

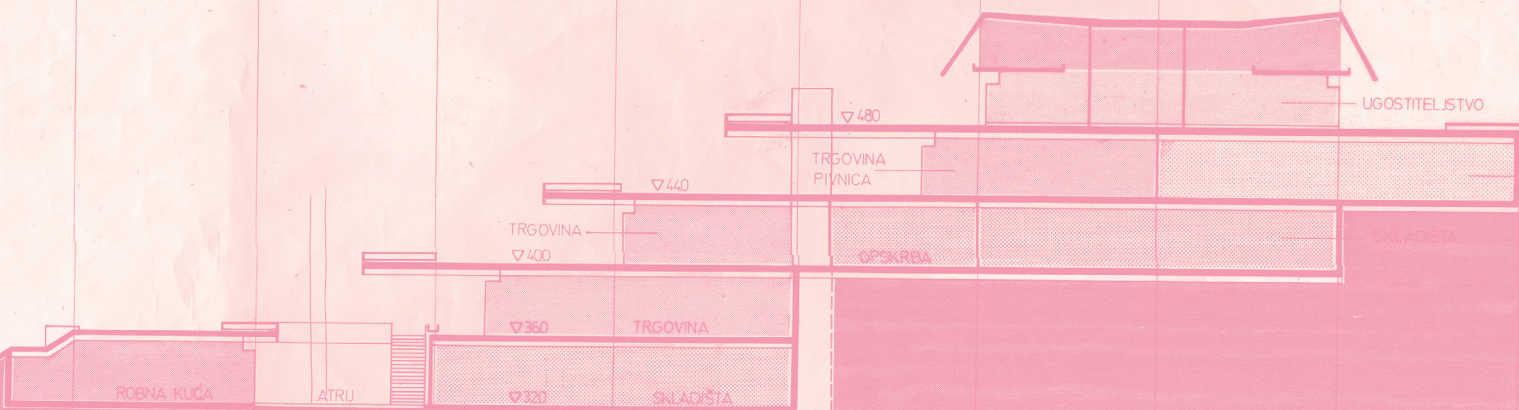
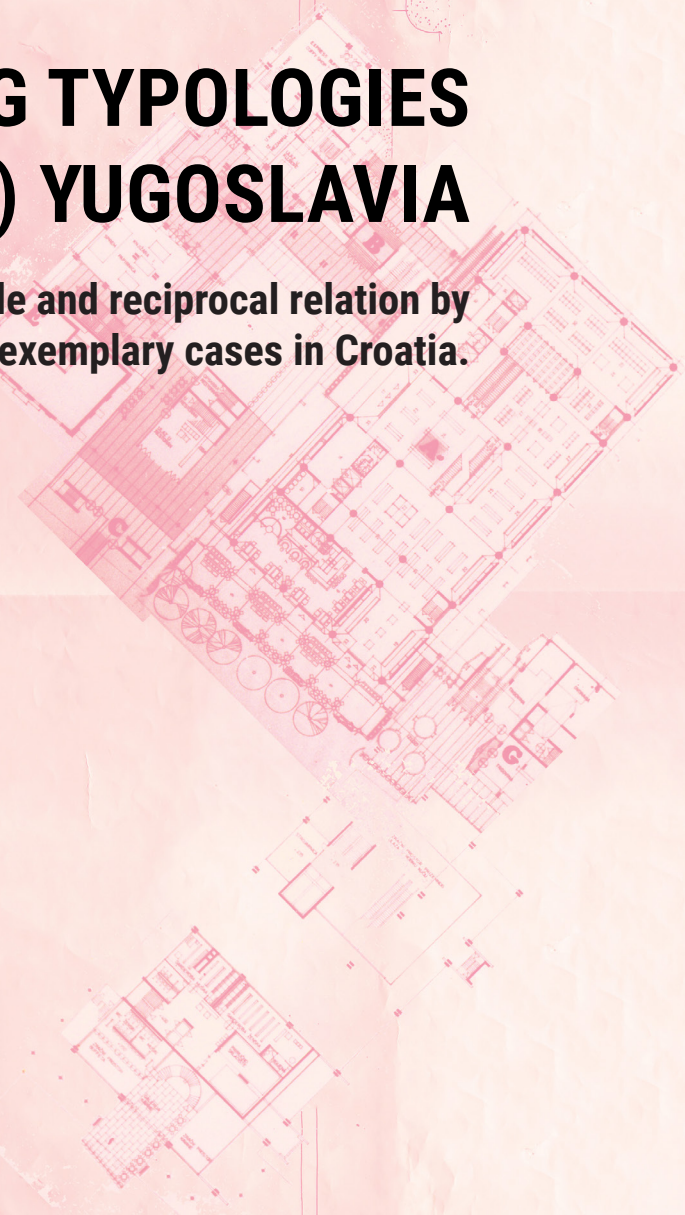
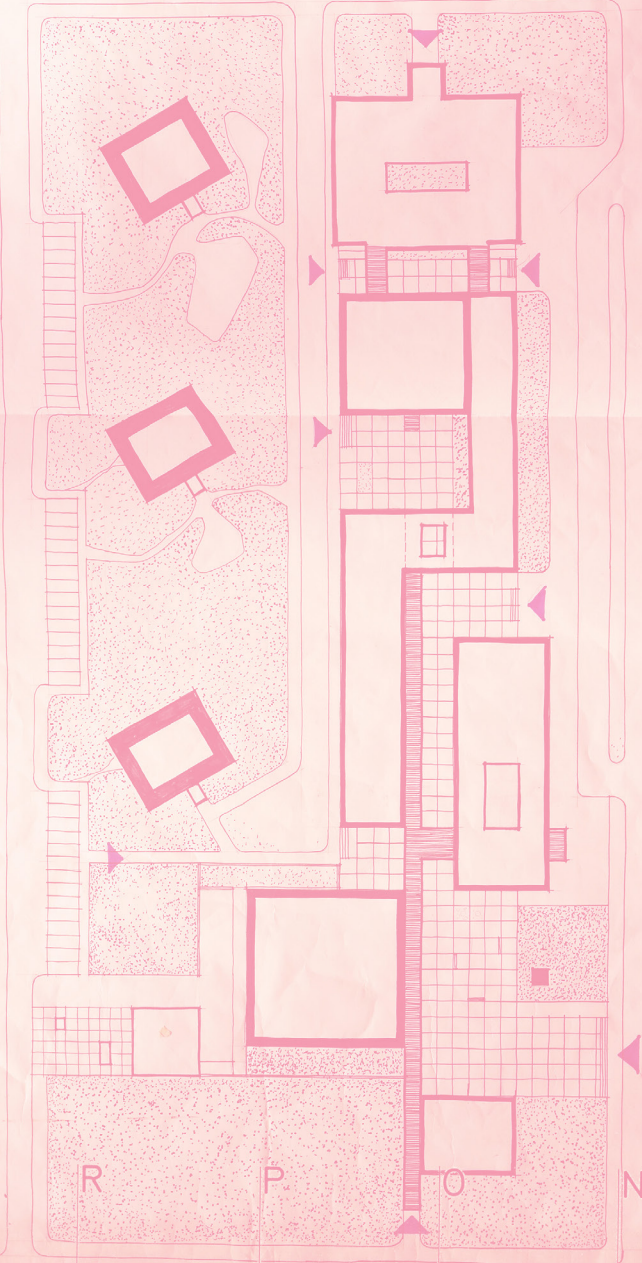
OPSKRBNI
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TRNSKO



SHOPPING TYPOLOGIES (EX-) YUGOSLAVIA

Their role and reciprocal relation by
exemplary cases in Croatia.

Graduation thesis by:
CHRISTIAN MAIJSTRÉ



IN ORDER TO FEEL ADEQUATE YOU CANNOT STOP CONSUMING

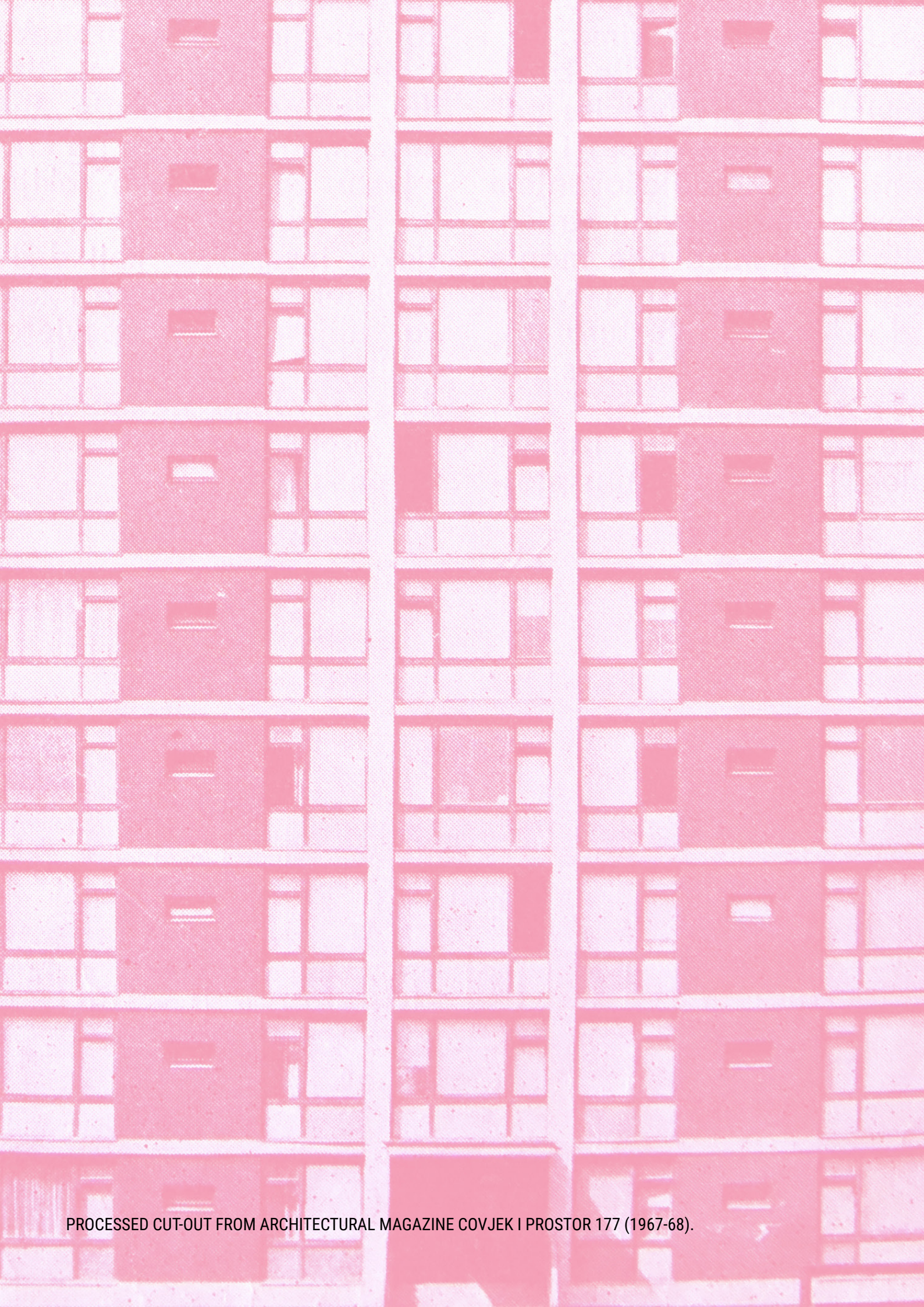
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ARCHIVAL RESEARCH IN THE MUSEUM OF ARCHITECTURE, ZAGREB (PERSONAL MATERIAL)

