TRANSFORMATION OF MODERNISM IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA
ARCHITECTURE

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Abstract
The Socialist Yugoslavia regime, which was established after World War II, led to innovations in many areas, spreading the modernism that Yugoslavia inherited from the Kingdom period to many areas. It also allowed freedom of expression and opened up to Western European countries because of the socialist, political, and cultural exchanges compared to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. These openings also led Yugoslav artists to explore various artistic movements abroad and to be inspired from abroad. In this study, it is aimed to examine the effects of the ideological background of the new regime on architecture. The effects of Tito on the transformation of the modernist movement that emerged in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia through the Tito period and the development and change of art and architecture.

1. Introduction
The first division of Europe in the east and west is based on the division of the Roman Empire into two in the early 4th century. The territory of the two emperors (Diocletian and Constantine the Great) who created this division was later called Yugoslavia. After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the 7th century, the Slavic tribes settled in the Balkan peninsula were divided into two as Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic Church in 1054. Northwest of Yugoslavia, Western Catholic Church (Romanesque-Gothic-Renaissance-Baroque); and the southeast of it was under the influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Kulić Mrdujaš and Thaler, 2012). This division has also been effective in the six republics of Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia, Western Catholic; Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Macedonia have adopted Eastern Orthodox teachings. The east-west contrast of Yugoslavia, which was established after World War II and observed in its own formation, is seen to continue the socialist ideology that Yugoslavia gained from the East / Soviet Union by taking into consideration the cultural structure of its geography and society. However, in order to unite six different republics in Yugoslavia under the same roof, they adopted an anti-historian approach of modernism and aimed to create a Yugoslav identity independent of Byzantine, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian influence. This ideology, which was formed under the leadership of Tito, was continued in the name of 'Titoism', which is a form of Marxism, against Yugoslavia and capitalism and Stalinism. Although Tito was in the same communist regime as Stalin, he pursued a liberal, libertarian, anti-stalinist policy. This regime is not only in politics; and in architecture and art.

2. Tito's Approach to Art and Architecture
The Communist Party, led by Josip Broz Tito, created a new Yugoslav identity, followed its policy and II. In
order to tell the stories of World War II, he used concrete hero figures, graphic designs, films, monumental sculptures and architecture as tools in painting; Tito also had an influence on this attitude.

Tito did not look at abstract art very much, he adopted the art of painting rather than abstract painting; however, he did not express his views explicitly. Only Miodrag Protić, the founder and first director of the Belgrade Museum of Contemporary Art, said that he had visited the museum once and liked Miljenko Stančić's paintings (Perović, Roksandić, Velikonja Hoepken and Bieber 2017). Belgrade Mayor Architect Bogdan Bogdanovic said in an interview that in Although Tito did not have a distinctive understanding of art, he realized the difference of the sculpture I had designed with the Russian statue (headless bodies, wounded figures, weapons of war, etc.). 's abstract, expressionist statues allowed to build (Dim, 2013).

Although Tito did not approve of his abstract art, he did not censor other tendencies. Censorship has been applied to critical studies of Tito's personality. In fact, a law on the use of important symbolic values of the state (such as the flag, the emblem, the national anthem) and the face of the Yugoslav leader in photography, painting and sculpture has been enacted. Article 29 of this law, adopted by Tito, states: The photographs of the president may be used in the property of the federal bodies; however, only photographs approved by the bodies of science and culture can be used (Perović, etc., 2017). As a matter of fact, the opening of the exhibition of Mića Popović in 1974 was canceled due to the paintings of Svečanska Slika (figure 1) and Ričard Titovog lika / Životinjsko Carstvo (Tito's Richard face / Animal Kingdom) (figure 2) (Perović etc.) 2017). The picture of Sunchanska was taken from a newspaper photograph taken during a meeting of Tito and his wife with the Dutch Royal couple; Ričard Titovog lika / (ivotinjsko carstvo was inspired by Tito and American actor Richard Burton's photo taken in the zoo and was censored (Perović, 2017).

