

# Up and Down: Extra Spaces of Modernist Legacy in Montenegro

Slavica Stamatović Vučković, Jelena Bajić Šestović,  
Marija Čaćić

PhD, Associate Professor | PhD student | PhD student, Faculty of Architecture, University of Montenegro, Podgorica, Montenegro  
slavicas@t-com.me | jelena.bajic.sestovic@gmail.com | cacic.marija@yahoo.com

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## Introduction

With the advent of Modernism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, openness, transparency, transformability, polyvalence, lightness became features of the new architecture. These changes are particularly noticeable when regarding spatial boundaries both within the building and between the architectural object and the surroundings, which became more porous. While Frank Lloyd Wright's "destruction of the box"<sup>1</sup> prompted the emancipation of the interior space of the house on the horizontal plane, Adolf Loos's Raumplan is one of the triggers for the vertical liberation of the interior by linking spaces at various levels, with open terraces and flat concrete roofs, which he considered to be the greatest architectonic discovery since the dawn of the world.<sup>2</sup> Through Le Corbusier's five points and the raising of the house on *pilotis*, the space beneath the house also became available and, at the same time, the model of the "machine house" became some sort of a "generic design."<sup>3</sup> Through these and other conceptual and technical breakthroughs, new relations were established between the interior of a building and its environment, either expanding it vertically towards the sky, or opening the building through a more permeable ground floor. As a consequence, it may be argued that architecture started to connect differently with its surroundings, gradually shifting from its established reserved character towards extroversion. (Fig. 1)

The resulting spaces – the flat rooftop and the free ground floor – represented in several ways "supplementary" spaces of buildings: on the one hand, they were new types of spaces that did not exist as such before, on the other, they were exceptional, uncommon spaces that required new uses and users. It may be argued that, by their location within the building, the flat roof was apt to serving as an "extra private space," while the free space of the ground floor was better suited to becoming an "extra public space." In the years following the dissemination of modern building features through prominent international events such as the "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" at the MoMA and the subsequent book by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, flat roofs and free ground floors became the distinguishing marks of modernist architecture.

Part of antiquity's heritage, and regarded by Gottfried Semper as cause of a revolution in construction, the flat roof was present in Western architecture culture before the modernist period. Yet only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became an absolute symbol of modernist aesthetics.<sup>4</sup> In the wake of technological, aesthetic, social and functional changes in architecture, flat roofs

1 H. Allen Brooks, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Destruction of the Box," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38/1 (1979): 7-14.

2 Panayotis Turnikiotis, *Adolf Loos* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 59-74.

3 William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1996), 163-181.

4 Richard Pommer, "The Flat Roof: A Modernist Controversy in Germany," *Art Journal*, "Revising Modernist History: The Architecture of the 1920s and 1930s," 43/2 (1983): 158-169.

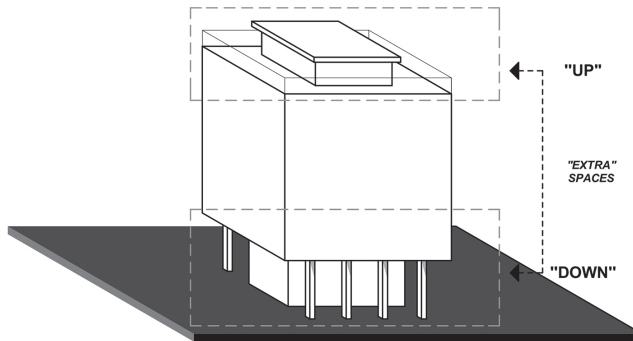


Fig. 1: "Down" and "Up" – extra spaces of modernist building

became a new reality, which – while fulfilling the architect's duty to "perform the revision of the constituting elements of a house"<sup>5</sup> – actually glorifies universal culture and scorns the diversity of climate, tradition and context. Though considered by some "an impractical extravaganza,"<sup>6</sup> flat roofs have nonetheless become a ubiquitous symbolic manifestation.<sup>7</sup> Am Fischtal Street in Berlin, where slanted and flat roofs stand side by side, still testifies today to the contrasting opinions with respect to this significant architectural feature.<sup>8</sup> Due to the growing and increasingly acknowledged need for living accommodation, the favored recipe for collective housing implied the use of standardized apartments in buildings.<sup>9</sup>

Even though later heavily resented for destroying the continuity of the traditional city's physical and social structure, Modernism has nonetheless brought new qualities to open public spaces as a consequence of its striving to establish new spatial continuities between the interior and the exterior of buildings and of its transgression of established barriers between private and public spaces or areas.<sup>10</sup> "Floating" architecture – achieved by raising the dominant cubic volume of a building off the ground and supporting it with pillars (*pilotis*) – allowed for the conception of protected public spaces directly beneath it, thus creating a synergic node<sup>11</sup> whereby one spatial structure (the public space of the modern city) infiltrates another (the private areas within a building), thus creating a fluid space on the ground floor and fostering pedestrian movement in multiple directions.<sup>12</sup> A concept, which during the interwar period had mostly been used on private and luxurious residential villas, became after World War II almost a mandatory feature of public constructions, and thus, part of the system of urban public spaces. CIAM recognized the importance of sheltered public spaces, in particular those with colonnades, because they provided more comfort to the movement of pedestrians, a visual and psychological shield against traffic, as well as meeting and social exchange points.<sup>13</sup>

5 Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, "Les 5 points d'une architecture nouvelle," in Willy Boesiger, Oscar Stonorov, eds., *Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret: Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929* (Zürich: Editions Girsberger, 1937), 128.

6 Jadwiga Urbanik and Agnieszka Tomaszewicz, "Flat roof - advantage or disadvantage of Modern Movement buildings" (SAHC2014, Mexico City, Mexico, 2014).

7 Hannes Meyer, "Bauen," *Bauhaus*, Zeitschrift für Gestaltung, II, 4 (Dessau, 1928), in *Teorija arhitekture XX veka [Theory of Architecture 20<sup>th</sup> Century]*, ed. Miloš R. Perović (Belgrade: Građevinska knjiga, 2009), 233.

8 <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-heated-highly-political-roof-war-that-captivated-berlin-before-world-war-ii>, last accessed May 20, 2019.

9 Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture. A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 136.

10 Dragana Tomić Vasiljević, *Natkriveni gradski prostori [Covered City Spaces]* (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2003), 29.

11 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), 48.

12 Jelena Bajić Šestović, *Morphology and Typology of Public Spaces in Herceg-Novi* (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2016), 32-39.

13 Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Josep Lluís Sert and Ernesto Nathan Rogers, eds., *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), 164-168.

These vertical (upward) and horizontal extensions of buildings, the “extra spaces” generated by the modernist *lingua franca* are, at the same time, very vulnerable, especially when it comes to cities and societies in transition, such as those in the territory of former Yugoslavia, including Montenegro. It is precisely this widespread model that provides a good opportunity for analyzing the state of play of the underappreciated modernist heritage in the Montenegrin territory.

