. As such, they comprise of architectural scale models as quotations and activities by which participants use their bodies to modify the models, which become complete only after gaining anthropomorphous traces.

At the opening of the *One Minute Forever* solo exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade (April 7 – August 9, 2022), Wurm and associates performed one performative sculpture which included four clay models made after representative buildings belonging to the heritage of Yugoslav architectural modernism in Belgrade (Image 28). The eldest of them was the National Printing Institution building (arch. Dragiša Brašovan, 1934–1941), protected as a cultural monument since 1992 and renovated into office spaces in 2022. Then, there were the clay scale models of the Presidency of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (arch. Vladimir Potočnjak, Zlatko Neumann, Antun Ulrich, and Dragica Perak 1947 / Mihailo Janković, 1961), now the Palace of Serbia, of the Museum of Contemporary Art (arch. Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1959/1965, Image 29) and the housing tower at Karaburma, colloquially known as "Toblerone building" because of its specific playful, rotated, triangular shape (arch. Rista Šekerinski, 1963).

All four buildings had been built for different functions – the printing institution, the governmental building, the cultural institution, and the residential building. Given their functions and Yugoslav origins, they differed from other scale models Wurm included in his performative sculptures over the years. However, in terms of movements and actions taken by the participants, this piece was similar to previous ones, in particular to the *Wittgensteinian Grammar of Physical Education*, performed at the Gallery Thaddaeus Ropac in 2013. Both on that occasion and in the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, people would take different approaches to the models/objects. Some of those were unusual, such as lying, face down and having soles on the side of a scale model, or laying on their backs and touching the roof of a scale model with their heels while having an imaginary walk in the air. Such movements derive from the writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein about language, the fragments of which were included in the performance.

Image 28   Erwin Wurm, performance at the opening of the *One Minute
                  Forever* solo exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art
                  Belgrade, April 7, 2022. Photograph: Bojana Janjić for the MoCAB.
                  Quoted texts: the National Printing Institution building (arch.
                  Dragiša Brašovan, 1934–1941), the Presidency of the Government
                  of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia / the Federal
                  Executive Council (arch. Vladimir Potočnjak, Zlatko Neumann,
                  Antun Ulrich, and Dragica Perak 1947 / Mihailo Janković, 1961),
                  the Museum of Contemporary Art (arch. Ivan Antić and Ivanka
                  Raspopović, 1959/1965), the housing tower at Karaburma,
                  Belgrade (arch. Rista Šekerinski, 1963)

Wittgenstein formulated most of his ideas about language in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921) and *Philosophical Investigations* (published posthumously in 1953). While at first he focused on uniformity of language and use of words in strict terms, in the later development of his thought, he came to think that language is flexible and used according to the rules of the context in which it is implemented. He highlighted that a word may have various uses, concluding, like Louis Hjelmslev in *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, that any sign meaning arises in a context. His *Investigations* can be seen as a considerable contribution to pragmatics, namely to studies of uses of language in various life contexts. Within it, he developed the idea of *language-games* (Sprachspiele) to which Wurm's performative sculptures relate.

Language games are not word-games, but practices like writing, reading, reporting, speculating, measuring, asking, translating, cursing, praying, giving orders, obeying orders, forming and testing a hypothesis, presenting the results of an experiment in tables and diagrams, guessing riddles, making a joke, telling it, etc.[564] All these are, according to Nicolas Xanthos, semiotic practices, "the shared conceptual parameters that make it possible to identify and produce signs, and to establish relations of signification and representation."[565] Xanthos distinguishes three interdependent notions in Wittgenstein's writing: 1) the language games, 2) the moves of the language games (concrete actions performed in a given language game, such as any interaction with signs, production of signs, or attribution of meaning); 3) the grammar of the language games (the conceptual architecture that determines how the signs are used).[566] The grammar, as rules of any game, determines and makes possible the linguistic moves, or in fact any semantic moves. According to Tullio De Mauro, Wittgenstein sought to "transform semantics from the science of meaning or meanings […] into the science of the signifying activity,"[567] recognizing

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[564] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen / Philosophical investigations*, transl. G.E.M. Anscombe, P.M.S. Hacker, and Joachim Schulte, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009, 15e

[565] Nicolas Xanthos, "Wittgenstein's Language Games," *Signo* [online], 2006, last accesses Feb. 4, 2024, <http://www.signosemio.com/wittgenstein/language-games.asp>.

[566] *Ibid.*

[567] Tullio De Mauro, *Ludwig Wittgenstein – His Place in the Development of Semantics*, Springer, 1967, 47

that the validity of linguistic forms is found only in their use. At the root of linguistic and semantic descriptions is, therefore, "[l]inguistic behaviour, not linguistic forms or meanings,"[568] while language is a device that engages us in various social activities.