The effect of Tito in cinema II. World War II and Partisans directed towards the withdrawal of the films; made suggestions to the directors, especially in the films about him; he also wrote some scripts himself. Some of the films that were shot by Mila Turajlić, as quoted by the Cinema Komunist documentary, sent some written notes to the scenarios sent by the directors of not realistic; The directors also informed Tito of the developments after the filming was completed. For example, he sent a telegram to Tito: We are honored to show you the result of our work, and a copy of the film will be in your hands tomorrow. Example; In World War II theme, Sutjeska (figure 3), he proposed the actor (American actor Richard Burton) himself (Cinema Komunisto documentary, 2010). This film also represented Yugoslavia at the 1974 Oscars.
Figure 3. ‘Sutjeska’ Film Poster

Figure 4. First Residence of Tito as the Yugoslav Leader ‘White House’ (Kulić, 2009)

In architecture, the White House (figure 4), the first official residence of Tito, was also accepted as a symbol of his policy. This house was completed in 1936 for the dynasty of Karacorcević II. Tito, who settled in this structure after World War II, was also aware of the intrinsic value of this structure, which symbolized the top position of the communist hierarchy. As a matter of fact, his use of royal property is now seen as a symbolic expression of his power in power. Although there are many magnificent royal buildings to show its power, it is stated that the house is surrounded by a large park and it has a simple but universal line. It has also been suggested that this structure may have favored national Serbian architecture. On the other hand, as a Communist leader, it was a contradictory situation that he chose White House as a residence, which had decorative interiors, reflecting the Serbian medieval architecture and created religious connotations due to the adjacent chapel (Kulić, 2009).

In 1962, Tito did not share much of his ideas of architecture, except in what he claimed were opposed to “regression” and “ultramodernism.” He expressed his interest in modern architecture only in the form of glass and metal combinations. However, he did not like Villa Zagorje in Pantovčak, which was designed for him by Croatian architects (Vjenceslav Richter and Kazimir Ostrogović), with elegant, plain, glass and white surfaces built between 1963-64 (Ridley conveyed by Kulić, 2009 (figure 5). He also criticized the new version of the Central Committee building, which was constructed in New Belgrade with its glass and aluminium facades (Kulić, 2009) (fig. 6).

Figure 5. Villa Zagorje, Zagreb

Figure 6. Belgrade Central Committee Building 1964 (Mjeri Obiteljskih Kuća U Hrvatskoj)

Based on the information given above, Tito expresses his displeasure with abstract art but never bans this tendency; Although he didn't like the modern villa designed for him, he did not oppose the modern architecture that emerged and gained momentum in Socialist Yugoslavia; Although he exhibited a conservative attitude in the field of culture and art, it was seen that he freed the artists and architects in his designs.

3. Architectural Developments Before the II. World War in Yugoslavia

The Serbian Croatian Slovenian Kingdom, founded after World War I, united peoples who lived in different cultural regions for centuries, but managed to unite cultural and architectural differences; In the entire
kingdom, the Serbian-Byzantine architectural style represented the main feature of orthodox churches (Perović, Roksandić, Velikonja, Hoepken and Bieber 2017).

In the early years of the Serbian Croat Slovenian Kingdom, research was initiated to reveal the cultural heritage of the region. In order to create the common cultural phenomenon of the unification, research has been carried out on the medieval and ancient heritage, especially in the Dalmatian and Macedonian regions, and these works have been supported by King Alexander Karacorčević. In addition to these works, at the request of King Alexander Karacorčević, various sculptures were built in the classical style (Perović et al, 2017). The approaches that characterize architectural identity, especially in the first years of the post-World War I period, have generally been historicisms and eclecticism (Figure 2.1, 2.2).

In the late 1920s, many young intellectuals and artists returned from the European centres where they were educated, bringing a new spirit to the traditionalist environment (Dragutinovic, 2017). The leading Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian architects worked with renowned modernists such as Adolf Loos, Peter Behrens, Josef Hoffmann and Le Corbusier.