### Yugoslav Modernism

In the new state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1918-1941), the use of a fresh, modernist architectural vocabulary proved to be a fitting aesthetic ideal, thus understandably replacing former architectonic styles. If Belgrade Modernism had been developing rather slowly due to the constant interference of the classicist and Serbian-Byzantine tradition,<sup>14</sup> modernist ideas were absorbed easier and faster in Ljubljana and Zagreb on the basis of formerly established modern concepts present in the works of Jože Plečnik, Viktor Kovačić, Hugo Ehrlich et al.,<sup>15</sup> as well as through cooperation with the European avant-garde movements and ateliers. In Zagreb, where there were more architects, it had been particularly reflected in the two schools of architecture.<sup>16</sup>

The periodical “Zenit” (1921–1926) disseminating texts by Walter Gropius as well as the Bauhaus books, the activity of the GAMP group in Belgrade (Group of Modern Movement architects, 1928-1934)<sup>17</sup>, the association of Modern Movement artists “Zemlja” in Zagreb (1929-1935) publishing the CIAM’s La Sarraz Declaration (1928) in Serbo-Croat language in 1932,<sup>18</sup> as well as other activities and magazines, all triggered an intensive development of culture and art in the interwar period, particularly visible in architectural works. Modernism in Zagreb developed on an institutional level as well, especially through the school of architect Drago Ibler, while works of other architects in Serbia (Nikola Dobrović, Milan Zloković, Dragiša Brašovan, Branislav Kojić et al.) heralded a Serbian modernist school,<sup>19</sup> even though architecture in Serbia had a pronounced formalistic approach to modern design, often called “modern style.”<sup>20</sup>

Le Corbusier’s “aesthetic principle of cubist stereometric volumes”<sup>21</sup> was interpreted in Yugoslavia mainly through the works of Croat architects Drago Ibler, Ernest Weissmann, Zlatko Neumann, Juraj Neidhardt et al., who cooperated with prominent figures in Central and Western Europe of the time (Loos, Behrens, Le Corbusier and others).<sup>22</sup> Their influence

14 Zoran Manević, “Srpska arhitektura XX veka” [“20th Century Serbian Architecture”], in *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije. Arhitektura XX vijeka* [The Art of Yugoslavia, 20th Century Architecture] (Belgrade: IRO Prosveta, Zagreb: Spektar, Mostar: Prva književna komuna, 1986), 19-31.

15 Theo Van Doesburg, “Jugoslavija: suprotstavljeni uticaji – Nikola Dobrović i srpska tradicija” [“Yugoslavia: Opposing Influences - Nikola Dobrović and the Serbian Tradition”], in *Nikola Dobrović - Eseji, projekti, kritike* [Nikola Dobrović - Essays, Critique, Projects], ed. Miloš Perović and Spasoje Krunic (Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Muzej arhitekture, 1998), 214-216.

16 The School of Technology in Zagreb (1919) and the Architectural Department of the Academy of Fine Arts (1926 by Drago Ibler).

17 Siniša Cvijić, *Moderna stambena arhitektura Banjaluke 1929-1941* [Modern Residential Architecture of Banja Luka] (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2014), 22.

18 Ljiljana Blagojević, *Novi Beograd - Osporeni modernizam* [New Belgrade - Disputed Modernism] (Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2007).

19 Aleksandar Keković, *Stambena arhitektura moderne Niša* [Serbian Modern Architecture of Nis] (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2009).

20 Ljiljana Blagojević, *Moderna kuća u Beogradu (1920-1941)* [Modern House in Belgrade (1920-1941)] (Belgrade: Zadužbina Andrejević, 2000), 22-24, 61-62.

21 Žarko Domljan, “Arhitektura XX stoljeća u Hrvatskoj,” in *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije. Arhitektura XX vijeka* (Belgrade: IRO Prosveta, Zagreb: Spektar, Mostar: Prva književna komuna, 1986), 32-46.

22 Return of the Yugoslavs architects from schools in Vienna, Frankfurt, Dresden, Brussels, Budapest, Prague.

was further disseminated by Drago Galić and other architects of the Ibler school.<sup>23</sup> Exemplary interpretations of Le Corbusier's five points are discernible in Ibler's Wellisch residential building in Zagreb (1930) and in Weissmann's Journalist House in Belgrade (1935)<sup>24</sup> – both floating volumes supported by *pilotis*, with a free ground floor and flat-roof terraces. In Serbia, this modernist vocabulary is most noticeable in the works of architects Milan Zloković and Nikola Dobrović.<sup>25</sup> In all other parts of Yugoslavia, where architecture was strongly influenced by Zagreb and Belgrade, architects (often coming from these cities) designed modernist projects, thus disseminating avant-garde ideas all over the country.

After World War II, in the new social and political circumstances of a socialist country, (after the brief period of the so-called “Socialist Realism” that rejected CIAM's ideas, judging them to be Western and/or capitalist), architecture in Yugoslavia returned to the pre-war modernist concepts and models, particularly in the urban areas that preserved strong modernist traditions.<sup>26</sup> A war-torn, weakened country such as the new post-war Yugoslavia embraced Modernism's ethical idea of universal values of space and form envisioned for everyone, transcending elite groups and privileged building types.<sup>27</sup> There was a need for a rational, functional, efficient, equal and geometric architecture to suit the new, contemporary, socialist, self-governing society and people, which caused the continuation of the ideology of “CIAM and Bauhaus orthodox functionalism.”<sup>28</sup> Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille (1952) and the exhibition of his works in Yugoslavia in the next year directly inspired Yugoslav architects of the 1950s<sup>29</sup>, while the last CIAM congress in Dubrovnik (1956) further contributed to the full integration with Western modernism.

The new residential complex “Interbau 57” in West Berlin, the exhibition “Expo 58” in Brussels, as well as the Construction Fair in Paris represented models and sources of inspiration for Yugoslav and Montenegrin architects of the time. Modernist concepts are mostly visible in residential projects – the main economic endeavor in the post-war period besides industrial development – while social activism dedicated to the matter of housing was present in various exhibitions.<sup>30</sup> The majority of modernist architects of the interwar period continued their activity after World War II, so that the first international exhibition of Yugoslav architecture (Exhibition of Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture, 1959) demonstrated the absolute preeminence of Western-modernist ideas in both urban planning and architectural designs and realizations. The latter have often been labeled “Le Corbusier's Mannerism.”<sup>31</sup> In a way, Yugoslav cities became laboratories of modernist planning based on the CIAM dogma and the Athens Charter.

Between the two World Wars, flat roofs had been used in Yugoslavia mostly for individual residential buildings (“a white, prism-like manner of construction with flat roofs”<sup>32</sup>), and it is only through the post-war intense construction of housing – seen as “an important means of

23 Darja Radović-Mehačić, *Moderna arhitektura u Hrvatskoj 1930-ih* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007).