Such notions presented in the *Investigations* were very different from those presented in the *Tractatus.* According to Nana Last, the distinction in understanding of language in these two books is related to the space from which language is viewed. In the *Tractatus*, a viewer is "above and outside language, looking downward so as to discern clearly a particular relation between language, logic, and philosophy."[569] Such an exiled viewpoint described a series of spatial limits and boundaries between the three. On the other hand, in the *Investigations*, the view is from *within*. Architecture "becomes that through which philosophy looks."[570] As a combination of spatio-visual practices, operations, objects and constructs, architecture is interrelated with other forms of knowledge and "*involved in the very processes of concept formation in language, subjectivity, aesthetics, ethics, and throughout philosophy.*"[571]

An important role in such a shift was Wittgenstein's practical experience in designing the architecture and interior of the Stonborough-Wittgenstein House at the Parkgasse 18/ Kundmann-gasse in Vienna. The house was originally designed by Paul Engelmann, but Wittgenstein made several changes which were implemented during construction from 1926 to 1928. As Last points out, Wittgenstein altered Engelmann's final plans by adding a horizontal block with an angled skylight roof running along the entire rear of the building, by removing a mock attic story, the exterior balustrades and other ornaments, by reproportioning or relocating elements from Engelmann's designs, by designing the stair/elevator combination, so that the elevator mechanism is visible even as the stair wraps around it. He also designed or redesigned all windows and doors, interior details, and the mechanical, plumbing, and electrical systems.[572]

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[568] *Ibid.*

[569] Nana Last, *Wittgenstein's House – Language, Space, and Architecture*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2008, 22

[570] *Ibid.*, 4

[571] *Ibid.*, 8, emphasis in original

[572] *Ibid.*, 88–90

By changing the doors and windows into visually the same elements, Wittgenstein created sequencing compositions that connect inner and outer spaces, and interiors within themselves or with the exterior. The sequences of doors and windows gradually rise from one window/door in a line of the wall to four,[573] which would probably remain unnoticed were they not visually identical. While the doors lead to other interior spaces, the windows seemingly have the same function because they look the same, creating a dynamic play between the empty—full space, inside—outside, closed—open. Such an internal play of elements through which one can or cannot pass, the overall ornament-free simplicity of the house, the abundance of light and symmetries within it, resonate with "many of the themes and preoccupations of Wittgenstein's philosophy, including a concern with boundaries, limits, rules, and the relationships between inner and outer, public and private, hidden and manifest."[574] As such, "the Stonborough-Wittgenstein House is no longer an object in comparison to philosophy, but a process that […] is concerned with a series of topics, including boundaries, limits, visuality, spatiality, inner-outer relationships, rule-following, meaning, representation, and so on."[575]

As architecture, language is also something that must be approached from *within*. Language exists when communities are using it according to the rules of the context in which it is implemented, and when common meanings are shared between all the members of the community. Wurm's performative sculptures seem to derive from these notions. The diverse functions of the buildings presented by scale models point towards diversity of contexts, yet, despite such diversity, the common practices carried out by the members result in coexistence, shared experiences, and democracy. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism is in that context a quotation, but more than that, it is the *text* and the *intertext*, what it used to be and what it can be, brought together through *intratextual* intertextuality. From something static, durable, firm, associated with the past, modernist architecture becomes transformative, soft, adaptable, interactive, of relevance for the future.

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[573] Akira Koyama, "Decoding Wittgenstein's Stonborough Villa," *Drawing Matter*, Jan 18, 2022, last accessed Feb. 4, 2024, <https://drawingmatter.org/decoding-wittgensteins-stonborough-villa/>.

[574] Last, *Wittgenstein's House*, 27

[575] *Ibid.*, 94

Wurm's performance in that context appears as an abstracted illustration of any mutual connection between communities and architecture that in time becomes formal or informal heritage. All actions by users shape architecture, but they also shape the community. In that process, the functions of architecture may change, but all interactions it enables lead to the formation of new commu-nities. For that reason, a single architectural object may have opposing functions over time, as often happened to the socialist architectural heritage. However, it is important to keep in mind that architecture has the capacity to endure, outlive various historic periods and influence communities, instead of only being influenced by them, and that all buildings are interconnected in the city, precisely through the actions of communities. Every function of architecture, every assumption and proposition made about it, can be "capable of being true, *and* capable of being false,"[576] in accordance with Wittgenstein's principle of bipo-larity and Riffaterre's notions on the syllepsis, because, as language, architecture has multiple meanings that are approached from *within*. Every building is, thus, alone and individualistic, but at the same time, it is connected with other buildings in the city; every architectural object of Yugoslav modernism is something from the past, but it is also something in the present and in the future of communities.

In all the analyzed works by Sanja Iveković, Viktor Popović, Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić and Erwin Wurm, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as something that has had opposing meanings, resulting from temporary sabotage of its functions (during a presidential parade) or by changes that occurred over the years. However, despite media diversity and the variety of architectural objects depicted for quoting, all four artists have two common elements in their works—the large housing buildings/blocks and communities within them. These two elements are interconnected and they create compatibility at the level of significance between the opposing meanings of architecture of Yugoslav modernism. For, regardless of how much the socio-political circumstances change over time, architecture and communities act on each other, support each other, and together overcome all contextual circumstantial changes that become part of the past.

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[576] Hans-Johann Glock, *A Wittgenstein Dictionary*, Cambridge, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996, 63

Image 29   Preparation for Erwin Wurm's performance at the opening of the
                  One Minute Forever solo exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary
                  Art Belgrade, April 7, 2022. Photograph: Bojana Janjić for the
                  MoCAB

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Apart from these analyzed works, there are many more in which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism appears as quotation. Even though we cannot give chronological or art-historical reviews of them all, we can highlight some of them and draw attention to the quoted architectural typologies that, along with other elements, constitute those artworks.