During this period, many apartments, private villas and schools were built especially in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. Apart from Zagreb, the first modernist hotel examples were built in Dalmatia region (Figure 4.1.3). The Croatian modernists have made new attempts to design their flat roofs, strip windows, and non-adorned corner balconies (Milosevic, 2009) (Figure 2.3, 2.4, 2.5).

2.1. Zagreb bourse building, Viktor

2.2. State Bank of Ljubljana, Kovacić, 1923, Zagreb (www.cro-eu.com), Ivan Vurnik, 1921 (www.alamy.com)

In the period of the Karacorčević dynasty, the architecture on the one hand displayed a historiographical and eclecticist attitude while the process of development and change also began. This development started the process of modernization and showed the kingdom's influence in major cities such as Ljublana, Zagreb and Belgrade (Dragutinovic, 2017).
In Ljubljana, Joze Plečnik, who is a student of Ivan Vurnik and Otto Wagner, has been the representative of Slovenian modern architecture with both small and monumental building designs (Milosevic, 2009). The building that he designed for cemetery workers and carpenters has been described as the only structure of the cemetery space defined in green and white, containing different colours (Alangoya, 2014) (Figure 2.9).

The Slovenian architecture was adapted to the modernist composition by using solid geometric volumes, reinforced concrete and steel structures, as well as irregular ground floor plans, strip windows, flat roofs, thin metal railings and roof terraces.

The new architectural developments in Zagreb, represented by Zagreb, have also been influenced by Slovenia, which Ljubljana represents, and in Serbia, which Belgrade represents. These three cities were the scene of the pioneer and representative of modern architecture in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Milosevic, 2013).

In the capital city of Belgrade, the architect Milan Zloković designed his own private house in 1928 and was considered the first modernist residence in Belgrade (Dragutinovic, 2017) (Figure 2.11). Other housing examples built during the Kingdom period in Belgrade include; Milan Zloković has a house designed for him, Branko and Petar Krsić’s Kumanovska Street Apartment, Branišlav Kojic’s Đurić Apartment and Momčilo Belobrk’s Momčilo Belobrk Apartment (Figure 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14).
Construction of the University of Belgrade Children’s Clinic, designed by Milan Zlokovic in 1933. World War II has been completed in years. Before designing the structure in a simple modernist approach (Figure 2.15), the architect visited Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands to examine modern pediatric clinics (Architectuul, 2017). In Belgrade II. Another modernist educational structure built before World War II was the Jagodina School (Figure 2.16).

In addition to modernist developments, the use of architectural elements of the Serbian Middle Ages was proposed in the capital, Belgrade, which will represent the country on international scenes (Djurić and Šuvaković, 2003).

There are examples in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia inspired by the European Art Deco of the 1920s (Figure 2.17, 2.18).
Modernist approaches, which began to show themselves in the Kingdom period, began to take their place on the international scene. In 1929, he designed the Serbian Croatian Slovenian pavilion by architect Dragiša Brašovan to be exhibited at the International Barcelona Exhibition. Inspired by historical cultures, this pavilion has attracted attention with its combination of Art-Deco style, irregular entrance floor plan and modern facades among the other pavilions in the exhibition (Slivnik, 2014) (Figure 2.20). Due to the emphasis on the vertical wooden beams on the facades of Adolf Loos’ Josephine Baker House was evaluated as similar to the effect (Zupančič, 2004) (Figure 2.20).
The Pavilion of Yugoslav Kingdom, designed by Dragiša Brašovan in 1931 for the Milan World Exhibition, is another example of modern architecture using forms extending towards Art Deco (Figure 2.21).

In 1937, in the 1937 World Exhibition in Paris, the architect Josip Siesel tried to combine painting, sculpture and architecture in the Pavilion of Yugoslavia, which he designed. Siesel combines the elements of classical architecture and modern architecture with the three elements: He tried to represent the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian kingdom (Slivnik, 2014) (Figure 2.22). Also, in the mosaics on the façade, three female figures wearing traditional dress were included (Blagojević, 2003).