24 Aleksandar Kadijević, “Three Inspirational Modernist Realizations by Croatian Architects in Belgrade (1928-1935),” *Prostor* 2/48 22 (2014): 275.

25 Although Dobrović had not realised any projects in Serbia up until the 1950s.

26 Tamara Bjažić Klarin, “Housing in Socialist Yugoslavia,” in *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*, ed. Martino Sterli and Vladimir Kulić (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018), 90-95.

27 Slavica Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija: objekti kulture u Crnoj Gori 1945-2000*. [Architectural Communication: Cultural Centers in Montenegro 1945-2000] (Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2018), 318.

28 Feđa Košir, *Od ljudskog ka izvanjskom: arhitekta Marko Mušić [From Human to External: Architect Marko Music]* (Podgorica: CANU, 2010), 23.

29 Martino Sterli, “Networks and Crossroads: The Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia as a Laboratory of Globalization in the Cold War,” in *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*, ed. Martino Sterli and Vladimir Kulić (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018), 10-25.

30 Veđa Vukić, *Modernizam u praksi [Modernism in Practice]* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2008), 177-193.

31 Manević, “Arhitektura XX vijeka,” 28.

32 *Ibid.*, 163.

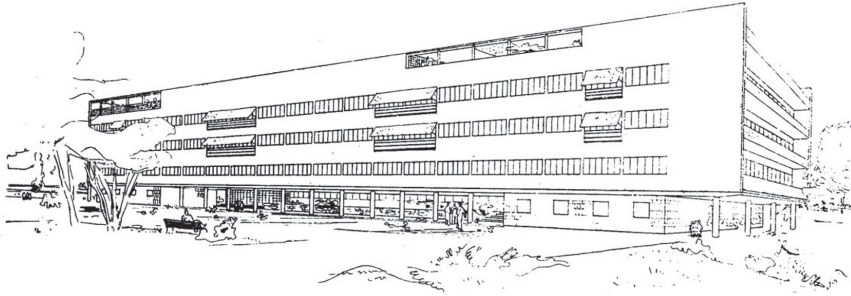


Fig. 2: Competition for “standard residential building” in Belgrade (1947), First prize — arch. Neven Šeragić  
 Fig. 3: Residential building in Grada Vukovara Street 35-35a, Zagreb (1953-1956), arch. Drago Galić



national consolidation,<sup>33</sup> of egalitarian social policies and of socialist self-government – that its “existential relevance”<sup>34</sup> would emerge. Through the adoption of modernist aesthetics and of the ethics of functionalism, balancing between Soviet influences, international mass-modernization and research of optimal functionality meeting a minimum of existential needs,<sup>35</sup> flat roofs, as common spaces, became an irreplaceable morphological feature that would permanently change the urban texture of Yugoslav towns.

The construction of Novi Beograd that was carried out under the management of Dobrović, created a specific Yugoslav “socialist model” of modernization and urban development, based on the principles of the CIAMs and the Athens Charter.<sup>36</sup> Already in the late 1940s, in the competitions for standard housing buildings, the correlation with the principles of the Modern Movement<sup>37</sup> may be noticed. What was striking from the beginning, *inter alia*, were free

33 Jasna Mariotti and Divna Pencic, “Changing Perspectives of Urbanity During Socialism and After: The Case of Two Neighborhoods in Skopje,” *studies in History and Theory of Architecture* 3 (2015): 174.

34 Meyer, “Bauen,” 234.

35 Đorđe Alfirević and Sanja Simonović Alfirević, “Urban housing experiments in Yugoslavia, 1948-1970,” *Spatium* 34 (2015): 1-9.

36 Dragana, Mecanov, “Arhitektonski konkurski na Novom Beogradu od 1947. do 1970 godine” [“Architectural Competition in New Belgrade from 1947 to 1970”], *Nasleđe* 10 (2009): 115; Jelica Jovanović and Vladimir Kulić, “City Building in Yugoslavia,” in *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*, ed. Martino Sterli and Vladimir Kulić (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018), 58-63.

37 Blagojević, *Novi Beograd*, 190.

ground floors, supporting pillars and roof terraces to be appropriated by the inhabitants (such as in the first-prize competition design by Croatian architect Neven Šegvić, 1947).<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 2) A flat top fully fitted into cost-effective and rational designs principles, while residents gained additional social space on the roof of a building.

The favoring of flat roofs is noticeable all across the territory of the post-war Yugoslavia. In Sarajevo, there is the striking example of the residential ensemble at Džidžikovac (1949),<sup>39</sup> by Muhamed and Reuf Kadić. In Zagreb, in Grada Vukovara Street, during the 1950s, some of the anthological works of residential architecture were built, including, in particular, those designed by Neven Šegvić, Drago Galić, Stanko Fabris, Ivo Geršić, Božidar Rašica<sup>40</sup> et al., that are based mostly on the legacy of International Modernism.<sup>41</sup> Galić's residential buildings (Grada Vukovara Street 35-35a; 43-43a) represents an epitome of flat roofs' practice through their additional common functions, primarily as laundry and drying premises.<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 3) Fabris's building (1956-1960) in the same street, with a flat roof divided into two levels, represents one of the most beautiful and complex examples of flat roofs uses in Zagreb, which, similar to the Unité, included open, closed and protected spaces intended for children, sanitary and storage facilities.<sup>43</sup> In addition to these, outstanding examples are also the residential buildings by Ivo Vitić, on the corner of Laginjina and Vojnovićeva streets (1958), as well as "the wooden skyscraper" by Ibler in Martičeva Street (1958).

The proclivity for direct connections with the surroundings by means of free ground floors, balconies and roof terraces, is also noticeable in public, service-oriented buildings – the so-called "local community centers" – present in larger residential areas, such as the "Fontana" in Novi Beograd (1967) by Uroš Martinović,<sup>44</sup> nominated for the "Borba" Federal prize – the highest architectural award in the former SFRY.<sup>45</sup>

In the majority of Yugoslav towns, the lack of open public spaces was evident. Thus architects and urban planners became aware of the importance of withdrawing ground floors and creating roofed public spaces.<sup>46</sup> Pure cubical volumes and white walls, large glass surfaces, the transformation of the classic ground floor<sup>47</sup> into a recessed one with porticoes, as well as the formation of extended surfaces, piazzas and squares, establishing a direct communication with the linear space of the street — all became distinguishable architectonic-urban features of post-war development. The Terazije terrace in Belgrade (1929-1930), Dobrović's award winning albeit unrealized design, displaying several of the above-mentioned modernist features, acquired the status of a local model.

38 Andrej Uchytíl, "Stratificiranje projektantskog opusa arhitekta Nevena Šegvića" ["Stratification of the Architectural Oeuvre of Architect Neven Šegvić"] *Prostor* 11/2003 2/26, (2003): 148.