In series of actions, video installations and collages *Scene for a New Heritage* (2002–2006), David Maljković quoted the Monument to the Uprising to the People of Kordun and Banija at Petrova gora, which commemorated hundreds of people who were killed fighting against the Axis forces in 1942. The complex was designed in 1982 by sculptor Vojin Bakić and architect Berislav Šerbetić. It included a museum, library, restaurant and other features, but it has been damaged beyond repair for several decades. It "does not even exist as it is not listed in the land registry, and can therefore neither be protected as a monument nor reconstructed."[577] Maljković in his work puts in the foreplan its relevance for future generations and its (in)ability to shape and change society. He used the most recognizable features of the complex to build new intermedial narratives based upon them.

In *The Void* (2020), Bojan Fajfrić quoted the building of the General Staff of Yugoslav Military Forces (State Secretariat for National Defense) by architect Nikola Dobrović (1953/1956–1965). He placed within it the figure of the painter Theo van Doesburg who praised Dobrović's innovative approach in combination with natural stone and materials, in his 1930 essay "Yugoslavia: Rivaling Influences: Nikola Dobrović and the Serbian Tradition." Fajfrić also correlated the use of the void by both authors in their works, whereas Dobrović himself referenced Henri Bergson's "dynamic scheme" and the use of the void in his design for the State Secretariat. Fajfrić quoted the architecture of Yugoslav modernism again in *The Confluence* (2012–2018), using this time an archival material. An aerial view of the building of the Federal Executive Council appears in footage from November 18, 1988. On that day, Slobodan Milošević announced his leadership in the ongoing ideological campaign in front of 10,000 people and other politicians. Fajfrić recognized that, in time, that

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[577] Šentevska and Mrduljaš, "Remembering Haludovo," 521

meeting proved to be the turning point in the rise of nationalism, while the footage showed itself to be a portrait of the destructive force that came soon after. He slightly slowed down the archival footage and added the jazz soundtrack *Harvest Time*, performed by Pharoah Sanders in 1976, aiming to create a different feeling in relation to the traumatic history.

The building of the General Staff of Yugoslav Military Forces also appears as quotation within Mrđan Bajić's sculpture *General Secretariat* (2014/2015). The building was one of the few in Yugoslavia that in its structure reflected movement and the possibility of growth, associated to the idea that society should be constantly built and improved. In time, it became a ruin-monument after considerable damages caused by bombing in 1999. To the stylized model of the building, Bajić in his sculpture added arrows/anchors that prevent the possibility of growth, as well as objects shaped like grenades with Mickey Mouse heads. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism also appears as quotation within several other Bajić's works. As a cut fragment, the first modernist building in Pančevo, the City Hall (arch. Kazimir Ostrogović, 1960–1963/1965) is quoted in Bajić's sculpture *Night Sun* (2014) and drawing *Solar House* (2011).

In his long-term project *Yugomuzej* (*Yugo museum*, completed in 2004), architecture appears as quotation that is in relation to numerous other quotations from the most diverse discourses of Yugoslav history. For example, in the work/artefact *00015 Grass*, he combined the model of the Poljud stadium in Split (arch. Boris Magaš), built within the preparations for the 8th Mediterranean Games in 1979. Bajić focused on the grass, which is where football players and fans from Croatia and Serbia cried for the last time together on May 4, 1980, at the time of the news of president Tito's death. He also added images of logs from the Obrovac/Knin road, used by refugees, and burnt roof beams from houses in Vukovar, a city that was drastically damaged in the civil war. The Central Committee building also appears in the *Yugomuzej* collection, in flames during the bombing in 1999, placed on a pedestal made from the remains of destroyed monuments from the entire territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The entire *Yugomuzej* collection is a collage of quotations, of the models, copies or images of objects. These include a banknote with eleven zeros from the highest inflation ever recorded in 1993, a butterfly brooch worn by Madeleine Albright during her first visit to

KFOR forces in Kosovo, and the car in which King Aleksandar Karađorđević was killed in Marseille, to name just a few.

Contemporary artists also quote other architectural typologies, including touristic objects, residential buildings, department stores and hybrid complexes. In 2015, Gaja Mežnarić Osole and Nuša Jelenec created cut-and-fold postcards with a photograph of the pavilions from the Sljeme motel in Trogir (arch. Ivan Vitić, 1965). A receiver could fold the postcard/photograph into a miniature model of the pavilion. Ivan Šuković quoted the hotel Fjord in Kotor (arch. Zlatko Ugljen, 1984–1986) in his installation *On the Spot* (2018), by using family photographs that show how the hotel looked when it was in operation, because it has been devastated for decades.

In the installation *Hotel Jugoslavija* (the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, March 29 – May 6, 2012), Mladen Bizumić quoted this emblematic building in several ways. Hotel Jugoslavija (arch. Mladen Kauzlarić, Lavoslav Horvat and Kazimir Ostrogović, 1947–1967) was one of the first and symbolically most important buildings in New Belgrade. With its capacity of 1,100 beds, it was the largest hotel in the country at the time, which, and from its conception, it made clear the importance New Belgrade was meant to have on the wider geopolitical map. However, already in the 1980s, the hotel worked with a limited capacity, deemed as 'unprofitable,' while in the 1990s, it lost its international guests. After the damages caused by the 1999 bombing, it was left to privatization and ruin. Bizumić depicted this hotel as the metaphor of the political project after which it was named, for purpose of highlighting the potentials of modernist Yugoslav heritage, given that it survived the country that it was built for. For this purpose, he created several installations, by dislocating the original furniture from the hotel into the gallery, by exhibiting postcards, tourist guides, promotional and other materials related to the hotel, and by creating a video with the New Zealand artist Jim Speers, which documents the state of the hotel and memories of it.