INTRODUCTION

The interest for shopping started in the first year of my first real architecture-related job as an assistant at the Faculty of Architecture in Delft. During a conference on shopping centers I was re-introduced to a well-known figure in my environment. Growing up in and around Rotterdam, shopping centers were inevitable. It is this shopping environment that creates a certain tension to which my interest is repeatedly gravitating: the space of public participation versus a private ownership, or the public activity within shopping centers. This public activity within is associated with a certain democratic nature, which is exactly contested by the location in which it takes place.¹ The synthetic successor of previous city center entities (the agora, the market place, the town square) and its consumerist theme, results in a contestation of its succession. The new 'public' spaces such as shopping centers but also airports and stations, are being governed by an entity different from the public. They are highly controlled spaces, today, by constant video monitoring and surveillance.² This can be read as a both direct surveillance (e.g. CCTV), but also in a larger sense of controlling society, much like is described by the Roman Poet Juvenal's bread and circuses.³ The leading article introducing me to this in a whole new perspective was Matijevic' and Grgic' research presented at the previously mentioned conference.⁴ It is exactly the idea of consumerism within socialism that interested me, or to put differently, what happens when the act of accumulating objects takes place in an environment that hold the ideal of eliminating the object? It is with this that my question arises on what roles these department stores and shopping centers have within the city. What intentions towards the city and society were behind their implementation? It will become clear in this thesis when the typologies were introduced acting as a new social condenser of a new modern urban life. Together with this goes the architectural expression, that had clear connections to the political ideal of Yugoslav Croatia as well as its economic conditions. These factors developed over time, and so did the

1 Malcolm Voyce, "Shopping Malls in Australia: the end of public space and the rise of 'Consumerist Citizens,'" *Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 269-286.

2 Tom Avermaete, Klaske Havik, and Hans Teerds, *Architectural Positions: Architecture, Modernity and the Public Sphere* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2009).

3 Juvenal's play in his Satires is a critique of Roman politicians using free or cheap wheat and costly circuses as a means to obtain power, by 'buying' the votes of the poor. Juvenal, *The Satires*, trans. Niall Rudd (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). lines 10:77-81.

4 Sanja Matijevic Barcot and Ana Grgic, "Shopping as a Part of Political Agenda, Emergence and Development of Shopping Center Typology in Socialist Croatia (1960-1980)," in *The Shopping Center: 1943-2013 the Rise and Demise of a Ubiquitous Collective Architecture*, ed. Janina Gosseye, and Tom Avermaete (Delft, 2015).

department stores and shopping centers. Learning from the typologies, can this thesis lead to figures, elements and ideas to be used in developing interventions aiming at a new expression of collectivity in a highly privatized environment?

To understand and make a clear assessment which of these elements/figures/ideas can prove to be valuable to our current situation, a clear set of themes need to be mentioned. By defining the themes, it becomes clear why and how the shopping typologies were utilized during the socialist Yugoslav period. Key to this is the question how the designs dealt with the creation of centrality, the continuation of the public and the composition of program. One of the reasons to investigate just this is can be found in the origins of the shopping center. In his publication *Shopping Towns USA*, Victor Gruen, one of the pioneers and perhaps originators of the shopping center, declares a necessity of shopping centers to also house civic program.⁵ This indicates the original goal of the shopping center and perhaps typologies as are investigated in this research. The thesis shows all cases work with a certain interpretation of programmatic composition, and can in this way tell us more about their role and how this was expressed. If we understand the shopping typologies to have a key position in the economic and daily life of Socialist Yugoslavia, its role in the city as an object of conglomeration, indicates it functioned in some way resulting in the creation of centrality in the city/neighborhood. This is why the notion of centrality is key to understand its role. Apart from that, the shopping typologies are engaging with the public space. Although department stores and shopping centers can be seen as private entities, the specific context of these typologies (in Socialist Yugoslav Croatia) changes this relationship as they operated as self-managed entities, entering the realm of the commons: an alternative framework to engage with the public and private.⁶ As shopping typologies were the physical aspect of this special flavor of socialism, their public relevance needs to be inspected. To create a background for the case-study investigation, chapter one will introduce the reader to various aspects of the historical background and architectural discourse of Socialist Yugoslav Croatia.

This thesis can surely be situated within a certain academic context. The work of Maroje Mrduljas and Vladimir Kulić⁷ look firmly into the modern project during the Yugoslav period that essentially attempts to neutralize the East-West dichotomy, offering the position of Yugoslavia as a third option, written in a period well away from the Yugoslav period in order to offer a critical, unbiased view on the matter. Researchers Sanja Matijević Barcot and Ana Grgić discuss the actual shopping center during the Yugoslav period, and globally provide examples arguing how consumerism was used as a tool by the regime to stay in power.⁸ This thesis however, attempts to intersect the development of department stores and shopping centers with the development of the modern project, by a more precise study of three projects that are spread, both temporally as well as physically, across the period and Croatia, each distinct from one another and therefore useful in an attempt to understand the role of these case-studies and their expression in order to fulfill that role. The three projects also happen to coincide with three waves of

5 Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns, USA* (New York: Reinhold; Chapman & Hall, 1960).

6 The topic of the commons in relation to architecture and the public space has been increasingly discussed over the past years, the topic will be further discussed in chapter 1 as Tom Avermaete describes workings that echo the self-managed organizational structures of Yugoslavia.

7 Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architects' Association, 2012). and Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljas, and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architecture Of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2012).

8 Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete, *The Shopping Center: 1943-2013 the Rise and Demise of a Ubiquitous Collective Architecture* (Delft, 2015)

modernization as defined by Mrduljas and Kulić.⁹ Furthermore, it is interesting to investigate how to develop interventions aiming at a new expression of collectivity in the current day privatized environment.

In order to conduct research on these shopping typologies, a set of methods has been used to unveil the answers sought after. To understand the role of shopping in Ex-Yugoslav Croatia, not only the (popular) discourse needs to be investigated but also the urban and architectural interventions, as well as the as-found through current day photography. As preparation for the writer to understand in what context these typologies were developed, notes, architecture and events were mapped in a timeline. By 'mapping' notes from processed literature and archival material, connections can be made between political economic decisions and events, and urban developments.

In the initial phase of the research, direct contact with professors and researchers in Zagreb proved to be a vital start providing many leads. E-mail conversations with before mentioned people have proven to be an excellent source of direction for literary research. Personal meetings with some of these people have offered finer explanations of found implications that were unclear investigating older texts that may have been a bit too one-sided.¹⁰

As with any form of communication, language is an important part. Realizing the differences between myself and others (tutors, researchers, peers), it was important to create a personal lexicon to support the arguments made in the thesis. The personal lexicon is meant to create a clear understanding of the themes and topics discussed. Not only this helped me communicating with others, it also aided me processing my own notes and revisions. Originally, I attempted to create a Croatian lexicon, which was meant as a toolbox to use during research involving literature in the Serbo-Croatian language. I don't speak the language, so this would have helped with interpreting drawings and texts. After some work, this was eventually unnecessary and any words that end up being of importance to explain ended up in the 'normal' lexicon.