39 Adnan Zoranić, "Heritage of Early Modernism in Residential Architecture in Sarajevo," *IOP Conf. Ser. Materials Science and Engineering* 471 (2019).

40 Vedran Ivanković, "Moscow Boulevard – Vukovar Street in Zagreb, 1945-1956, Architecture and Urban Planning between East and West." *Prostor* 2/32 14 (2016): 178-195.

41 Vedran Ivanković and Mladen Obrad Šćitaroci, "Planiranje i izgradnja Zagreba 1945.-1952" ["Planning and Construction of Zagreb from 1945 to 1952] *Prostor* 2/42 19 (2011): 371.

42 Vedran Ivanković, "Le Corbusier i Drago Galić-kritički eksperiment arhitekture višestambenih zgrada" ["Le Corbusier and Drago Galić - A Critical Experiment on the Architecture of Residential Buildings"] *Prostor* 1/37 17 (2009): 16.

43 Dubravko Bačić, "Prolegomena za opus arhitekta Stanka Fabrisa, Višestambena zgrada u Ul. grada Vukovara 52 u Zagrebu" ["Prolegomena to the oeuvre of architect Stanko Fabris, Residential building in Zagreb, 52 Vukovar Street"] *Prostor* 1/17 7 (1999): 93-112.

44 Aleksej Brkić, *Znakovi u kamenu – Srpska moderna arhitektura 1930-1980* [Signs in stone - Serbian modern architecture from the 1930s to the 1980s] (Belgrade: Savez arhitekata Srbije, 1992), 190-193.

45 Rifat Alihodžić, *Arhitektura u Crnoj Gori 1965-1990 – Kroz prizmu "Borbine" nagrade* [Architecture in Montenegro 1965-1990 - Through the Prism of the "Borba" Award] (Podgorica: CANU, 2015), 32-36.

46 Nikola Dobrovic, *Urbanizam kroz vekove I* [Urbanism Through the Ages I] (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1950), 61.

47 Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 163-181.



Fig. 4: Centre for Mother and Child Care, Zagreb (1956), arch. Vladimir Turina

A series of interpolated buildings at Terazije in the centre of Belgrade — the Federal Chamber of Commerce (1959)<sup>48</sup> by Lavoslav Horvat;<sup>49</sup> the building “Jugoslovenska knjiga” (1949-1952), the Investment Bank (1958) and Bezistan (1962-1964) by Vladeta Maksimović, etc. — created a system of interconnected ground floors with porticoes and passages implanted in the most hectic area of the city. The Centre for Mother and Child Care in Zagreb (1956) by Vladimir Turina (only partially realized) represents one of the examples of the “house passage” model — a building conceived as a “tunnel gateway between two parallel streets.”<sup>50</sup> (Fig. 4) In Sarajevo, Juraj Neidhardt<sup>51</sup> designed a modernist complex of buildings for the Parliament and the Executive Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1954, but completed only in 1974). In 1963 Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidih and Radovan Horvat designed the Museum of the Revolution (now Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina). In Ljubljana, yet another series of modernist buildings introducing open ground floors was realized. Among these the Square of the Revolution by Edvard Ravnikar (1960-1974) and the S2 Office Tower by Milan Mihelič (1972-1978) stand out. Horvat’s hotel “Jugoslavija” (1947-1961, Novi Beograd), the Military Printing Office by Milorad Macura (1950-1953) and the 19 story building of the Central Committee of the Federation of Communists of Yugoslavia at “Ušće” by Mihajlo Janković (the so-called “CK,” 1962-1964), are all examples of the CIAM model of architecture in park-like green spaces, where the open ground floor plays a very important role.

All these examples had a significant impact on Montenegrin architecture, as there had been no local school of architecture and Montenegrin architects were educated in those very environments.

48 Vladan Đokić, *Urbana morfologija: Grad i gradski trg [Urban Morphology: The City and the City Square]* (Belgrade: Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, 2004), 202-211.

49 Zrinka Paladino, “Architect Lavoslav Horvat and Association of Artist *Zemlja*,” *Prostor* 14/2 32 (2006): 166-177.

50 Vladimir Mattioni, “Passage House with No Way Out,” *Oris* 40 (2006): 150-159.

51 Nina Ugljen Ademović and Elša Turkušić, “The Fusion of the Modern and the Traditional in Bosnia,” in *Unfinished modernisations\_ Between Utopia and Pragmatism*, ed. Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (Zagreb: Croatian Architects’ Association, 2012), 432-443.

## Montenegrin Modernism – “Up” and “Down” Legacy

Following its international recognition at the Berlin Congress in 1878, one can assert that Montenegro started its development in the context of modern architecture and urban planning. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, along with the rise of economic and diplomatic activity, the key building pursuits took place in Cetinje, then the royal capital of the Principality (later Kingdom) of Montenegro. Before World War I a series of public buildings and diplomatic representations (France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Turkey, Great Britain, USA, Russia etc.) were built in Cetinje in the academic style, due to the designs of foreign architects. The more noteworthy ones were the Secessionist building of the French Embassy (1909) designed by the office of Perret brothers and the buildings designed by the Italian architect Coradini (House of the Government, Italian Embassy, 1910). Except for the uncommon allusion to the early cubist Modernism of the intriguing Vukotića House (the so-called “Square house,” 1910), built in reinforced concrete, by engineer Jovan Maguljani, there were no other buildings of similar character.

The early avant-garde movements that constituted the basis for the subsequent development of modernist architecture in Europe, as well as in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (which annexed Montenegro in 1918), did not have any major reverberations in Montenegro.<sup>52</sup> The public buildings erected in Cetinje and Podgorica, despite being simple and with little or no ornamentation mainly due to the lack of financial resources, were mostly academic in style. They were based on the designs of Montenegrin architects and engineers such as Gligorije Vukčević<sup>53</sup> (Customs Office in Podgorica, 1928), Veliša Popović<sup>54</sup> (Chamber of Commerce, 1928; Municipality of Podgorica, 1929-1931), Periša Vukotić<sup>55</sup> (Seminary in Cetinje, 1939; Arts and Crafts school in Podgorica, 1941) etc. Serbian Architect Milan Zloković designed the Customs Office in Kotor (1935-1938) and the House of National Health with the hospital in Risan, Boka Kotorska (1938-1941). The House of the Federation of Civil Servants in Ulcinj (Hotel Ko-op, 1937-1939)<sup>56</sup>, by Croatian architects Hinko Bauer and Marijan Haberle, has been the first modern hotel on the Montenegrin seaside that relied on modern construction methods and technology, as well as on the aesthetic and social principles of modern architecture.

Although in the aftermath of the war, one could notice only modest architectural and urban designs, exhibiting a somewhat reserved modernist language, later, when the construction of public buildings began (especially cultural and administrative), modernist buildings started springing up in Montenegro, either designed by architects from other areas or directly coming from Montenegrin professionals who had studied in Zagreb, Belgrade or Ljubljana.