Božena Končić Badurina in the work *Silver City* (2018) uses an architectural model in scale 1:5 and audio recording of a fictional narrative based on stories and memories of residents, to present a one-room apartment built using prefabricated system type YU-60 in Remetinečki gaj in New Zagreb. This system was based on the multiplication of the basic module – floor plan units of size 4 x 4 m, the

so-called Module 4 x 4. To the model, Končić Badurina added the recording, highlighting that the living space is not defined only by measurable physical features, but also by intangible cultures of everyday living. The housing heritage of Yugoslav modernism is also addressed by Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, who in 2010 launched the *World Communal Heritage project* in order "to affirm the open spaces of Modernist urbanism as non-proprietary communal heritage."[578] Recognizing that modernist town planning and public housing from France to the USSR secured equal access to green space to all, which is now under threat of private interests, they awarded this title to settlements in Moldavia, United Kingdom, Germany and to the blocks 61-62 in New Belgrade (arch. Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Milan Miodragović, 1971–1973). They approached again these blocks in the work *Monuments Series – Unforgettable Moments in the Life of New Belgrade Workers* (2009), within which they also turn to the block 23 in New Belgrade (arch. Aleksandar Stjepanović, Božidar Janković and Branislav Karadžić, 1969–1976).

In the series *Budućnost* (2008–2012), Bojan Mrđenović photographed ruined and abandoned buildings that housed the department store Budućnost, founded in 1954. Not all of them were purposefully built for the stores, but those that were are creating the connection between the culture of consumption, progress and modernity with the subsequent collapse of the state. Such ruined sites with even more ruined inscriptions "Budućnost" ("Future") testify to unfinished and decayed aspirations of a once young society with great ambitions. Bojan Fajfrić in the project *December 5, 1978* (2007–2008) created an archive about the Boska department store in Banja Luka (arch. Velimir Neidhardt, 1973–1978) that was opened on that day, trying to show the community of workers in the changed socio-political and economic context form that in 1978.

The hybrid complexes of Skenderija in Sarajevo (1969), the Gripe sports complex with the Koteks commercial center in Split (1979), and SPENS in Novi Sad (1981) are also quotations in several recent works. In the multi-channel installation *SubDocumentary* (2011), exhibited together with archival photographs of Skenderija, Adela Jušić and Lana Čmajčanin present interviews they conducted

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[578] Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, *World Communal Heritage*, 2010, <https://communalheritage.wordpress.com/about/>, last accessed December 6, 2023

with the users of spaces at Skenderija, creating a specific *metaquote* that presents the contemporary reception of this representative modernist complex in Sarajevo. Katerina Duda in the action and video installation *Step for Koteks* (2017) includes athletes walking on its roofs, pergolas, and plateaus, in order to make its importance more visible to the public. SPENS appears as a quotation within Liva Dudareva's and Eduardo Cassina's interdisciplinary research *Ecumenopolis*, who aim to analyze social practices, tactics on inhabitation, and intangible networks that turn the entire planet into one continuous city. Following the theoretical concept of Ecumeno-polis that the urban planner Constantinos Doxiadis conceptualized in 1967, Dudareva and Cassina are contextualizing it in the 21st century, based on on-site experiences in Lebanon, Serbia, Russia, and Spain.[579] In that context, SPENS appears as one of the situations and contexts that can be transposed to another setting, within the effort to create future urban scenarios.

All these works testify to the variety of artistic practices and the variety of typologies and functions of the architectural objects or complexes that have been quoted. They indicate that intermedial and intersemiotic quoting are frequent methods in contemporary artistic practices that create new knowledge about the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, contemporary art, quoting and intertextuality.

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[579] METASITU (Liva Dudareva and Eduardo Cassina), *Ecumenopolis* – concept, 2014, <http://www.metasitu.com/ecumenopolis.html>, last accessed November 17, 2023

Conclusion

Intermedial quoting includes former or current formal and semantic features of an older text, produced by another type of media or another discipline, by another author. Like any process of quoting, intermedial quoting is characterized by a greater or lesser degree of diachronicity, that is, a time distance from the older text that is quoted. In the examples that we have chosen – the architecture of Yugoslav modernism and contemporary artistic practice – that temporal distance amounts to several decades, during which many changes occurred both in the contextual determination of quoted texts and in those texts themselves. Therefore, intermedial quoting is not only a creative method but also an interpretive method by which certain features of the quoted texts are analyzed, presented and/or problematized.

If we approach intermedial quoting as a creative method, the stages and characteristics of the process depend directly on the characteristics of the texts that are being quoted and those within which they appear as quotations. Thus, when the quoting text is contemporary art, intermedial quoting can be a method of appropriation (copying, ready-made). However, when we talk about quoting the architectural space in/through artistic practices, it is also realized through a number of other approaches that can be described by terms such as contextuality, social turn, artivism, community art, interdiscursiveness, practice-based research, site sensitivity, (re)construction, and, performativity. The methodological approach depends on whether an artist shows the selected architectural work using the methods of architectural presentation (model, drawing, simulation) substituted with artistic media (sculpture, installation, object) or whether the artist comes into direct contact with the architectural object and shapes the artistic practice in-situ, according to it.