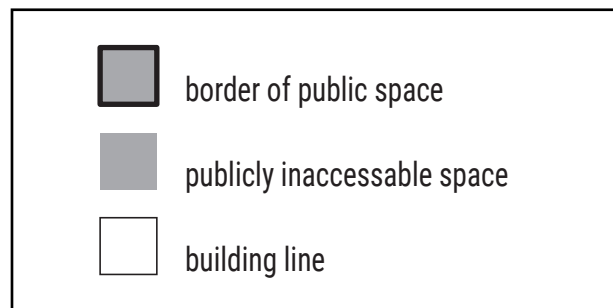
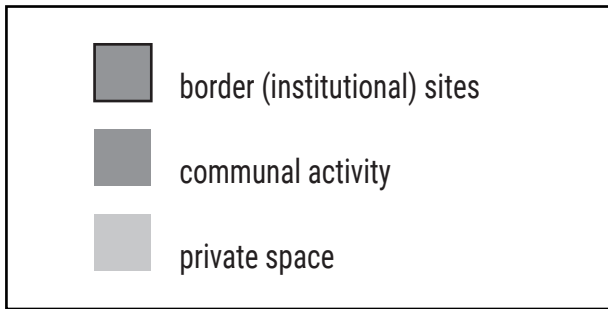
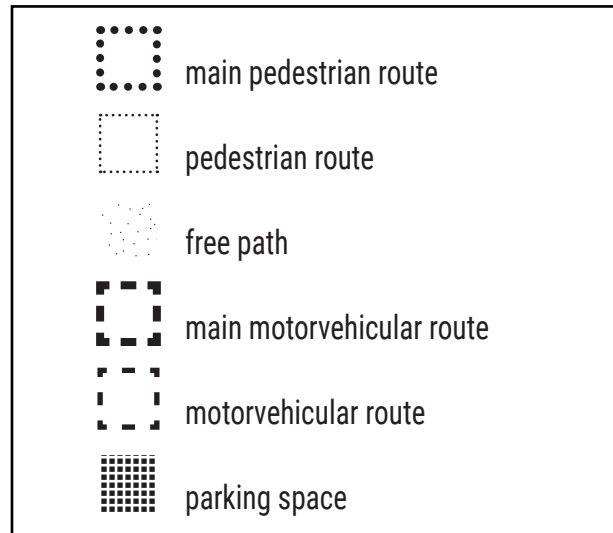
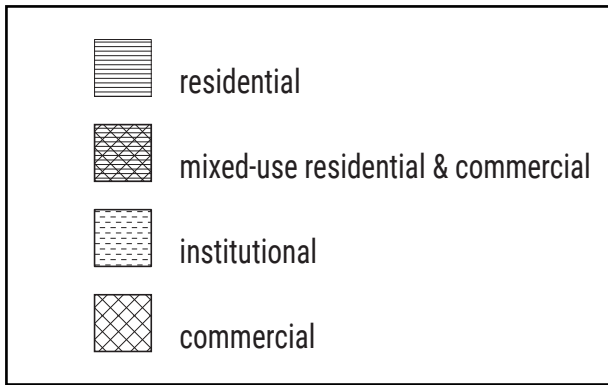
To keep track of the texts and literature the bibliography is essential. However, adding some notes to the books elevates it to an excellent source of information, also for future reference. The annotated bibliography has served as a tool to briefly and concisely keep overview of the studied literature. Some of the material was not available in English, so it provided a good place to keep any notes obtained via Google Translate or others (professors, acquaintances and friends).

Another method used to understand the roles of the various shopping typologies is through (architectural) project analysis. This is twofold: on the one side is the architectural expression of the mentioned projects. Here, through plans and sections, we see how spaces are placed together, to see how the ideas of the self-service/self-managing socialist society engaged in their shopping lives. On the other side is the urban scale of the projects, as to see how they are situated in their environment. The method used to analyze the selected projects is borrowed from Victor Caliandro's method in the book 'on Streets' by Stanford Anderson.¹¹ The method used consists of four lenses that by themselves are less telling but juxtaposed or even superimposed help paint a picture on the orientation of various buildings streets,

9 Mrduljaš and Kulić, *Unfinished Modernisations*.

10 Although the regime loosened its grip on censorship gradually over time, it is important to remember this still may have had influence on any reflection on society at the time and therefore contemporary researches may offer a critical reflection on (translated) writings of the time.

11 Victor Caliandro, "Street Form And Use: A Survey Of Principal American Street Environments," in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978), 151-186.



From top (clockwise): context land-use map, circulation map, public-private map, activity setting map.

as well as the social spaces and interactions. Interestingly, in the book the legend of the maps is not revealed formally until the end of the chapter: illustrating the power of this specific method of analysis. The four lenses as they are presented above are: context-land use, circulation, activity setting and public private use boundary. Context-land use divides the plot in residential, commercial, institutional and residential/commercial mixes; and, as was attested in the analysis, shows clearly the urban context of the projects. Circulation also informs the way in which these parts of the city are used in terms of mobility: where do pedestrians conglomerate: and what are the (main) routes to get there. The activity setting divides individual activity, group activity and private activity. With the idea of community in mind, this lens might prove insightful as to how designs functions in the selected projects. Finally, the public private use boundary illustrates exactly that what it says it does, most of all the orientation of the buildings and objects can be read from this. In this thesis one important change is made: after the first-mentioned lens, no zoom-in is made in any case. This makes the maps certainly more extensive, but also contains more information.

Photography as methodology means to me a thoughtful taking of pictures: not bluntly collecting as much information, but a simultaneous analysis of what is found, seen and left off-screen. Today's cameras can take up to thousands of photos on one card, be used for hours. This all is easily extended by extra SD-cards the size of stamps or the quickly charged pocket sized batteries. A 'danger' of this possibility of endless photographing (a stop-motion movie: Photo A differs only slightly from photo B, which differs slightly from photo C, and so on), is that no picture ever is interesting. In the previous century, pre-digital era, the 35mm photographic film was invented and still lives to this day. It is the most common film but only allows 36 photos on a roll. This forces the photographer to carefully select what needs to be grasped at that specific moment and the conscious action in a way embeds a story behind it in the memory of the photographer. The photo of the as found here is truly a capture of a single moment to be taken with utmost care and thought. The moment this is done, real information can be subtracted from it: be it

from the activated memory of the photographer, or what is indeed seen on the photo. To use the digital camera (as well as the analogue film camera) with precision and caution will result in fewer photos with much more information than with an endless sequence of carelessly taken photographs. It therefore becomes a vital method to support this thesis, keeping in mind the language barrier and limited access to historical texts and figures.

The thesis starts with an introductory chapter that attempts to create a context of the shopping typologies. The initial topic will start with the trigger of the research: the consolidation of consumerism and socialism. The specific political and economic situation of the country introduced another aspect which has much to do with the eventual development of the discussed shopping typologies. The system of governance of self-management shows insights on the workings behind, in and around the shopping typologies. This can then be related to the contemporary field of study of the commons. The question of how the shopping typologies were then expressed can be explained by describing the architectural discourse of the time and place, drawing its responses to the social political context and international discourse. This will also illustrate the maturity of the (Zagreb) discourse. To understand how it all began, this chapter ends with the Zagreb Fair, where the first shopping typologies emerged, followed by a brief reflection of the economic development of Yugoslavia, as an introduction into the following chapters.

The next three chapters follow roughly three phases, coinciding with about a decade of the 60s, 70s and 80s. This distinction is also mentioned in *Unfinished Modernisations*¹² and as the thesis illustrates, can be used as an underlying structure for uncovering various distinct typologies of shopping. These chapters start with a brief introduction to the city in which the typology is found, followed by a descriptive introduction of the architectural object used to explain the typology. This is supported with urban plan analysis which is then followed by the corresponding pictures that followed from the photographic research. After this the project is then analyzed and compared to comparable projects, each supported by maps and (archival) photos, and the available architectural drawings. The second chapter describes the first typology, the main project of this chapter is the Nama in Trnsko, which is compared to various projects in and around the city of Zagreb. Chapter 3 involves the second phase, roughly the 70's, and describes the Robna Kuca¹³ RI in Rijeka. Reflecting the workings of this department store to the previously discussed typology, as well as various other, large multi-storied department stores. This is then followed by the final phase, roughly the 80's, that focuses on the Koteks and Gripe, shopping and sports center, which introduces a whole new program and splits up into an ensemble. To discuss and make a proper comparison, Skenderija in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina is an important project to discuss. However, today many of the department stores discussed in the previous chapters now operate as a mini-mall, having internally split up into various shops: making it interesting to compare and reflect these too retrospectively.

The closing chapter concludes the study and reflects on the shared characteristics as well as differences, including a comparison of the shared elements by means of photo-details. Through this, three main typologies are described in their role and expression in the socialist context of Socialist Yugoslav Croatia.

12 Mrduljaš and Kulić, *Unfinished Modernisations*.

13 Robna Kuca roughly translates to Department store (lit: house of goods)



PROCESSED CUT-OUT FROM ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE COVJEK I PROSTOR 31 (1955).

CHAPTER 1: CONSTRUCTING A CONTEXT

As mentioned in the introduction this chapter attempts to create a context of the shopping typologies. The condition of shopping typologies in a socialist country is at first glance contradictory, which can be viewed as the trigger that set off this investigation.¹ To understand their role in the city, and how this was expressed architecturally, first the context needs to be described in order to understand this. The chapter will first attempt to describe a concise situation of how consumerism and socialism were consolidated, revealing the specificity of the country's political and economic situation. From this, the theme of self-management emerges, which deserves a brief description, mostly because this system of governance might show notes to keep in mind on the workings behind, in and around the shopping typologies. The systems alternative way of dealing with the public and private points towards the usage of the alternative lens of the commons. To indicate the maturity of the architectural discourse in Yugoslav Croatia and with it the architectural importance, this chapter then describes the architectural discourse responding to the social political context, while simultaneously staying informed of the international discourse as was mentioned in the previous chapter.

The idea of consumerism in socialist society seems contradictory. Consumerism can be understood as the (positive) emphasis of society on the obtaining of goods. Economically speaking, with consumerism progressively greater consumption of goods is economically beneficial. Socialism is based a social egalitarianism, relating to a certain essentialism when it comes to needs. The prioritization of essential needs over extras or profit explains the socialist economy as being morally superior, speaking from the socialist perspective. In communist regimes, the essential needs are dictated by the government,² as Matijevic and Grgic argue. Freedom of shopping certainly came with contentment of the people, but its emphasis on the individual seems contradictory with the Marxist school of thought.

Due to the Tito-Stalin Split in 1948, Yugoslavia was in need of new allies. For a brief moment, communism in Yugoslavia became very orthodox, until at least 1950. This as a reaction to the accusations of nationalism or revisionism.³ Close readings were made of Marx, and a new solution was being sought

1 This was however, incorrect as will be explained in the first half of this chapter.

2 Sanja Matijevic Barcot and Ana Grgic, "Shopping as a Part of Political Agenda, Emergence and Development of Shopping Center Typology in Socialist Croatia (1960-1980)," in *The Shopping Center: 1943-2013 the Rise and Demise of a Ubiquitous Collective Architecture*, ed. Janina Gosseye, and Tom Avermaete (Delft, 2015).