For instance, the post-war urban development of Podgorica<sup>57</sup> was based on a modernist urban concept designed by the Montenegrin Vujadin Popović<sup>58</sup> in consultation with the Serbian architect Dragiša Brašovan, while the development of Nikšić (the industrial center and second largest city) was carried out following the plans of Croatian architects and urbanists (Josip Saisel, Bruno Milić et al.)<sup>59</sup> In the absence of local qualified professionals, a huge number of

52 Božidar Milić, “Arhitektura XX vijeka u Crnoj Gori” [“20th Century Architecture in Montenegro”], in *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije. Arhitektura XX vijeka [The Art of Yugoslavia. 20th Century Architecture]* (Belgrade: IRO Prosveta, Zagreb: Spektar, Mostar: Prva književna komuna, 1986), 75-78.

53 Andrija Markuš, *50 neimara Crne Gore [50 Neimars of Montenegro]* (Podgorica: Arhitektonski forum, 2008), 58-60.

54 Ibid., 145-148.

55 Ibid., 53-57.

56 Ljiljana Blagojević and Borislav Vukićević, “Hotel Ko-op u Ulcinju arhitekata Hinka Bauera i Marijana Haberlea,” *Prostor* 1/45 21 (2013): 14-15.

57 On July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1946, Podgorica became the capital of the SR of Montenegro, getting the name Titograd (named after Josip Broz Tito), which it would bear until 1992.

58 Markuš, *50 neimara Crne Gore*, 149-154.

59 Vladimir Bojković, “The Meander Building by Architect Bruno Milić; The Beginning of Modernism in the City of Nikšić,” *Prostor* 26/1 55 (2018): 40-51.

Croatian architects worked in Montenegro in that period (Branko Bon, Lavoslav Horvat, Zoja and Selimir Dumengjić, Stanko Fabris et al.)<sup>60</sup> Beside Brašovan's, the presence of Serbian modernist architects in the post-war Montenegro is best reflected in the achievements of Nikola Dobrović in Herceg Novi, during the 1960s.

### “Up” Legacy

In most Montenegrin towns undergoing urban development primarily after World War II, flat roofs represent a dominant element of the urban landscape, particularly in the case of collective housing. This is most visible in the capital city of Podgorica, which, having been bombarded more than 70 times, was almost completely demolished during the war. By filling the voids in the destroyed city center, architect Vujadin Popović<sup>61</sup> put forward a plain cubistic composition of flat roofs, marking the entrance to the central city area (the Post Office building, 1949-1951, the “Crna Gora” hotel, 1952, as well as residential buildings in the city center, 1953). The most emblematic example of a modernist flat roof arrived in Podgorica center from Croatia, as a “standardized design” which had already been built in three locations in Split, in the first half of the 1960s.<sup>62</sup> In line with the guidelines of the first-prize design for the central square in Podgorica competition awarded to M. Knežević and P. Muličkovski (1957), Croatian architect Stanko Fabris<sup>63</sup> realized the two, somehow changed “Split-like” residential skyscrapers (1962-1963) for the Yugoslav National Army (YNA). These skyscrapers, the first ever in Montenegro, included a semi-covered flat roof with common laundry facilities, which represented an absolute novelty in the residential architecture of that time in Montenegro. The specificity of these buildings, distinguishing them from the designs in Split, is reflected in their vertical concrete *brise-soleils* of the flat-roof story, providing for a more intimate and protected use.<sup>64</sup>

Similar to expansion models of larger towns such as Novi Beograd or Novi Zagreb, from the beginning of the 1960s, the city of Podgorica has started expanding, although to a significantly lesser extent, towards the right bank of the Morača river. This development of the new part of the city – “Novi grad” (Fig. 5) – consisted of mostly multi-story residential buildings, with mandatory flat roofs. Some of them housed common facilities, while their majority retained only the distinctive image of modernist aesthetics. Similar to other city expansions, “Novi grad” was developed through the use of “standardized designs,” often imported from elsewhere and multiplied on various locations. The avowed aim of “standardized designs” was the rationalization of construction, thus confirming “the right of habitation” for all, inherent to the socialist agenda of Yugoslavia. In the early 1960s, the Macedonian architect Petar Muličkoski also designed a standardized residential building in Podgorica, for the YNA, with clean geometric outlines and a flat roof, which was further replicated on three different locations. Three of the so-called “mini-skyscrapers” by Arsenije Martinović<sup>65</sup> were erected at 13 Jula Street (1965-1967), having flat roofs on their front

60 Slavica Stamatović Vučković and Kosara Kujundžić, “Cultural Center in Kotor Designed by the Architect Zdravko Moslavac; Interpolation as a Means of Valorization of Architectural Heritage,” *Prostor* 2/56 26 (2018): 332-347.

61 Vujadin Popović (1912-1999).

62 Hrvoje Bartulović, Andrej Uchytíl, and Karin Šerman, “Tri stambena sklopa arhitekta Stanka Fabrisa u Splitu iz 1960tih” [“Three Housing Complexes in Split Designed by Stanko Fabris”], *Prostor* 2/46, 21 (2013): 253

63 Borka Bobovec, *2/2 XX Antologija hrvatske arhitekture druge polovine dvadesetog stoljeća [Anthology of Croatian Architecture from the Second Half of the Twentieth Century]* (Zagreb: UPI2Mplus, 2016), 84-85.

64 Alihodžić, Rifat, Slavica Stamatović Vučković, and Aleksandar Ašanin, “Residential Skyscrapers by Architect Stanko Fabris; Contribution to the Urban Morphology and Typology of Collective Housing in Podgorica,” *Prostor* 1/57 27 (2019): 118-131.

65 Arsenije Martinović (1932-2018).



Fig. 5: "Novi grad" (New City), Podgorica, built after War World II (above)



Fig. 6: "Up" spaces in Montenegro; Roof terrace, "Mini-skyscrapers," Podgorica (1965-1967), arch. Arsenije Martinović, situation nowadays. Photo from 2019 (above)

Fig. 7: "Up" spaces in Montenegro: Blok 5 residential complex (1977-1983), Podgorica, arch. Mileta Bojović. Photo from 2019 (below)



sides and a clear potential for the extension of residential units.<sup>66</sup> (Fig. 6) A flat roof and the identical replication of buildings had been, up until the beginning of the 1980s, the most prominent feature of the post-war socialist-modernist urbanity of Yugoslav towns, including Podgorica, not only because they allowed for a faster and more cost-effective construction of the necessary residential areas, but also because they were the most striking and the most readable urban design elements of that time, without which the modern development of socialist cities would have been unimaginable.