Only in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade in the Serbian Croatian Slovenian Kingdom were internationally accepted cities that initiated modernism. Regions such as Macedonia, Bosnia, and Montenegro, which were less developed than other regions, did not contribute much to Yugoslav modernism (Milosevic, 2013). The pavilions mentioned above and designed for international exhibitions are representative of the architectural understanding of both the country and the country.

4. Investigation of Architectural Samples in the Socialist Yugoslavia after the Second World War

Throughout the ages, art and architecture were seen as ideological tools by power; the effects of power are also reflected in the building scale. The space could implicitly carry the signs of the ideologies of man, and was also used as a direct propaganda tool.

In socialist Yugoslavia, especially in the first years, important projects were implemented under the control of the state, with the possibilities of the state. For example, government officials from Belgrade to examine the project of the Gjakova Culture House have made small interventions in the project (Figure 3.1).

Architect Marko Mušić also tried to show the victory of life on death in Figured, which will express the ideology of the socialist regime in the concept of the Revolution House which he designed (Figure 3.2). For this purpose, instead of remembering the terrible suffering of war, it created an environment that will enable visitors to be excited about life by creating a social and expressionist environment. Rather than being a monumental structure, it is seen as a flexible environment that, like the utopia of a united people, leads to a formation where life and actions are more adapted and developed (Milosevic, 2009).

Janusevich commented on the chaotic mass of the House of Revolution and the fact that it never opened to use: In what stage of time, we only perceive the wall-set as architecture? Is it necessary to have a spatial value, to finish the building to have a soul? Every revolution "blue”? The same expressionist attitude is also observed in the Memorial House, which is designed to commemorate the establishment of the National Anti-Fascist Council in Kolasin, at the same time using the geometry devised by the roof shape of the traditional northern houses of Montenegro, at different angles. (Figure 3.3, 3.4). This approach of the architect is reflected in the form of architecture as traditional and
contemporary architectural codes (Vuckovic and Kujundzic, 2014).

Figure 3.1 Gjakova Culture House (Gjinolli and Kabashi 2015)

Figure 3.2 Revolution House (Labudovic, 2014)

Figure 3.3 Monumental House of Kolasin, (www.spomenikdatabase.org, 2016)

Figure 3.4 Monumental House of Kolasin, (Google Maps 2017)

The Boro & Ramiz Sports Complex in Prishtina (Boro Vukmirovich and Ramiz Sadiku, one of the Yugoslav heroes of the Second World War), is one of the important structures representing the regime's multi-ethnic, communal ideology (Fig. 3.5). the example is the Federal Government Presidential Palace in Belgrade (Figure 3.6). The six large halls in this H-shaped structure are designed to symbolize the six republics that form Socialist Yugoslavia. The structure is also considered to be the most monumental structure of the early socialist period (Simonovic, 2014)

Figure 3.5 ‘Boro Ramiz’ Sport Centre

Figure 3.6 Presidential Palace of Belgrad

One of the most important goals of the socialist state was attempts to modernize Yugoslavia. These initiatives have been instrumental in the acceleration of work in the architectural field, especially in the second half of the 20th century. In this period, activities such as the exhibition of painting, sculpture and architectural works of Le Corbusier in Belgrade took place in Belgrade in 1952, and artists and architects started to monitor the architectural developments closely by participating in both domestic and international activities. State authorities have approved the idea of establishing a competent institution to collect and study 20th-century Yugoslavian and Serbian art, and have initiated an appropriate building design work. However, the conclusion of this study did not take place in a short time. In the late 1950s, Miodrag B. Protić, who was the owner, painter, art critic and also the first director of the museum, initiated the 'Modern Gallery Modern design competition. Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović won the competition; In 1961, the construction of the museum was started to realize the winning design (Simonovic, 2014). The main volume of the building forms a dynamic form with a crystal shape of 6 cubes placed diagonally to each other.
The construction of public buildings and the recognition of the work of modernists by architects have played a role in the increasing of the examples of international style and brutalism in Yugoslavia. For example, in Vitić Skyscraper (Figure 3.8) designed by Ivan Vitić, in the Presidential Palace (Figure 3.9) completed by Mihajlo Janković, at the Kosovo Film Building designed by Sali Spahiu (Figure 3.10), Le Corbusier’s five principles and traces of structures (such as horizontal strip windows, simple facades, raised heights from the ground through the carriers). This structure, which was designed by architect Sali Spahiu in 1987, was only able to maintain its first function in just 3 years. Because in the process of the division of Yugoslavia, between 1990 and 1999, there was no film activity in the country and in 1999, after the end of the Kosovo War, KFOR (Nato Kosovo Forces) began to be used by its military forces (Gjinolli and Kabashi, 2015).