3 Karin Šerman, "The New Reality and the phenomenon of Abstraction: on some aspects of Croatian Architec-

after. It came to being that the ideas of socialism, regarding: working class emancipation, unalienated work, and withering away of the state resulting in an egalitarian society, were re-formulated in Yugoslavia out of necessity to differentiate between capitalism and state socialism.⁴ The idea that a state-dictate defines the basic needs of the masses, clashes with the idea of liberty, as it is state controlled. Equality is then sought in economic equality,⁵ and as such socialism was explained as follows:

*“The socialist society was, in fact, a consumerist society by definition, since it was supposed to satisfy the basic needs of the masses and ensure that they would enjoy the legacy of material and cultural civilization to an ever-greater degree. (...) Therefore, an increase in consumption in order to cater for the newly created cultural needs was among the essential and urgent goals of socialist society in Yugoslavia, especially since the standard of living was still rather low, and most members of society were only just getting into modern civilization and were able to enjoy its legacy for the first time...”*⁶

It needs to be noted that this was originally written in 1970 in Zagreb, and as such could as well be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile socialism and consumerism: a way to explain and absolve or excuse themselves for their move away from state-communism. Whatever the case: it does give an explanation that could justify the implementation of consumerism, flirting clearly with the west and their (financial) investments. Yugoslavia, as Patterson⁷ argues, became a land where the symbolic, cultural value of consumer goods was a primary factor in individual and group identity of (Western) modernity.

This Yugoslav flavor of socialism did not merely revolved around consumerism. In 1950, just after the Stalin-Tito split, self-management was introduced to the country. This meant that not the state was dictating society (as was the case in the Soviet bloc), but the people themselves were organizing society.⁸ This followed from earlier experiences from the anti-fascist groups as well as ideas from Marx involving socialism and anarchism.⁹ As mentioned above, this system was intended to ‘wither away’ the state. This mode of operation worked both in economic as well as political life on nearly all levels of society. This meant that both the architectural firms as well as the construction companies, as well as the buildings they built all were organized by the people working there. Arguably, this prevented all to much standardization of typologies, as each architect (or firm) negotiated again the terms of design. In order to reach the egalitarian society envisioned, modernization of housing and the house-life was of

ture in the 1950s and 1960s,” *A&U: Journal of architectural and town-planning theory* XLI, no. 3-4 (2007): 135-145.

4 Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architects’ Association, 2012).

5 Dejan Jovic, “Yugoslavia as Project and Experiment,” in *Unfinished Modernisations*, ed. Maroje Mrduljas and Vladimir Kulic (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architects’ Association, 2012).

6 Lana Lvrencic and Antun Sevsek, “Zagreb Fair,” in *Unfinished Modernisations*, ed. Maroje Mrduljas and Vladimir Kulic (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architects’ Association, 2012).

7 Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2011)

8 of course to some extent. Some aspects of the organizing force of the government is described in the book ‘Holidays after The Fall.’ Michael Zinganel, Elke Beyer and Anke Hagemann, *Holidays after The Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2013).

9 Maroje Mrduljaš, “Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism,” in *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, eds. Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018). note: the title of the article might differ in the actual publication.

utmost importance: this was then of course materialized by the architect. Experiment, especially during times of economic success (in the 70s) was a great deal possible due to this.¹⁰ The common effort and organization towards a modern society without too much interference of the state, or the organizational structures and negotiations between different actors done mostly outside of the jurisdiction of the state, correspond with the theme of the commons. Tom Avermaete roughly approaches the theme from three angles: *res communis*, *lex communis* and *praxis communis*, referring to common pool resources, common code and the common social practices.¹¹ As he argues these angles are strongly intertwined,¹² which follows from earlier comments on the commons, stating common pool resources become a commons only after a commonly lead organization behind it.¹³ The shared interest towards an urban modern society in Yugoslavia reached through a common effort and organization, is exactly why Avermaete's investigations and definitions of the theme of the commons is relevant. Mrduljaš mentions this effort focused mostly (architecturally speaking) on housing and education,¹⁴ however the shopping center, and perhaps shopping as public activity,¹⁵ is inherently connected to the modern age. Keeping the communal nature of the Yugoslav society in mind, one could conclude that shopping (or the idea of shopping) was a common activity here, too.

To understand the development of shopping typologies, both its role as well as its expression to fit that role, it is important to understand the architectural status quo at the start of the (socialist) Yugoslav period and its development through the 20th century. The first part of this chapter on the reconciliation of socialism and consumerism is chronologically preceded by the establishment of functionalist modernism, as it was already waiting for its implementation in service of socialism before that reconciliation, a style well established in which the architectural design of NAMA Trnsko can be explained, as well as the urban design. This in turn addresses the expression as well as the role of the department-store in the city. The architectural style of Koteks at the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s strongly hints at post-modernism. The development of the architectural discourse in Croatia, or Yugoslavia as a whole, illustrates a direct parallel to the international discourse.¹⁶

Functionalist modernism can be seen as an aim to abstraction, seeing the building as an operational machine, aspiring to a theoretically correct solution while (perhaps most importantly for the argument of this text/ early Yugoslav Croatian architects) denying the existence of a priori forms.¹⁷ Independently from Croatia, the architects pursuing functionalist architecture abroad attempted to implement their

10 Mrduljaš, "Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism"

11 One of the first events in which he discusses these specific angles were during a lecture series, although the research began a certain two years prior to that. Tom Avermaete, "CONSTRUCTING THE COMMONS | ANOTHER APPROACH TO ARCHITECTURE AND THE CITY", (Lecture series, Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna, 2017). and the earlier: Tom Avermaete et al., in *Constructing The Commons*, (Conference, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment TU Delft, Delft, 2015).

12 Tom Avermaete, "Constructing the Commons: Towards Another Architectural Theory of the City?" (Unpublished article, 2018). note: the article is expected to be published in 2018 in the magazine ARCH+.

13 Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

14 Mrduljaš, "Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism"

15 Shopping as an activity was only possible after mass production (thus industrialization) lead to fixed pricing, the relation between the two is described perfectly by Richard Sennet. Richard Sennet, *The Fall of Public man* (New York: Knopf, 1977).

16 A parallel which is often, regrettably, undiscussed.

17 Umberto Barbieri and Leen van Duin, *A Hundred Years Of Dutch Architecture: 1901-2000 Trends, Highlights* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2003).

socialist values in their building: aiming them to be accessible to all, describing the idea of the machine building to the automobile: by standardization and division of work (aspiring to) making it accessible to all.¹⁸

The architectural discourse (particularly regarding functionalist modernism) of Yugoslavia had already begun decades prior to the formation of the socialist state. During the interbellum, Drago Ibler founded a group called Zemlja (the Earth) that focused on collectivity. They preceded the group EXAT '51 (which was established in 1951), who further pursued a functionalist architecture. So, the strong functionalist modern architectural scene formed in the interbellum in Zagreb, following from experiences from Croatian architects with Loos, le Corbusier, Behrens and others combined with a cultural affinity for *Neue Sachlichkeit* and of course the scarcity of materials.¹⁹ These factors lead to the seemingly obvious choice for the majority of leading Croatian (mostly Zagreb) architects of Functionalism as 'the socialist architecture.' In his review of the NAMA department store in Trnsko, the building that will be well investigated in the following chapter, Boris Magas mentions the 'highly valued' Zagreb architecture whilst referring to modernist projects such as the Zagreb airport and various hotels.²⁰ Croatian (functionalist) modernism kept developing under criticism of its lack of humanity and feeling, and added layers that had to do with culture, aesthetics, politics, morphology, history and even psychology, and resulted in a 'humane functionalism.'²¹

The predominant modernist style was met with a certain political opposition, especially in the first decades after the war. To understand this a brief explanation of Socialist realism and its origin is necessary. The often considered 'political style,' Socialist realism is understood as a style developed since the October Revolution in predominantly communist countries, the most important being the USSR.²² Even before the Revolution, Russian Futurists were contemplating the expression of leftist art, which they figured should break from the past through abstraction, much was the argument in favor of functionalist modernism in Croatia. After the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin aimed to reconcile a past, present and future by means of a 'monumental propaganda,' honoring those who were key-characters during the revolution and civil war,²³ resulting in a countrywide effort to express artistically the 'new world' of communism. In a way, it can be said that it was always destined to be inherently connected to politics. In '34 it was defined in the Soviet Union as an assertion of life itself, which in turn was defined as the fundamental project of the world's transformation by the autonomous will of man working towards the healthy, happy, united family,²⁴ separated from anything that would question it all within the collaborative idea of reconstructing the world.²⁵ It was at the same time its requirements were stipulated, as it needed to be a realistic and typical representation in support of the State and Party, accessible to the

18 Barbieri and van Duin, *A Hundred Years of Dutch Architecture*.

19 Šerman, *The New Reality and the phenomenon of Abstraction*.

20 Boris Magas, "Robna kuća 'Na-ma' Trnsko" [trans. Antonia Dajak] *Arhitektura* Vol. XXI, no.93-94, (1967): 36-42.

21 Šerman, *The New Reality and the phenomenon of Abstraction*.

22 Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko, *Socialist Realism without Shores* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1997)

23 Mikhail Guerman, *Art of the October Revolution* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979)

24 Maxim Gorky, "Soviet Literature", transcribed by Jose Braz (Speech, "Soviet Writers' Congress 1934, 1934).

25 Boris Groys, "A Style and a Half: Socialist Realism between Modernism and Post-modernism," in *Socialist Realism without Shores*, eds. Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1997).