A particular urban character is demonstrated by the residential building of Block 7 (1970, popularly called “Krstarica” [a cruiser]) by architect Božidar Milić<sup>67</sup> (also built for the YNA), a strong, brutalist, 130 meter long structure, inspired by similar residential buildings erected at the time in Novi Beograd.<sup>68</sup> Large surfaces on the roofs at various heights created significant extra spaces that would easily allow for more residential units. The trend of the flat roof, the pervasive landmark of post-war modernity, is discernible all over the territory of Montenegro, even in northern towns, where the local climate is unfavorable, an issue that has consequently caused understandable arguments and reactions.<sup>69</sup>

In the late 1970s, when Modernism was no longer the only ideologically acceptable aesthetic, the realization of one of the biggest construction undertakings started in Podgorica. Erected between 1977-1983, Block 5 was executed on the urban layout of architect Vukota Tupa Vuković (1976) and the competition-selected conceptual design by architect Mileta Bojović (1977) and represented some sort of modified functionalism, a “relapse” into modernist urbanism. Modular constructive design allowed specific design features for buildings with various numbers of stories (5 to 17), ending in accessible roof terraces. The dominant elements of Block 5’s design are the strikingly massive cantilevers, generating spacious terraces for the apartments above. In some of the buildings, common terraces were envisaged, planned to serve as “large central spaces for neighborhood gatherings.”<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 7)

Until the 1990s, flat roofs had been one of the key features of the residential buildings in Podgorica, which indeed was in line with the Mediterranean spirit of this city. However, fast construction and bad execution, as well as poor resilience of materials in specific climate conditions with extremely high temperatures and abundant rains over the year, have all created mistrust towards the use of flat roofs, which is the reason why they are but rarely implemented nowadays.

### “Down” Legacy

The conditions for the design of a free, fluid ground floor started to develop with the erection of the first collective housing ensembles of the early 1950s, primarily in Podgorica. Most of these residential buildings were provided with retail spaces on the ground floor, and these, in turn, were often protected by projecting cantilever slabs running the whole length of the façade. These slabs, featuring the accentuated modernist linearity and lightness, represented a recognizable urban element of post-war Modernism, thus allowing for a completely new type of comfort. Collective housing buildings in Sloboda Street in Podgorica, built to the designs of Vujadin Popović and Radmilo Zdravković,<sup>71</sup> actually represent some of the first examples

66 Alihodžić, Stamatović Vučković, and Ašanin, “Residential Skyscrapers,” 118-131.

67 Božidar Milić (1927-2017).

68 Adolph Stiller and Bojan Kovačević (eds.), *Montenegro – Contrast Landscape/Architecture Context* (Salzburg-Wien: Mury Salzmann Verlag, 2013), 172-173.

69 R. Smolović. “Kuhinje, terase i balkoni pod udarom kritike” [“Kitchens, Terraces and Balconies Criticized”], *Sloboda* 26-3 (Nov 23, 1962).

70 Interview with arch. Mileta Bojović, Archcommune. Available at <http://www.archcommune.org/arh-mileta-bojovic-budite-realni-trazite-nemoguće/>, last accessed May 20, 2019.

71 Markuš, *50 neimara Crne Gore*, 79-83.

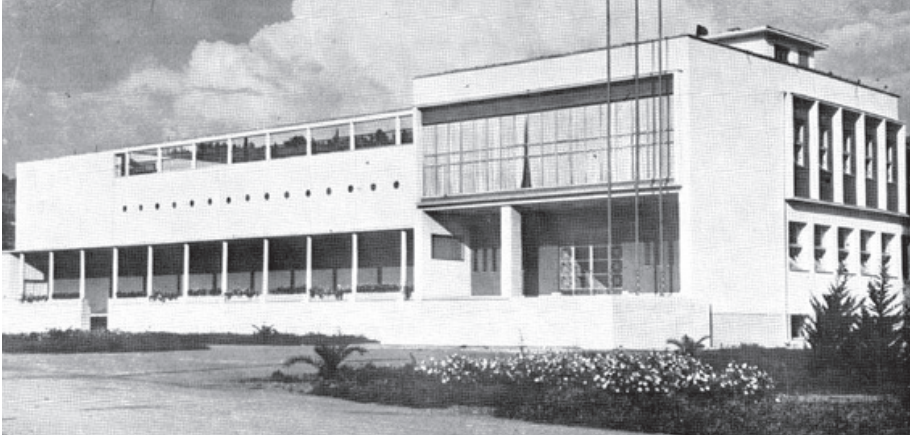


Fig. 8: The House of Youth in Podgorica (1958-59) by Arsenije Martinović. Photo from 1960 (above)  
 Fig. 9: Podgorica city center with main square and Department Store "Beko." Photo from 2019 (opposite, above)  
 Fig. 10: "Down" spaces in Montenegro: Pedestrian galleria of the business annex of first skyscrapers, Podgorica (1962-1963), arch. Stanko Fabris. A photo from 2019 (opposite, below)

of such cantilever slabs, abiding by the design guidelines of the new socialist self-government. The open spaces underneath the building are examples of text-book modernist public spaces, frequently found at the building's ends or corners. Intended to increase the width they allow for the formation of small, covered squares and piazzas. This is the case with a part of Popović's residential building (1953-1956), facing the intersection of Slobode and Vuka Karadžića streets, as well as with the "Jugobanka" building across the street.

However, free ground floors are most present in public buildings, where the areas beneath buildings become integrated in a wider system of covered spaces of the city. The House of Youth in Podgorica (1958-1959) by Arsenije Martinović was built after the political decision to organize the Third Congress of the Communist Federation of Montenegro. Its striking modernity bears a strong ideological-symbolic mark of the new socialist order.<sup>72</sup> This is one of the rare examples of Corbusian modernist streamliner style, featuring a lateral colonnade, a recessed entrance area marked by an asymmetrical pillar, a glass curtain wall, circular openings and a roof terrace framed by a concrete colonnade. (Fig. 8) All these extra spaces of the building would eventually be closed, as their purpose changed during reconstruction, due to the need for additional space.

One of the most significant examples is the first-prize winning design of the central city square competition by M. Knežević and P. Muličkovski (1957, codename "Shadow," unfortunately, realized only partially), representing the best example of an entirely covered public space. The conceptual design for that space provided guidelines for building the department store "Beko" (1969) by Božidar Milić, entailing a covered and fluid public space on the ground floor, with a garden-like semi-atrium and a fountain. (Fig. 9) Such an approach reflects CIAM's architectural and urban postulates in terms of the relationship between interior and exterior, as well as the importance of greenery and water in public spaces. The competition engendered the design of other buildings along the borders of the square, whose free ground floor represented additional extensions of the envisaged public space. The two residential skyscrapers at the east side of the square by architect Fabris had initially been outlined in the competition design, as well. Modernist vocabulary is discernible in terms of design and color, as much as in the shaping of the ground floor annex with an emphasized pedestrian corridor between the two lateral streets and a portico on the front leading pedestrians towards the market. The entire ensemble represents a high-quality example of a free, covered public space linked to the idea of perceptually and physically extending the initial planned square. All these areas at the feet of the buildings in central Podgorica, in the streets leading to the square and in the very square, form a system of "extra" public spaces, important for the distinct Mediterranean climate of Podgorica and represent a relevant post-war modernist legacy. (Fig. 10)

72 Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija*, 115-123.