Apart from representing Brutalist architecture, it is noteworthy that in the National Library of Kosovo (the cube module consisting of 99 different volumes are separated from each other at different distances), the functionalist attitude of Modern Architecture is followed (Figure 3.11). The National Library of Kosovo also carries traces of Paul Rudolph’s Orange County Government Building. Because, as in the Orange County Government Building, the National Library of Kosovo has a mass created by combining different volumes. The effect of Paul Rudolph’s façade designs is seen in the Rilindja Printing House (Figure 3.12) designed by architect Georgi Konstantinovski and in the Pristina Institute of Albanology, designed by Miodrag Pechić (Figure 3.13).

The minimalist approach of Mies Van Der Rohe, which guided the modern architecture, has shown its effect in the design of the Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Revolution (Figure 3.14). The rectangular prism-shaped mass of the museum and the glass-framed glass facades can be considered as an indicator of this effect. Genex Tower, which is designed by Mihajlo Mitrović, has a mass form, a vertical service circulation and not a part of the structure. The design of this structure suggests that Erno Goldfinger was inspired by the Trellick Tower in London, an example of grossism (Figure 3.15).
On the other hand, there are also grossist examples produced without inspiration from any structure. In other words, the Triangle balconies of the Toblerone Apartment in Belgrade, designed by architect Rista Sekerinski, overlapped in each floor plan and were arranged to provide a consecutive console at the same level on all three floors. Although the plan of the 25 May Sports Centre Restaurant designed by Architect Ivan Antić consists of a single geometric form (triangle) and is built of gross concrete, its roof, consoles and single carrier are seen as a building example where the dynamism is provided by the fact that it is hanging on the air and hanging in the air. 3.17. The Vjeverica Kindergarten in Zagreb, designed by the architect Boris Magas, can be shown as an expressionist example with the mass created by repeating the different dimensions of the same geometric module (triangle) (Figure 3.18). In the structure, rather than the facades, the roofs of the units make it feel like they are the elements that characterize the structure. In fact, the curved and triangular roofs of the 5-unit building were designed in a similar manner to provide continuity in Figure 3.18. They were arranged in succession, extending the slopes in different directions and spreading over each other, giving a dynamic appearance to the structure.
RESULT

In Yugoslavia, the movement of modernism began during the period of Yugoslavia, founded after the independent South Slavic State. Many architects and artists who returned from European countries (Vienna, Prague and Berlin) at the end of the 1920s brought a new perspective to traditionalism. The modern approaches, which are accepted as new, have been particularly effective in Ljublana, Zagreb and Belgrade, the three largest cities of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. These modern approaches adopted before the Second World War continued to influence Tito after he founded the Socialist Yugoslavia regime. Indeed, Tito established a new regime by using the basic ideology of the Eastern Bloc countries (socialism), but it continued until the collapse of the Western-style modernist movements, which began in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, from the foundation of Socialist Yugoslavia. However, modernism, which began in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after World War I, was under the influence of Socialist Realism, which could be regarded as Stalin's anti-modernist art and culture understanding during the period of Stalin's alliance with Tito (1945-1948).