Proletariat.²⁶

To introduce the typologies' emergence in Socialist Yugoslavia, it is paramount to look at Zagreb. Functionalist modernism had a strong base in Zagreb, which was one of the main universities at the beginning of the socialist period in Yugoslavia, and this style was generally contested by more orthodox critics promoting Socialist realism, which preferred a certain historicism over abstraction as was described in the previous paragraphs. The Koteks shopping center, as well as the Robna Kuća RI in Rijeka, hints at a postmodern influence, and it is as such that the development of post-modernism (with its historicism and regionalism) in the country needs to be discussed. A first step towards that can perhaps be seen in the ongoing struggle between functionalist modernism and socialist realism. The opposition between the two can be explained differently as Boris Groys describes a parallel with post-modernism: if socialist realism is understood as its contextual work with form, rather than an analysis of its formal aesthetic, the parallel with post-modernism becomes apparent according to him, as he understands post-modernism as 'the appropriation of ready-made cultural forms deployed in contexts at odds with their normal functioning.'²⁷ Understanding modernism as an aim to autonomy by abstraction; or the denial of historical reference, the opposition of socialist realism against modernism also becomes apparent. Socialist realism was inherently connected to the communist ideology, which explains how this abstraction, or rejection of historical reference, was interpreted as a rejection of the masses, from the perspective of the opposition. Theorists of modernism critiqued socialist modernism for its dependence on politics, whereas soviet theorists would dismiss modernism for serving the market.²⁸ The critique of Seissel in '48 to Socialist Realism, his argument in favor of modernism, was that modernism was deemed rational and secular, while monumentality (of Socialist Realism) should belong to the past.²⁹

One way of explaining post-modernism is to see it not as a singular reasoned theory, but one that reflects and draws on elements of previous theories.³⁰ It does not strive for a novel interpretation of the world, but rather seeks traces of existing architecture in its design: drawing on direct visual references rather than abstraction.³¹ As such, post-modernism can be explained in terms of opposition of modernism. Where functionalist modernism can be explained as a striving towards a (near) perfectly proportioned world, towards a homogeneous world, in fact a Utopian idea; post-modernism aspires towards a heterogeneous world, the heterotopia, embracing the irrational and deconstructing the modernist attempts of explaining the world as harmonious into heterogeneous elements.³² Differently said it is 'the appropriation of ready-made cultural forms deployed in contexts at odds with their normal functioning.'³³ Understanding modernism as an aim to autonomy by abstraction; or the denial of historical reference, post-modernism does the opposite and embraces historical reference. In its critique of modernism's search for autonomy, it uses the masses to illustrate the impossibility of objective art and claims it is subjective by deconstructing it. As Karin Šerman argues, the functionalist (humane) modernism practiced (most strongly in Zagreb) had always included a sensitivity for the region, and as such always included

26 Gorky, "Soviet Literature."

27 Groys, "A Style and a Half."

28 Ibidem.

29 Šerman, *The New Reality and the phenomenon of Abstraction*.

30 Karin Šerman, "Boris Magaš and the Emergence of Postmodernist Themes in the Croatian Modernist Tradition," in *Re-Framing Identities Architecture's Turn to History, 1970-1990*, eds. Ákos Moravánszky and Torsten Lange, (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 191-206.

31 Barbieri and van Duin, *A Hundred Years Of Dutch Architecture*.

32 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973)

33 Groys, "A Style and a Half."

postmodernist themes.³⁴ This can be seen not only in the Koteks shopping center, but also strongly in the Robna Kuca RI as will be discussed in the following chapters.

The following chapter will look into the first shopping typology in Yugoslav Croatia, and focusses on the neighborhood department store, specifically in Zagreb. Its functionalist expression executed in a period of economic scarcity makes for an aesthetic architecture, which is showcasing excellently the themes of this research.

34 Karin Šerman, "Boris Magaš and the Emergence of Postmodernist Themes in the Croatian Modernist Tradition," 191-206.



PROCESSED CUT-OUT FROM ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE COVJEK I PROSTOR 177 (1967-68).

CHAPTER 2: CASE STUDY: NAMA TRNSKO The neighborhood department store

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY:

The (re-)introduction¹ of shopping and consumerism in Yugoslav Croatia (and Yugoslavia as a whole) happened in Zagreb, more specifically at the Fair of Zagreb. The (re-)introduction followed from a few phases of development as distinguished by Lana Lvrencic and Antun Sevsek.² During these phases of development, the political climate of Zagreb, Croatia or Yugoslavia as a whole changed, causing some themes to be distinguished. Corresponding to the turbulent period during and after the Stalin-Tito Split, '47 to '51 could be referred to the 'Age of Propaganda,' where the Fair's primary use was the showcasing the centrally controlled industry and economy, corresponding to an orthodox execution and read of communist ideas. This still took place in the old city fairground, closer to the city center (today it is the site of the student mensa and other academic and social enterprises). Then from '52 to '59, the fair gained a commercial character. During the 50's, due to the Tito-Stalin split, Yugo's main trade partners were Europe and the US.³ It was during this period that consumerism was promoted in Yugoslavia. As mentioned previously, this period in time had a large focus towards modernizing society and as such this echoed through in exhibits and fairs.⁴ The Zagreb Fair was used a location of discussion for industry and residency as well as a plays to portray quality of life by showcasing emancipation of women, the modern family and consumerism. This was illustrated by the yearly renewal of household items showcased in the Fair, culminating such momentum that eventually in 1955 the specialized exhibits of Family & Household and Modern Fashion were introduced, repeated in the following years. The second edition of the Household fair, held during what is known as the Autumn Fair, introduced the general department-store⁵ and fashion store.⁶ They were exemplary for the later department-store with supermarket for micro districts (e.g. Trnsko, Zaprudje, etc) which will be extensively discussed in the next chapter.

1 Shopping, of course, could simply not have been new in Croatia as the typology of the department store had already existed for various decades, although prior to its reintroduction it may have only been an activity for the bourgeoisie.

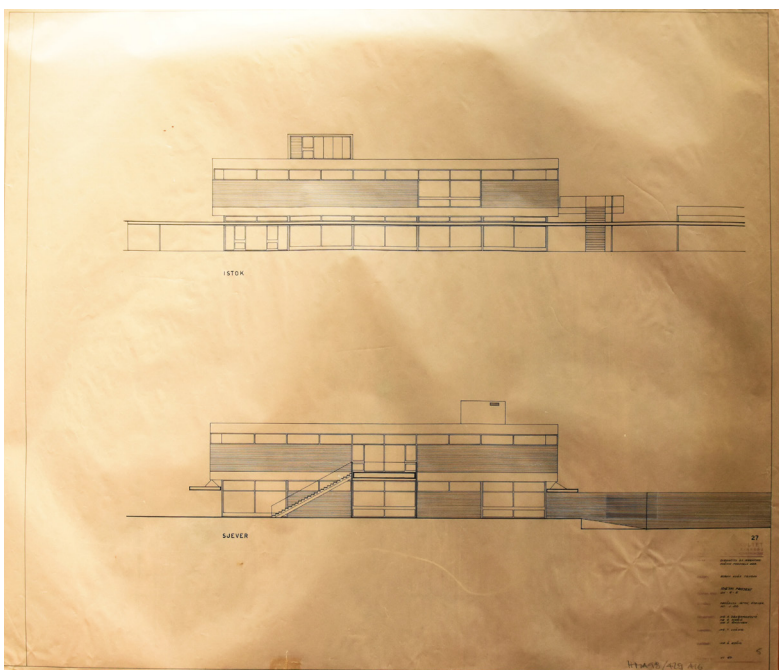
2 Lana Lvrencic and Antun Sevsek, "Zagreb Fair," in *Unfinished Modernisations*, ed. Maroje Mrduljas and Vladimir Kulic (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architects' Association, 2012).

3 Idem.

4 Mrduljaš, "Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism"

5 Which was later reintroduced in the experimental urban expansion Tresnjevka.

6 Which was alter reintroduced in the center of Lower city on Praska street. Both department stores will be discussed further in this and the following chapter(s).



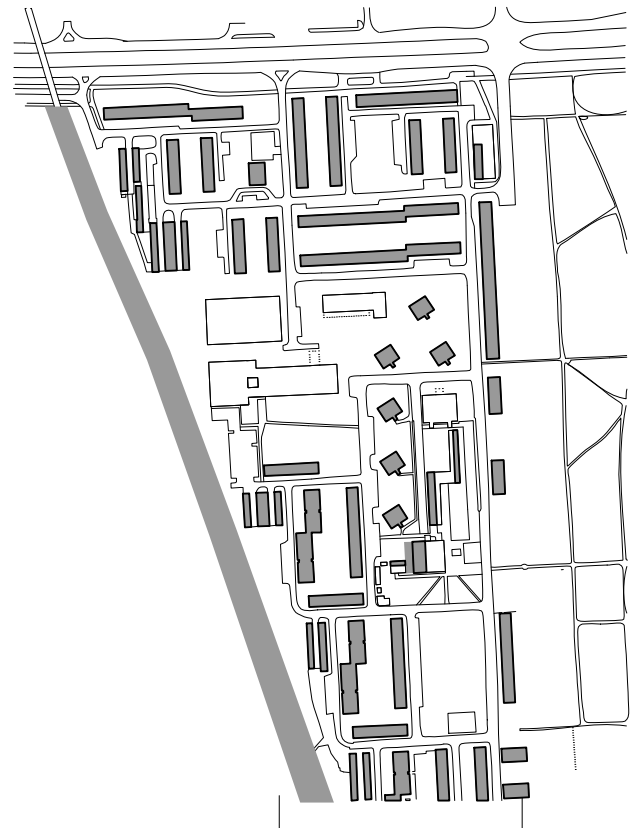
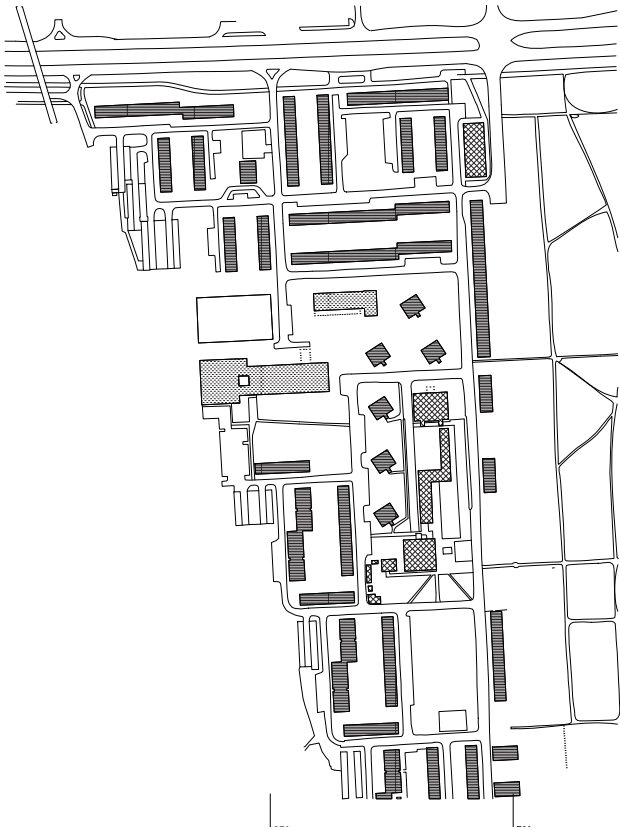
Top: Milkovic' former NAMA store in Tresnjevka, Zagreb; bottom: original elevations of NAMA store in Trnsko.