Similar examples of spaces — most often, “unfinished modernizations”<sup>73</sup> — were built in other Montenegrin towns, as well. The 1962 Syndicate House – Workers University “Nikola Kovačević” (later the “18 September” movie theater)<sup>74</sup> in Nikšić, by Đordije Minjević<sup>75</sup> (a former student of the Zagreb School of Architecture), displayed, besides vertical *brise-soleils* on its southern façade, an overemphasized entrance zone of canopies, designed in a modernist-minimalist style (thin, concrete slabs and slender steel pillars), connecting the two buildings. The entrance of the building, set back from the street, further extends toward the public space of the main city crossroads, symbolically demonstrating the openness of the institution toward the user of the new social order – “the worker, the self-governing individual” entitled to leisure, entertainment and additional education.

In the seaside Montenegrin towns, similar examples started to appear as well. In Herceg-Novi, one of the most famous Serbian modernists, Dobrović, focused on the public spaces “through a series of extending interventions on the main street, by forming the pedestrian alley with canopies, then squares, extensions and terraces dedicated to organized and random gatherings.”<sup>76</sup> Dobrović’s conceptual design envisaged a cascading square with views over the sea, positioned between the Municipality (1958) and Post Office building (1962), the latter being his own design. The ground floors of the Municipality building, with a colonnade, and of the Post Office building, where Dobrović emulated Le Corbusier’s free ground floor, were set back, thus forming a covered public space and extending the space of the square underneath the building, as an attempt to materialize the urban-architectural synthesis, that numerous Yugoslav architects of that period strived for.<sup>77</sup>

In Budva, a small town in the beginning of the 1960s, yet the center of the developing Montenegrin film industry, the building of “Zeta-film” was erected, i.e. the “Gojko Krapović” Cultural Centre (1963-1966) by Milan Popović,<sup>78</sup> yet another example of modernist free ground floor. The floating upper stories and the retracted ground floor were directed towards the planned city square, which was supposed to be created together with two additional buildings that were never constructed.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, designing the square on plots of land that had been nationalized after the war, together with the open character of the adjacent buildings hold a clear connotative meaning, demonstrating the change in ownership status, from private to public property.

The Administrative building of “Jugooceanija” (1967)<sup>80</sup> in Kotor, Boka Kotorska, by Đordije Petrović and Matej Nenadović, was based on the first-prize winning competition design. This is yet another example of a floating modernist structure supported by pillars, forming an open ground floor, successfully integrated into the park-like surroundings and the planned public spaces towards the street. Among the examples in seaside towns, the “Oliva” hotel at Petrovac (1965), the work of Vladislav Plamenac and Milan Popović, is a special example of free ground floors. The horizontal volume of the hotel was supported by pillars, so that the space of the sandy beach flows-in deep underneath the building, creating a synergetic relationship between the artificial (the architecture) and the natural (the beach).

73 Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Unfinished modernisations\_ Between Utopia and Pragmatism*. Zagreb: Croatian Architects’ Association, 2012.

74 Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija*, 130-134, 265-266.

75 Zoran Manević, *Encyclopedia architectonica* (Belgrade: Građevinska knjiga, 2008), 280; Markuš, *50 neimara Crne Gore*, 120-122.

76 Marta Vukotić Lazar, *Architect Nikola Dobrović* (Kosovska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy in Priština, 2018), 188-215.

77 Andrej Uchytíl, “Architect Neven Šegvić - Theoretical Works,” *Prostor* 2/28 12 (2004): 155-166; Blagojević, *Novi Beograd*, 28-53; Aleš Vodopivec and Rok Žnidaršič (eds.), *Edvard Ravnikar, Architect and Teacher* (Vienna: Springer, 2010), 26-28.

78 Manević, *Encyclopedia architectonica*, 328; Markuš, *50 neimara Crne Gore*, 155-157.

79 Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija*, 142.

80 \*\*\*, “Upravna zgrada ‘Jugooceanije’ u Kotoru” [“‘Jugooceanija’ Administrative Building in Kotor”], *Arhitektura urbanizam* 44 (1967): 35-37.

## The Present Condition of the Modernist Legacy in Montenegro

These typical “extra” spaces of Modernism, flat roofs and free ground floors represent important elements of the architectural and urban legacy of Montenegro, despite the fact that in the last 30-35 years these spaces have undergone the most dynamic changes. The dissolution of Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s, the change of the socio-political system through abrupt privatizations replacing the unsuccessful socialist model were followed by various forms of transition to neoliberal capitalism.

The creation of “collective goods” replacing the private sector through the Nationalization Laws in the aftermath of World War II (1946, 1948), was mirrored in the 1990s by a general “privatization of space”, imposed by the new legal framework. The Housing Relations Act (1990) resulted in the privatization of socialist housing, that is the transition from tenancy to ownership (the so-called “retrieval” of apartments). Over a period of two years, about 95% of the dwelling stock was redeemed, and the former tenants became owners of the apartments.<sup>81</sup>

This general privatization of apartments and commercial spaces prompted various transformations of these modernist buildings, specifically of the collective or common areas on the roof and beneath the constructions. Consequently, these spaces also turned from open access areas into closed, restricted, private ones. The new owners of the retail spaces frequently extended the indoor areas of the ground floors onto the covered, free areas, in order to maximize retail space. At the same time, the common facilities on the roof were developed into additional or completely new apartments achieved by various roofing constructions and building extensions. The Condominium Property Act (1995) did not prescribe in detail the provisions related to the common spaces, which further left room for various illegal interventions.<sup>82</sup>

Changes to the flat roofs of residential buildings happened on a daily basis, as they are difficult to control and almost unnoticeable, in particular on buildings with indented design of the roof area, or buildings with terraces on various levels. These interventions are particularly visible in Podgorica. An illustrative example is Block 7 (1970) where the original terraces became the ideal place to build new dwelling units (in some cases, even two-story units) that completely blocked the exit to the roof. Distinctive for its design, Block V (1977-1983) is another symptomatic example, whereby the flat roofs and the large surfaces of the terraces – the result of the cascading, cantilever volumes – represent an important potential for the users.<sup>83</sup> Due to various building extensions, the original form of the complex was changed, while the large terraces are perceived as an added value, augmenting the price of flats. (Fig. 11) A significant number of interventions occurred through the construction of entirely new units, “houses on top of houses.” The decay of the original finishes and insulations rendered flat roofs vulnerable and entailed their covering by pitched roofs. All these interventions have unfortunately led to the downfall of this modernist legacy.