The term Socialist Realism, proposed for the first time in Moscow at the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress, advocating the integrity of art and revolution, also aimed at presenting the idealism of socialist ideology. For this purpose, it has been proposed to choose revolutionary heroes as themes in the works of art, the works that brought the revolutionary spirit to the forefront have received great support. In short, Socialist Yugoslavia II. It was under the influence of Soviet policy in the short period from the end of World War II to 1948; The main subjects of Socialist Realism were revolution, working class, soldier figures. The Batina Monument, erected on the instruction of Yugoslav leader Tito, in 1945, was considered the most important symbol of the short-term co-operation between Stalin and Tito, the closer rapprochement of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union, and a visual expression of the longevity of Stalin's commitment and alliance. The posters and panels in which communist iconography and political propaganda in public spaces were exhibited were also other means of demonstrating the commitment of Socialist Yugoslavia to Stalin. Also in this period, Socialist Realism's art understanding was historicist and folkloric tendencies; modernism was seen as foreign to Socialist Realism. These tendencies are also under the influence of the Soviet Union. The main elements of Socialist Realism which he tried to implement in Yugoslavia after World War II. However, this architectural approach, which Socialist Realism has foreseen, was not welcomed by many Yugoslav architects. The fact that most of the Yugoslav architects were opposed to the Socialist Realism phenomenon (the Sovietist and folkloric Soviet aesthetics) that the Soviet Union was trying to dictate could be regarded as an indication that they adopted the teachings of modern architecture after World War I.

It was supported by the Soviet Union that Yugoslavia had a unified identity instead of a new identity, which symbolized its commitment to Stalin. However, in 1948 Yugoslavia completely broke away from Stalin's ideology, arguing that he was dissatisfied with the centralized system under Stalin, although he was in the same political regime as the Soviet Union. Not accepting Stalin's political superiority over the countries of Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia, Tito created his own socialist rule, independent of the Western and Eastern blocs, and maintained this administration under the name Titoism. Tito placed his name on three basic principles: Titoism, brotherhood and unity under the single-party rule, and independence in foreign policy to achieve ethnic harmony. These changes in politics and economy have also been the turning point of Yugoslavian art and architecture.

In 1948, the architectural profession was also restructured towards a freer system than the centralized system of Yugoslavia under the influence of Stalin. The state has left architects to control the architectural profession and responsibility for the design process. After 1948, Socialist Realism began to give its place to the international style, which had previously been influenced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The new policy introduced in the country also undertook the mission of defining the Socialist Yugoslavia community. In this mission, the connection between Yugoslavian identity and modern
architecture was tried. Because in the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, despite the efforts of the Karacorcevic Dynasty, modernism was not developed outside the major cities of Yugoslavia; In fact, cities have turned into ruins due to war. Tito after World War II, he also assumed the task of industrializing and modernizing the country and accelerated the construction of public buildings such as public housing, factories, institutes, hospitals and schools. In addition, modernism showed its influence in three major cities, such as Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, during the kingdom, but in all cities in the Socialist Yugoslavia. As a consequence of this, Tito's idea of equality, fraternity and unity in the governance ideology and local and regional balance can be put forward.

After the division of Tito-Stalin and related modern architecture, the architectural profession became more open to the west. Exhibitions that promote the works of modernists will be exhibited in the capitals of the republics; For the architects and students, educational trips to Western European countries started.

From the 1950s on, art and architecture were the main tools for Tito's break with Russia. In addition to the public buildings that exhibit International Style features with their cubic forms, whitewashed facades, simple and simple views, the buildings inspired by the works of Le Corbusier, the grossest and expressionist structures, the large glass-faced office buildings were the buildings representing Yugoslavia in the post-war European architectural arena.

As a result, modernism in Yugoslavia after the First World War (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and II. After World War II (the Socialist Federal Republic under the reign of Tito); however, it can be said that more villas and apartments were built in the beginning, especially in the field of architecture- by adopting the International Style from the modern architectural approaches. On the other hand, the modern architecture, which was stopped by the Soviet influence, was again supported in the period of Tito; It has been observed that individual apartment buildings have been replaced by apartment blocks and the construction of public buildings has been focused on and other modern architectural approaches such as grossalism and expressionism have begun to be adopted.

In addition, this transformation between two periods in Yugoslavia is not only in the socio-political area but also in industry, education, socio-cultural, socio-economic etc. it can be asserted to be experienced in many areas. As a matter of fact, in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, the formation of working-class unity and self-management in order to represent a kind of freedom can be accepted as an indicator of this situation.

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