These department-store supermarkets were also known as Self-service shops.

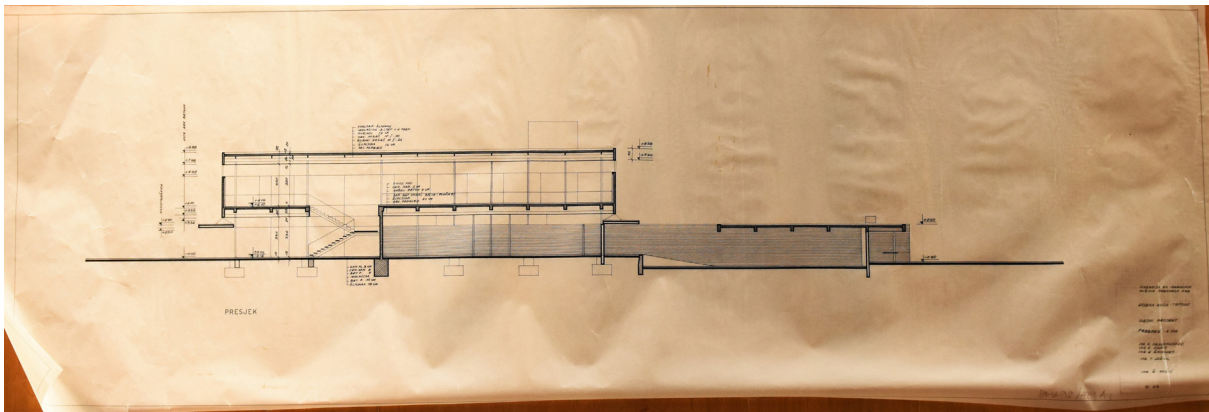
The NAMA department store in Trnsko, New Zagreb was not the first department store in the former Yugoslav territory nor was it the first department store in Croatia or Zagreb. As early as 1958 the first department store and self-service store were introduced in Yugoslavia, not far away from what would later become the Trnsko neighborhood as we discussed in the previous paragraph. Although the first Robna Kuca in the city was introduced in Belgrade shortly after the Zagreb Fair of 1958, Zagreb relocated the Fair's stores in the city in 1960.⁷ It was not until 1966 that the NAMA in Trnsko was built, and it was even preceded by the New Zagreb neighborhood of Zaprudje. The department store in Trnsko, and neighborhood center around it, was at the time highly praised and its architects; Niksic, Smidihen and Dragomanovic, were well established in Zagreb/Croatia (and Europe).⁸ It is a clear example of the

7 Alen Zunić and Zlatko Karač, "Robne kuće i opskrbni centri arhitekta Aleksandra Dragomanovića," translated in Google Translate, *Prostor : znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, Vol.23, No.2 (December 2015): 276-303.

8 Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007). and Tamara Bjažić Klarin, "CIAM Networking – International Congress of Modern Architecture and Croatian Architects in the 1950s," *Život umjetnosti : časopis za suvremena likovna zbivanja* Vol.99, No.2 (December 2016): 40-57.



From top (clockwise): context land-use map, activity setting map, circulation map, public-private map, Trnsko.



Top: original section of NAMA store in Trnsko.

'humane' functionalist modernism present in Zagreb in particular, and Yugoslavia as a whole. For this reason, a comparative study can prove insightful to answer the questions of what its role in the city was and how this was expressed. The neighborhood centers and department stores in Zaprudje and Tresnjevka as well as the former store on Praska street and even the later NAMA on Kvaternik Square each offer insights that answer these questions through the lenses of creating centrality, the continuation of the public and the composition of program.

Trnsko is a modernist urban expansion from 1966 and part of New Zagreb (Novi Zagreb). The NAMA store in Trnsko was barely the first town center built in New Zagreb (as mentioned, Zaprudje was completed in '68). However, it has been praised for its balance in proportion, attention to the pedestrian and use of readily available materials, which is why it was picked for this studies.^{9,10} The NAMA store (now SPAR supermarket, clothes store and drugstore) reminds us clearly of Milkovic's NAMA store (in Tresnjevka) which can be seen on the previous spread,¹¹ with its two stories and slightly larger upper volume. This can be seen very well when the two buildings are shown next to one another on the previous spread. To understand the shape of the plot and perhaps its inner composition, the first thing to do is look at the circulation map¹²: in this map the various linear building stamps are nearly always placed in multiples and fill a triangular shaped plot, in the north demarcated by the busy Dubrovnik avenue, the west a railway and the east a park. In the center we see a commercial conglomerate of 2 main volumes, a linear volume in between and then some smaller volumes near the south one, which is also the only one consisting of 2 stories. This of course, is originally the NAMA department store. If we look at the context land-use map, it can be observed that, not too far away, just above the center to the west are two schools and in the north-east also a small supermarket.¹³

In the landscape design it seems informal shortcuts were unwanted and helped with a nice paved short-

9 Boris Magaš, "Robna kuća 'Na-ma' Trnsko" [trans. Antonia Dajak] *Arhitektura* Vol. XXI, no.93-94, (1967): 36-42.

10 In the section further in this chapter it becomes visible how (much like the photograph on the facing page), the building extends outward to create an arcade exactly proportioned for the pedestrian.

11 Archival photo of Milkovic' NAMA store (taken from *Arhitektura* Vol.?, no. 3-4, (1962): 8-9.

12 The circulation map can be found on the previous page.

13 The context land-use map can be found on the previous page.



From top (clockwise): Brand new Nama store in Trnsko neighborhood, front porch, side-entrance on first floor. (Photo's are cut-outs from architectural magazine Arhitektura.

cut to the store, enforcing its accessibility from all angles. TRNS-06 The front porch is connecting the building to the rest of the town center in a straight line. Its proportions are fitting for the residents to this day, never seeming completely empty or immensely crowded. TRNS-05 The relatively narrow pedestrian street connected to the NAMA store grows into a small square in front of the building. It gives some extra attention to the building, which is otherwise surrounded by trees obstructing a good overall view. TRNS-04 The neighborhood provides several spaces that are used in unison with others, the collective use spaces are, as expected, situated along the retail units and the schools, plus some playgrounds and sports fields described earlier and can be seen in the analytical drawings, specifically the activity setting map.¹⁴ Keeping in mind the remarks by Matijevic¹⁵ the shopping area is also marked as a collective space, seeing as how shopping was supposed to be part of the Yugoslav socialist ideal.¹⁶ On strategic points around the building, people are selling their own goods, talking to neighbors doing their groceries at the SPAR or adjacent shopping street. TRNS-03 According to original reviews of the project the area west of the NAMA store housed a fish market. Nowadays it seems more of a small market place that does not necessarily only sell fish. The variety of shopping around these buildings is wide and their almost unchanged existence proves a certain agility of the design. TRNS-15 Looking at the analytical illustration showing the circulation, with precisely the retail center in the heart of the neighborhood, it is clear that the north-west route is enforced by the orientation of the shops.¹⁷ Only the NAMA store has a small outdoor private yard, all other outdoor areas within the neighborhood are freely accessible. Next to the school as well as south of the 'shopping center' are two relatively large (asphalted) sports fields. Although the entire neighborhood is one freely traversable plot of land, there are two (three) clear paths: the main car path running north to south (with pedestrian activity in the northernmost corner), and the main pedestrian path running north to south as well, in the retail center.

14 The activity setting map can be found on page 23.

15 Sanja Matijevic Barcot and Ana Grgic, "Shopping as a Part of Political Agenda, Emergence and Development of Shopping Center Typology in Socialist Croatia (1960-1980)," in *The Shopping Center: 1943-2013 the Rise and Demise of a Ubiquitous Collective Architecture*, ed. Janina Gosseye, and Tom Avermaete (Delft, 2015).

16 Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2011)

17 The circulation map can be found on page 23.

Reflections on Surroundings.