In both cases, a new text that includes intermedial quotation is preceded by a research process during which the artist learns as much as possible about the selected object for quoting (its history, context of origin, typology, function, condition, symbolic significance, future plans for it, users). Thus, the objects and complexes of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism are the texts of authors such as the architects Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, Ivan Vitić, Vjenceslav Richter, Ivo

Radić, Stojan Maksimović, Mihailo Janković, Živorad Janković, Kazimir Ostrogović and other architects and engineers whose work marked the history of Yugoslav modern architecture. They are also texts that reflect the historical, ethical, socio-economic, ideological, political and other aspects of the time in which they were created, as well as the changes they witnessed. Thus, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism can be seen as a sign/signifier/language/text because it is the bearer of meanings and memories through its form, position, visibility, elements, materials, syntax, function, 'program' (to provide affordable housing for workers, to enable luxurious vacations, to integrate education and museology, etc.).

When seen as a *text*, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is characterized by many features that can be included in a quotation within a new text, features like: prefabrication and variability that enables free expression, adaptation to climatic conditions (in the country and abroad), modernization and technological improvement based on quality and economic efficiency, mass and custom-made production, synthesis of local cultural characteristics and International modernism, abstraction and structuralism, synthesis with the arts and design, the sculptural nature of the architectural work (even in mass housing), adaptation of the form to the functions and contents of the building (since the 1970s), the hybridization of multi-purpose buildings into monolithic complexes, wide inter-national representation in numerous countries with which Yugoslavia cooperated, the capacity to enable new forms of sociability, the capacity to present Yugoslavia internationally and the capacity to 'live' and gain new functions even after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Because of these features, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is a signifier of the specific socio-political context in which it was created and it was a means of international representation of the state that built it, but which was also built through it. Over time, its functions and symbolism have changed. Since the 1990s, it is often identified with failed socialism (affirmatively with nostalgia, or pejoratively), with a country that ended in wars, it has been orientalized, commodified through creative industries, neglected as something unprofitable and unsustainable in today's context, privatized, abjected and/or demolished to make place for more profitable contents. It has been also documented, reanimated, placed under protection as cultural heritage and presented internationally

through the efforts of institutions, civil associations, communities of users, as well as artists. All these meanings become relevant when architecture appears as quotation within works of contemporary art.

Besides getting to know as much as possible about the quoted *text*, of great importance for the realization of work that includes intermedial quoting is planning and creating the imagined new *text*. Both these processes are interconnected and most often take place simultaneously. Thus, if the anthropological method of systematic observation of an architectural object shows that it can't be approached for some reason, then it is impossible to quote it through a site-specific installation. Or, if, as in the case of Vitić's motel in Trogir, it turns out that the building does not have the electricity required for the planned installation, it is necessary to ensure the conditions for its implementation. When quoting architecture, but also the other types of texts, the artistic research that precedes the quoting and through which the quoting is realized can include a series of processes such as researching archives, the creation of archives, collaboration with experts from other disciplines, site research, material research, organization, logistics and working with communities.

In addition to being a creative method, intermedial quoting is also an interpretative method, even when the primary function of new texts is not to explain older texts. During quoting, the quotation introduces new meanings into the text in which it appears, but it is itself changed in the process. The newer, quoting text creates knowledge about the older, quoted text, thus, contemporary art creates knowledge about the architecture of Yugoslav modernism by indicating that it can have different functions, synchronously or diachronically, which are not always visible or known to us. It also conveys knowledge about this specific architecture, the context in which it was created, the ideology it presented, as well as the people for whom it was built and who might still use it. Quoting in contemporary art enables us to see the unknown or the known from different perspectives; it emphasizes the importance of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism for the history of architecture, for the communities, as well as how to approach that heritage from the current perspective.

By means of intermedial quoting, the architecture of Yugoslav modernism changes in terms of its appearance, meaning, and function, even if only ephemerally. When quoted, some architectural objects are

placed in the public domain, such as the unfinished Museum of the Revolution of Yugoslav Nations and Ethnic Minorities and Vitić's motel in Biograd, which has been demolished in the meantime. Artistic practices bring this architectural heritage closer and make it current, communicative, and relevant. In addition, intermedial quoting also presents this architecture internationally, because the works of art that employ it are often exhibited internationally, outside the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

It is our belief that intermedial quoting of the architecture of Yugoslav modernism has its future, not only in artistic and curatorial initiatives by institutions, associations, and communities, but also within scholarly research in the domain of humanities, social sciences, and interdisciplinary studies. The architecture of Yugoslav modernism that was built outside the borders of Yugoslavia is still being discovered, due to insufficient or destroyed archives, so there is a possibility that it will become attractive to artists from different parts of the world. In that way, this architecture will continue to be a link between different cultures, regardless of the changing socio-political contexts within which those connections are realized. Further research can also focus on artistic approaches to unrealized objects, either those that are left unfinished or those that remain in the domain of competition entries. Furthermore, it can focus on how a single object designed by one architect has been quoted by various contemporary artists, or how different typologies have been quoted, such as museums, exhibition pavilions, memorial complexes, mass housing blocks, hotels, banks, governmental buildings, hybrid facilities, congress halls, department stores.

In the same way that contemporary art can quote the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, it can also quote the architecture of International modernism or other types of modernist heritage, such as designed objects like automobiles. It can also quote older heritage (artistic or non-artistic), and even recontextualize and problematize *texts* from the most diverse cultural discourses, such as legal, economic and ethical reforms, medical inventions, studies on the consequences of wars, bio-technologies, genetic engineering, and other *texts* whose authors and origins can be traced. With this in mind, intermedial quoting seems like a very broad field, but it is possible to reduce it to a short description that can be helpful for further research: intermedial quoting is a process of active dialogue with older *texts*,

within which those *texts* and the context of their production are interpreted, problematized, revitalized and/or reconstructed in a wider cultural context, and, simultaneously, a process which creates knowledge, opinions and comments about the contemporary context in which it takes place.