However, many of the flat roofs have preserved their original function. They are mostly used in several ways (either as washing/drying facilities or as storage units), but also, occasionally, for unplanned social activities, as temporary, shared extensions of the dwellings, thus endorsing their original destination. This is best illustrated by the flat roofs of the above-mentioned skyscrapers designed by Fabris, still in use as service and collective spaces. For this, the workshop at the Faculty of Architecture in Podgorica (“Pimp My Roof – Flat roofs as a new social space of the town”, Podgorica, 2015),<sup>84</sup> that asserted the potential use value of flat roofs through a series of

81 Institut za gradjevinarstvo, *Nacionalna stambena strategija Crne Gore: 2011-2020*, [Montenegro's National Housing Strategy: 2011-2010] (Podgorica: Vlada Crne Gore, Ministarstvo održivog razvoja i turizma, 2011), 6-10.

82 Andrej Milović, Igor Milošević, and Radmila Jašović, *Socijalna politika stanovanja na lokalnom nivou: Situaciona analiza 2018*, [Social Housing Policy on the Local Level: A Situational Analysis of 2018] (Podgorica: 3M Makarije, Agencija za demokratski prosperitet - Zid, 2019), 6-10.

83 Interview with arch. Mileta Bojović, Archcommune.

84 First prize winning in Category *Research & Experiment*, Second Montenegrin Saloon of Architecture. Catalog (2016): 64-65. Available at <http://www.sacg.me/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Katalog-Drugocrnogorskog-salona-arhitekture-2016.pdf>, last accessed May 29, 2019.



student collages and photomontages, draws attention to the richness of these spaces and serves as an inspiration for their future transformations. (Fig. 12)

The earliest example of transformation of ground floor covered areas occurred as early as the beginning of the 1980s, when following the devastating earthquake that hit Montenegrin seaside in 1979, The Zeta film building in Budva (1966) was transformed. During the excessive post-quake reconstruction, the floating modernist form was perceptibly “attached to the ground”<sup>85</sup> by use of curved stone walls, and the formerly open ground floor areas resting on isolated pillars was transformed into an interior, private space. This intervention is the most symbolic example of the new architectural paradigm, by means of which modernist configurations of pure cubical masses and free, open space gave way to Postmodernism — “rooting architecture to the ground.”<sup>86</sup>

In the outburst of privatization, particularly at the beginning of the third millennium, the majority of the open ground floor areas had the same destiny, especially in Podgorica. (Fig. 13) This is true for the some of the residential buildings in the city center (discussed above), where the open ground floors were closed and acquired a new purpose as privatized retail spaces. The House of Youth (1958) underwent various interventions as early as the 1970s, resulting in the closing-off of all the open modernist spaces in order to obtain usable surfaces, thus almost completely altering the initial “Corbusian” appearance of the building. However, the pedestrian gallery of the business annex in Fabris’s skyscrapers and the fluid ground floor areas of the “Beko” department store in Podgorica’s downtown were saved. Despite their current state of decay and neglect, they still testify to the significance and quality of modernist public spaces and continue to be used and enjoyed to this day. (Fig. 14)

## Conclusion

The two features that we singled out characterize modernist buildings – the open terrace/roof and the covered area of the ground floor – allowed us to briefly overview the modernist work that constitutes an important part of the architectural legacy in the territory of former Yugoslavia, with

85 Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija*, 135-142.

86 Domljan, “Arhitektura XX stoljeća u Hrvatskoj,” 45.



Fig. 11: "Up" spaces in Montenegro: Blok 5 residential complex (1977-1983), Podgorica, interventions and additions on terraces and flat roofs. Photo from 2019 (opposite)

Fig. 12: Student photomontage - proposal for flat roof transformation in Podgorica, Workshop "Pimp my roof - Flat roofs as a new social space of the town," Faculty of Architecture, Podgorica (2015) (above)

Fig. 13: "Down" spaces in Montenegro: Privatization of public space - building of collective housing (1953-1956) in Slobode Street in Podgorica, arch. Vujadin Popović. A photo from 2019 (below)





Fig. 14: "Down" spaces in Montenegro: Fluid ground floor spaces of the department store "Beko" (1969) by Božidar Milić, with a park-like semi-atrium and a fountain

particular focus on the architecture of Montenegro. After World War II, modernist architecture in Montenegro was, on the one hand, designed by architects from the larger region and, on the other, by Montenegrin architects who were educated in Yugoslavia. Oriented towards universality, modernist principles have served the ideology of the time, the socialist self-governance Yugoslav politics, transparent in slogans such as "to everybody according to their work" and "to everybody according to their needs."<sup>87</sup> This is indeed most noticeable in the functional, standardized, conceptualized architecture of the housing sector, as well as through the ideas of open, public space, accessible for all, aimed at creating "a new city to suit socialism."<sup>88</sup>

The focus on the "extra" spaces of post-war modernist architecture has also proven a useful subject matter for noting the transformations undergone in changing social-political circumstances, more specifically testifying to the fragility of collective spaces in the face of the recent rampant privatization processes. However, the constant changes that these spaces have suffered also testify to their common condition and daily use, pointing to their extant potential.

Similar to other countries in the region, the architectural or urban value of post-war architecture in Montenegro has yet to be acknowledged and valued in an adequate way. This situation, also revealed by the fact that only two architectural buildings from the period of socialist Yugoslavia have been listed as cultural heritage to this day (and this, only in 2017), does not however reflect both the rich legacy that this architecture represents, and its potential.

[Proofread by Zorka Kordić, court interpreter for English]

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87 Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988: Socijalistička Jugoslavija 1945-1988*, [History of Yugoslavia 1918-1988: Socialist Yugoslavia 1945-1988], vol. 3 (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 120-160.

88 Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija*, 129.

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#### ILLUSTRATION CREDITS:

- Fig. 1: Author's illustration, 2019.
- Fig. 2: Dragana Mecanov, "Arhitektonski konkursi na Novom Beogradu od 1947 do 1970 godine," *Nasleđe* 10 (2009): 115.
- Fig. 3: \*\*\*, "Arhitektura u Hrvatskoj 1945-1985," *Arhitektura* 196-199 (1986): 141.
- Fig. 4: Vladimir Mattioni, "Passage house with no way out," *Oris* 40 (2006): 150-159.
- Fig. 5: Author's private collection.
- Fig. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14: Author's photographs, 2019.
- Fig. 8: Slavica Stamatović Vučković, *Arhitektonska komunikacija: Objekti kulture u Crnoj Gori 1945-2000* (Podgorica: University of Montenegro, 2018), 120.
- Fig. 12: Catalog of the Second Saloon of Architecture in Montenegro (2016): 64-65. Available at <http://www.sacg.me/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Katalog-Drugog-crnogorskog-salona-arhitekture-2016.pdf>, last accessed May 29, 2019.