In the north of the Trnsko neighborhood a few towers loom over the town center in a fashion thoughtful about its own shadow. The somewhat closed off towers evoke some feeling of friendliness because of a baby blue facade. Clearly built in different times than today, the front porches are stairs (although often back entrances have a ramp). TRNS-01

Over time, different occupants with different tastes have altered window colors and balconies. Clearly some buildings have more motivated or wealthier residents as the overall maintenance seem to be in better shape. TRNS-02 Whereas tall towers sometimes have balconies shut off from the outside world as to offer an extra room in the house, lower slabs don't always have this possibility. Clearly the neighborhood, although it looks like it could use a drop of paint, is certainly not abandoned and enjoys proper social control. TRNS-09 The elongated but relatively low slabs of the neighborhood have pathways through them, leading eventually to the town center. Not all slabs have these, but then again, some slabs shift position in such a way that there's always a diagonal path to shopping available. TRNS-12 In between agglomerates of slabs, small playgrounds offer a safe space for children to play while under surveillance of neighbors. TRNS-16

On the edge of the neighborhood it is still possible to spot small family homes on the ground walls separating the neighborhood from railway noises beyond. TRNS-08

Against the railway are also car garages of the residents situated, with additional serial parking near all car-oriented roads. Residents walking their dog in the periphery of this part of the neighborhood. Just like the small family homes, in this area there's also space for walking one's dog or park your car. TRNS-10



TRNS 06



TRNS 05

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966



TRNS 04



TRNS 03

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966



TRNS 15



TRNS 01

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966



TRNS 09



TRNS 02

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966



TRNS 12



TRNS 16

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966

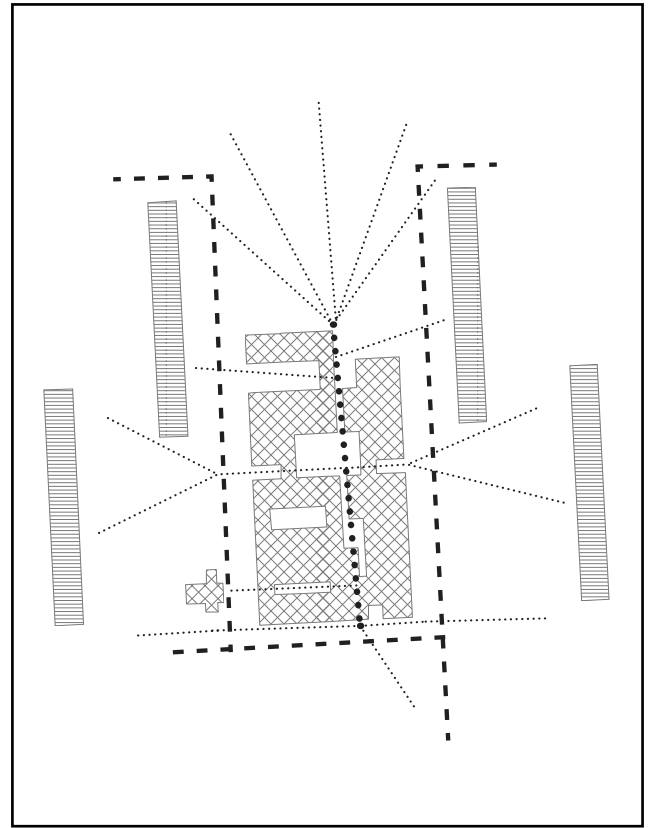
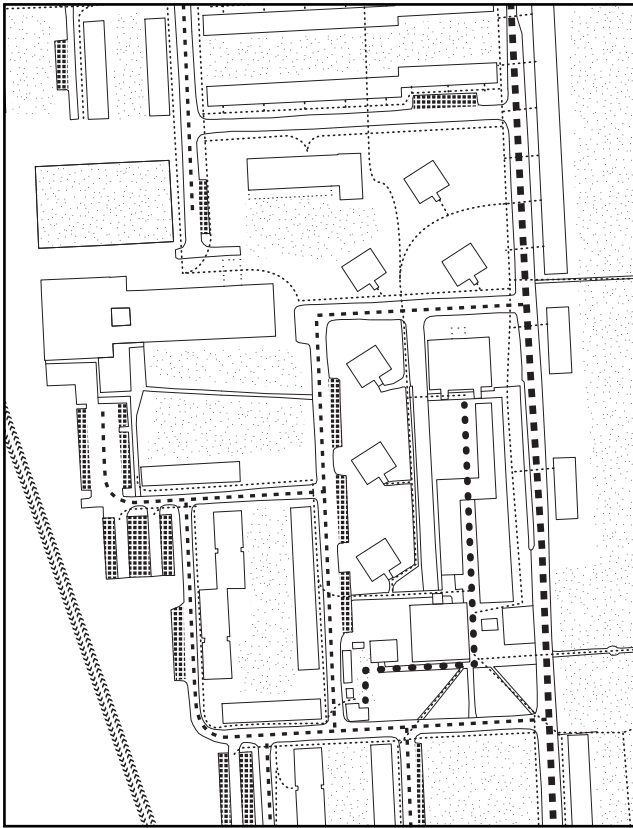


TRNS 10



TRNS 08

ARCHITECT(S): A. DRAGOMANOVIC, R. NIKSIC, AND E. SMIDIHEN
PROJECTNAME: NAMA DEPARTMENT STORE
TRNSKO, ZAGREB 1966



Top: the NAMA store and neighborhood center (left) and the neighborhood center in Zaprudje (right) both clearly show a certain linear axis through the complex.

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS:

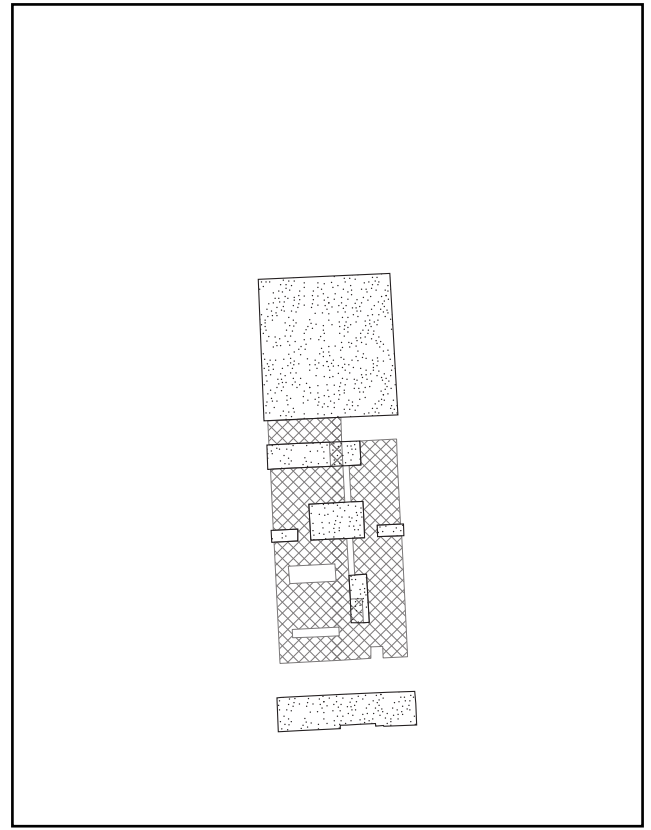
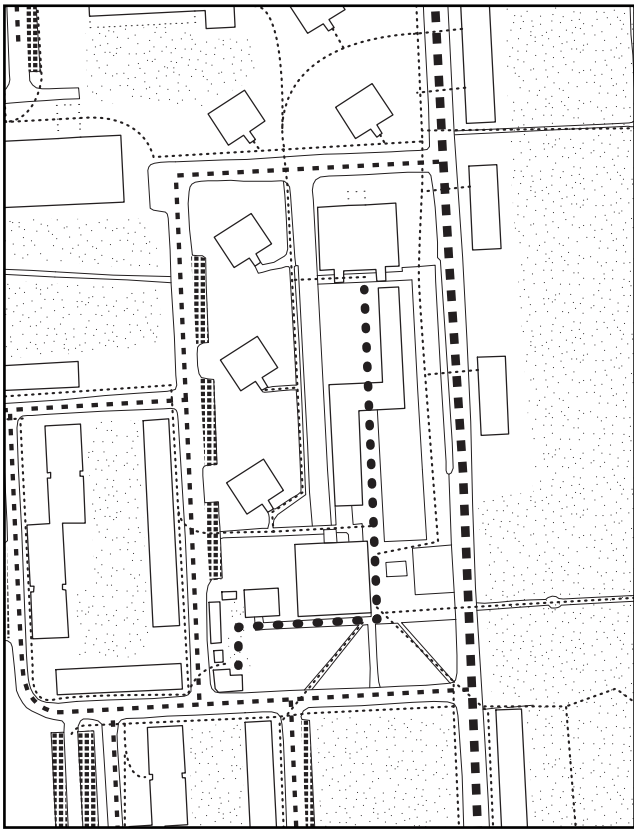
The description of the NAMA in Trnsko and its neighborhood makes for a proper insights in the workings in and around the project, but by itself says nothing about how the typology is supposedly operating on a grander scale. The following section of this chapter will look into a comparative studies of the typology on initially an urban scale, but also going into the architectural elements that are similar or different from one another.

As a space or object of social congregation, the neighborhood department store, the shopping typology of this chapter, has a center position in the (daily life-) economy, meaning it took part in, or made use of, the creation of centrality in the city/neighborhood. In Trnsko, a clear orientation can be recognized as it focuses around a single axis running north to south with plenty of possibilities to access from different directions. A similar way of dealing with centrality in the urban context is in the New Zagreb neighborhood Zaprudje, which is illustrated in the images above the text.¹⁸ As the analytical illustrations on the following spread illustrate, the neighborhood centers consist of an interlinked series of courtyards varying in size, both positioned along a North- South axis, in a way similar to Trnsko.¹⁹ Along the access points to the axis, shops open up to the outside, as a means to welcome the visitor into the realm of shopping, rather than being confronted with closed facades and back doors.