Appendix

List of analyzed or mentioned artworks within which the architecture of Yugoslav modernism is quoted

[in alphabetical order]

1. Radoš Antonijević, *Tent Museum of Contemporary Art*, sculpture, 2012
2. Association for Contemporary Art KVART and neighbors, *Potatoes from Trstenik*, urban intervention with local community, Split, Croatia, 2019
3. Association for Contemporary Art KVART, *Smisao*, site-specific installation, Split, Croatia, 2011
4. Božena Končić Badurina, *Silver City*, audio and architectural model in scale 1:5, 2018
5. Mrđan Bajić, *Yugomuzej* (*Yugo museum*), discursive project, 1988–2004
6. Mrđan Bajić, *Solar House*, drawing, 2011
7. Mrđan Bajić, *Night Sun*, sculpture, 2014
8. Mrđan Bajić, *General Secretariat*, sculpture, 2014/2015
9. Gildo Bavčević, *Resistance/Virtues of Capitalism*, site-specific performance in Split, Croatia and video, 5'521'', 2012
10. Mladen Bizumić, *Hotel Jugoslavija*, installation, 2012
11. Jasmina Cibic, *Fruits of Our Land*, single-channel HD film, 11' 43'', 2012
12. Jasmina Cibic, *Tear Down and Rebuild*, single-channel HD video, 15' 28'', 2015
13. Jasmina Cibic, *Spielraum – Give Expression to Common Desire*, multimedia installation, 2015
14. Jasmina Cibic, *NADA, act I*, single-channel HD video, 10' 9'', 2016
15. Jasmina Cibic, *State of Illusion*, screen-dance, 19', 2018
16. Jasmina Cibic, *The Gift*, three-channel HD film, 10', 2019
17. Jasmina Cibic, *Beacons*, single-channel HD video, 23', 2023
18. Dušica Dražić, *Promenade architecturale – Imaginary Space of Art*, performance/reconstruction, 2012
19. Dušica Dražić, *New City*, installation, 2013

20. Rafaela Dražić and [BLOK] – Ivana Hanaček, Ana Kutleša, Vesna Vuković, *SHIP=CITY*, May 3rd, site-specific installation, Rijeka, Croatia, 2013
21. Katerina Duda, *Step for Koteks*, site specific action in Split, Croatia and video installation, 2017
22. Liva Dudareva and Eduardo Cassina, *Ecumenopolis*, interdisciplinary research project, since 2014
23. Bojan Fajfrić, *December 5, 1978*, multimedia project with community, 2007–2008
24. Bojan Fajfrić, *The Confluence*, video, 8', 2012–2018
25. Bojan Fajfrić, *The Void*, multimedia installation, 2020
26. Group Magnet (performers: Ivan Pravdić, Jelena Marjanov, Nune Popović), *Exorcising the Devil*, site-specific action, the National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, June 10, 1996
27. *Inclusive Gallery*, interdisciplinary project, since 2013
28. Sanja Iveković, *New Zagreb (People behind the Windows)*, intervention on an enlarged newspaper photograph, 126 × 172cm, 1979
29. Sanja Iveković, *Triangle*, performance, May 10, 1979, conceptual photo-installation
30. Adela Jušić and Lana Čmajčanin, *SubDocumentary*, research with community, four-channel video installation, archival photographs, 2011
31. David Maljković, *Scene for a New Heritage*, actions, video installations and collages, 2002–2006
32. Gaja Mežnarić Osole and Nuša Jelenec, *#mobilemoteltrogir*, folding 3D postcards, graphic design, 2015
33. Milorad Mladenović, *The Building of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at Ušće is reflected on the structural façade of the European Parliament building in Brussels*, photo-collage on glass, 2006
34. Milorad Mladenović and Luka Mladenović, *Plan for the Ušće Park, the Opera House, the extension of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Museum of New Belgrade with a concrete model of nine blocks on the foundations of the Museum of the Revolution*, concept, 2008
35. Milorad Mladenović, *CartonCity*, site-specific urban intervention, Belgrade, Serbia, 2009
36. Bojan Mrđenović, *Budućnost*, photographic series, 2008–2012

37. Vesna Pavlović, *Hotels*, photographic series, 2000–2002
38. Vesna Pavlović, *Kolekcija/Collection*, photographic series, 2003–2005
39. Vesna Pavlović, *Presente y Futuro*, single-channel video installation, 9'44'', 2019
40. Vladimir Perić, *Skyscraper for Birds*, permanent urban intervention, Rijeka, Croatia, 2020
41. Viktor Popović, *Untitled, (Archive ST3)*, digital print on paper, black leads, 44,5 x 44,5 x 2cm, 2015
42. Viktor Popović, *Untitled, (Archive ST3)*, photographic installation, 2015
43. Viktor Popović, *Untitled (Archive ST3: Military Hospital)*, installation (archival photographs and ready-mades), 2018
44. Viktor Popović, *Untitled (Archive Zenčišće)*, inkjet prints on archival paper, color correction filters, 2020
45. Viktor Popović*, Untitled (Archive ST3: Content)*, site-specific installation on Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Split, Croatia, 660 x 1120cm, 2021
46. Viktor Popović*, Untitled (Archive ST3: Content)*, digital prints on canvas, canvas, scaffolding, 600 x 600 x 600cm, 2021
47. Mileta Prodanović, *Sketch for a Monument to Serbian Transition*, concept, photo-montage, 2013
48. Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, *Monuments Series – Unforgettable Moments in the Life of New Belgrade Workers*, multimedia project, 2009
49. Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, *World Communal Heritage project*, since 2010
50. Neli Ružić, *Stolen Future*, site-specific installation, Trogir, Croatia, video, 5'23'', 2014/2015
51. Marko Salapura and Igor Sladoljev, *1:1*, urban intervention, 2014
52. Shadow Casters, *Vitić Dances*, interdisciplinary project with local community, Zagreb, Croatia, 2004–2018
53. Lana Stojićević, *Case Study: Motel Sljeme in Biograd*, object, 2017
54. Lana Stojićević, *Sunny Side*, multimedia installation, 2018
55. Slobodan Stošić, *Usefulness*, site-specific installation, 2013
56. Ivan Šuković, *On the Spot*, photographic installation, 2018
57. Saša Tkačenko, *Eternal Flame*, installation, 2018
58. Saša Tkačenko, *Pavilion*, architectural reconstruction, 2018

59. Verbumprogram (Ratomir Kulić and Vladimir Mattioni), action at the Republic Square in Lubljana, November 4, 1974
60. Erwin Wurm, performative sculpture at the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, April 7, 2022
61. Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, *Untitled (Blender)*, from the series *Inside it will all be soft and tender*, aquarelle and pencil on paper, 2020
62. Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić, *Untitled (Electric Fan)*, from the series *Inside it will all be soft and tender*, aquarelle and pencil on paper, 2020

Interviews and correspondences conducted within the research

[in alphabetical order]

Radoš Antonijević,	February 6, 2021
[BLOK],	April 14, 2021
Jasmina Cibic,	October 14, 2019
Jelica Jovanović,	November 21, 2020, December 29, 2020,
	February 5, 2021, May 1, 2021
Danica Jovović Prodanović,	December 22, 2020
Srđan Keča,	February 5, 2021
Vladimir Kulić,	November 29, 2020
KVART,	April 19, 2021
Diana Magdić,	November 19, 2020, February 13, 2021
Vojislav Martinov,	December 4, 2020
Milorad Mladenović,	May 14, 2021
Maroje Mrduljaš,	November 20, 2020
Vesna Pavlović,	February 4, 2021
Viktor Popović,	March 13, 2024
Neli Ružić,	October 2, 2020
Marko Salapura,	February 11, 2021
Dubravka Sekulić,	November 27, 2020
Mojca Smode Cvitanović,	April 7, 2021
Lana Stojićević,	March 1, 2021, May 7, 2021
Slobodan Stošić,	December 14, 2020
Saša Tkačenko,	December 26, 2018, May 9, 2021
Nebojša Yamasaki Vukelić,	February 9, 2024

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Reviews
[excerpts]

Vladimir Kulić, Associate Professor (History of Architecture),
College of Design, Iowa State University

Architecture has been traditionally considered one of the arts, and its relationship to other arts has been extensively theorized, whether for the purpose of a desired "synthesis," or in order to tease out its mediatic specificity. Architecture as an object of focused consideration of the arts, however, is a novel phenomenon. In retrospect, it should not be surprising that the "architecture of Yugoslav modernism," as Sonja Jankov terms it, has emerged as such an object to be thematized by numerous artists in the past twenty years. Since the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, that architecture has been discredited, neglected, or even destroyed, but what remains of it continues to provide essential functions to postsocialist societies. And yet, despite this tendentious denial, the spaces and buildings created by Yugoslav socialist modernism cannot but attract attention, whether for their sheer architectural qualities or as reminders of a different society that seems almost unreal under what Mark Fisher has described as the current regime of "capitalist realism." It is this simultaneous capacity of Yugoslav architectural modernism to fascinate and critique that continues to attract the attention of artists, compelling them to reflect on the historical gap that has led to its current problematic state.

In her theoretically grounded and meticulously researched book, Sonja Jankov accomplishes several important interrelated feats. In the widest perspective, she identifies and catalogues the extraordinary breadth of the artistic engagement with the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, a unique phenomenon that hitherto has received little focused consideration. Just that on its own would have been a significant scholarly contribution, but Jankov also successfully devises a novel theory to interpret the abovementioned phenomenon, aptly combining an impressive array of theoretical tools and insights. The result is a theory of "intermedial quoting," in which works of contemporary art explicitly refer to works of architecture in order to

tease out new meanings, to comment on the current social situations, and to illuminate entire new worlds of thought. Jankov's command of the theoretical apparatus is exemplary, and she successfully constructs a methodology that promises to be useful beyond the geographical and temporal limits of her study. For anyone interested in the art and architecture of the region, her study will be an essential read.

Miroslav Šilić, Associate Professor (Architecture), Academy of Arts, University of Novi Sad

For professors, tourist guides, historians of architecture, curators, or other heritage-related professionals, an important question is how people get to know specific buildings. Do they learn about them by living in them, visiting them, reading or listening about them, walking, or googling? Are photographs, holograms, models, or moving images enough to mediate knowledge about architecture, or do they need something additional? Do fashion photo-shoots at protected architectural sites or film scenes shot at mass housing buildings promote them as heritage or popularize them in some inappropriate way? For Sonja Jankov, the most important question is how contemporary art presents, interprets, thematizes, revitalizes, and mediates knowledge about modernist architecture.

Jankov's book *Understanding Intermedial Quoting – Architecture of Yugoslav Modernism as Quotation within Contemporary Art* is an invaluable source for those interested in the relations of contemporary artistic practice to modernist architecture. As the author explains, the artistic method of quoting is only one of many artistic approaches to architecture. However, her book shows us that this method requires the most comprehensive knowledge about the buildings depicted for quoting and, furthermore, about the people who are using them. Such an approach requires the artists to know the purpose, function, and history of those buildings, the context of their construction, as well as the changes the society and people who are using them went through. In the case of Yugoslavia, those changes were civil wars, sanctions, embargoes, the breakup of the country, post-socialist transition,

bombing in 1999, bankruptcy of major enterprises, deindustrial-ization, and all the long-term effects these processes cause. In short, as the author shows, everyone dealing with architecture should know about the socio-political contexts of its creation, as well as how that context might have changed over time.

Bearing this in mind, Jankov herself offers extensive research about the modernist architecture built in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and architecture built by Yugoslav architects and construction companies in other countries, mostly the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. There are over a hundred Yugoslav architects, construction engineers, and urban planners mentioned in the book, in relation to their works or ideas about architecture, which makes this book a considerable source for those interested in Yugoslav architecture alone. Furthermore, Jankov approaches this architecture from the perspective of theories of text and semiology of architecture and defines it as a means of building modernity, states, and interna-tional representation of Yugoslav values based on the anti-fascist struggle, a non-alignment policy, workers' self-management, and decentralization. She also informs us what happened to that architecture over time when its symbolism changed due to the breakup of Yugoslavia.

The largest part of the book brings analyses of contemporary artworks that are built upon the architecture of Yugoslav modernism. Among the many artworks and actions Jankov analyzed in her book, there are those that are characterized not only by a site-specific approach to architecture but also by the community-specific approach, that is, by being developed *with* and *for* the local communities that are using that architecture. Therefore, her book should be understood as a specific demonstration of interdisciplinary research on relations between contemporary art and the heritage of modernist architecture but also as a collection of good practices that can serve as a starting point for other researchers, artists, curators, students, art producers, art managers, and all interested in ethical artistic approaches to architectural heritage.

Vladimir Gvozden, Full Professor (Comparative Literature),
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad

Sonja Jankov's book deals with quotation as a creative method in contemporary artistic practices and represents a significant contribution to quotation research that transcends the boundaries of disciplines and artistic media, resulting in intermedial quotation and intersemiotic quotation. The special contribution of this monograph is that it achieves a rich post-structuralist reading of contemporary artistic practices as texts (semantic and syntactic structural units) that quote other texts, specifically architectural objects, complexes and phenomena created in a certain socio-political period of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1963) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992). That architecture played a significant role in representing, both in the country and abroad, the non-aligned position of Yugoslavia and its commitment to peace during the Cold War. However, after the breakup of Yugoslavia, it acquired different meanings as socio-political realities changed.

Sonja Jankov approaches the objects and complexes of Yugoslav modernist architecture as texts by authors such as Ivan Vitić, Stojan Maksimović, Živorad Janković, Ninoslav Kučan, Darko and Milenija Marušić, Ivan Antić, Ivanka Raspopović, Zoran Bojović, Danko Colnago, Drago Galić, Kazimir Ostrogović, Vjenceslav Richter and other architects whose creativity marked the history of Yugoslav modern architecture. Of course, those texts are bearers of certain functions, signifiers of the specific socio-political context in which they were created, and a means of international representation of the state that built them, but was also built through them. However, as the author successfully demonstrates, artistic practices reveal that the architecture of Yugoslav modernism can still be viewed as a sign/signifier/language/text. This study shows that contemporary artistic practices internationally present the architecture of Yugoslav modernism by artists exhibiting them abroad, by being produced outside the republics of the former Yugoslavia, by being produced as part of a national presentation at the Architecture Biennale in Venice, or as part of projects supported by the European Commission. As the author shows, artistic practices thus change the dominant views on

Yugoslav architecture as something socialist and belonging to the past, and give it new relevance and communicability.

Combining her various competences, the author relied on relevant, diverse and extensive critical literature. This monograph is an undoubted contribution to the understanding of modern and contemporary art, as well as their complex connections, and it is especially important because it represents a reliable basis for further understanding of movements in diverse artistic expressions. We have been waiting for a long time for a study like this to appear, which deftly contextualizes the architecture of Yugoslav modernism and contemporary artistic practice. We hope that it will influence other researchers, but also, perhaps even more, visual artists, to deal anew with serious aspects of artistic heritage and its possible innovative appropriations in the spirit of 21st century art.

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About the author

Sonja Jankov
ORCID: 0000-0003-3420-6130

Sonja Jankov is research associate for the sciences of arts, who holds PhD in Art and Media Theory. Her research project "Design as intermedial quote in art – contemporary artists about ideologies of automobile design: the case of Volkswagen beetle and Yugo" was funded by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research, Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and carried out at the Academy of Arts, Novi Sad, during 2022 and 2023. Her fields of scientific research include methodologies of practice-based artistic research, intertextuality in visual arts, visual studies, art theory, relation of arts and other disciplines (art/architecture, art/biological sciences, art/design). She is also active as curator.