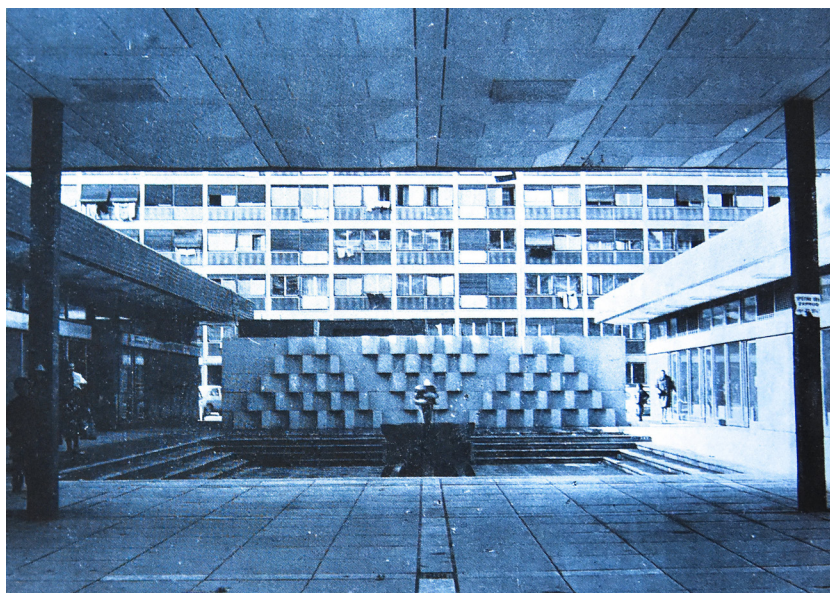
From this generation of department stores in Zagreb, the Tresnjevka Square and Praska street stores are certainly the odd one out as their role in the creation of centrality was smaller, and they made use of

18 Both figures were made by the author.

19 The archival photo showing one of these courtyards in Zaprudje can be found on page 37, the image taken from architectural magazine *Covjek i Prostor* 239 (1973).



Top: the NAMA store and neighborhood center (top-left) and the neighborhood center in Zaprudje (top-right) both situate small squares along the previous mentioned axis. Bottom: the Tresnjevka store (bottom-left) and Praska Street store (bottom-right) are both in close proximity of existing squares (both in pink).



Top: one of the smaller squares/courtyards around the Zaprudje town center (left), clearly showing small entries at either sides. The department-store on Praska street (right) is evidently functionalist. It is by the same architect, Aleksandar Dragomanovic.

existing actors, such as the nearby market squares. This is somewhat obvious taking into account that these two are placed in pre-existing parts of the city, rather than a completely new modernist neighborhood. The Praska street store was next to Jelacic Square, the main square of Zagreb. The store in Tresnjevka was placed right next to the Tresnjevka square, across the street from a large market. Notably, the square is one of the largest public spaces in Zagreb. In any case they were clearly placed with the idea of centrality in mind. On the bottom of the facing page, the pink object demarcates each department store, whereas the dotted objects represent the squares.²⁰

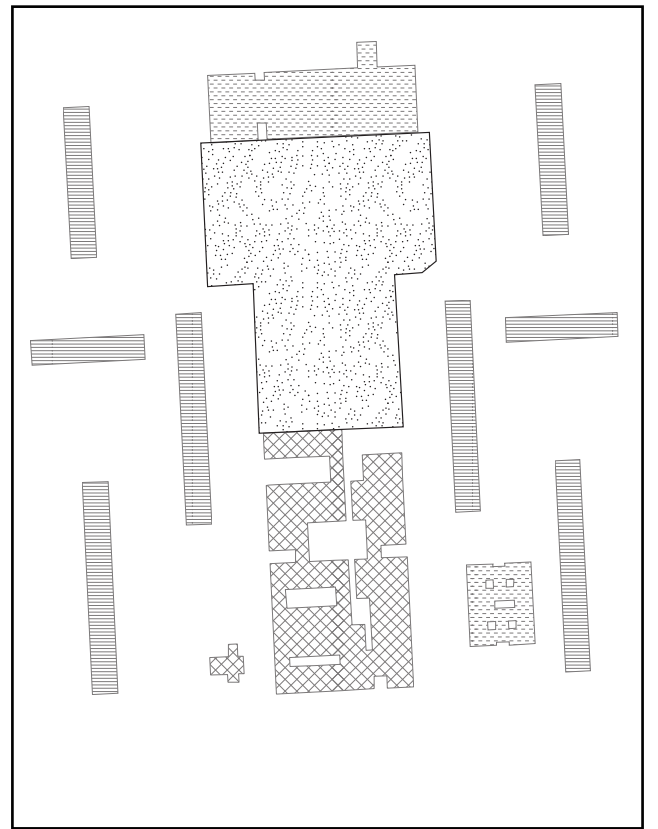
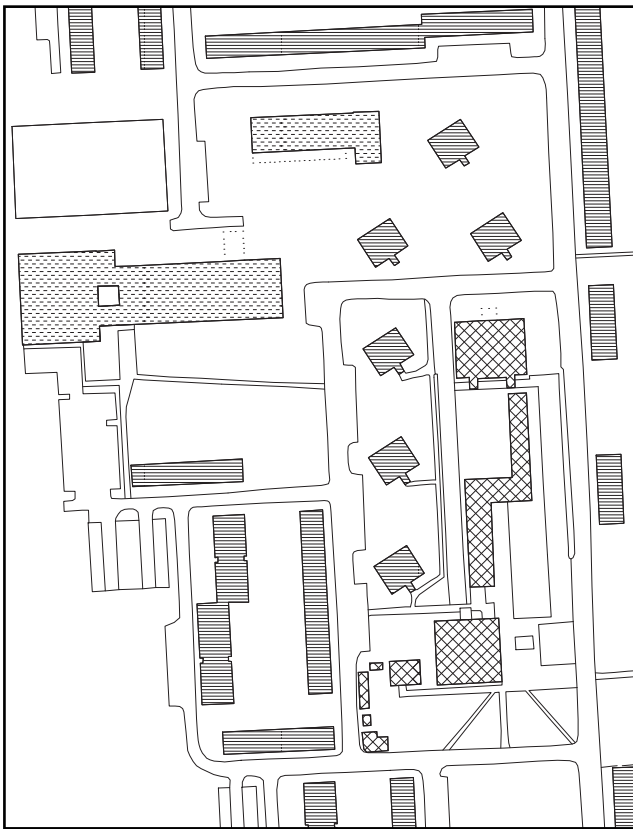
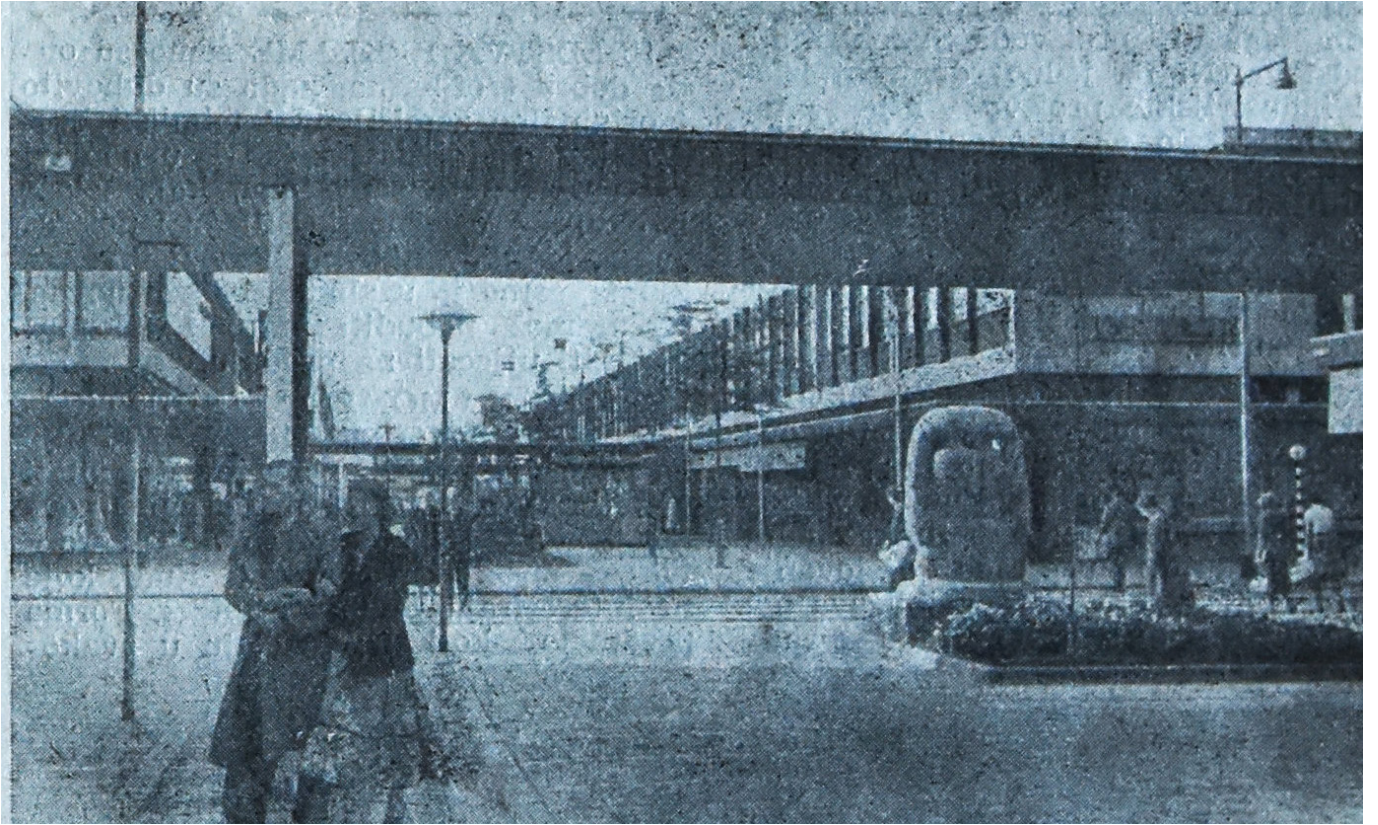
As an object in the city these neighborhood department-stores articulate or at least contribute to the public and private spheres. Although department stores and shopping centers can be seen as private entities, the specific context of these typologies (Socialist Yugoslav Croatia) change this relationship as they operated as a self-managed entity, entering the realm of the commons.²¹ As shopping typologies were the physical aspect of this special flavor of socialism, their public relevance needs to be inspected, or: their continuation of the public. The previous paragraph already referred to the proximity of the department store to the market in Tresnjevka. As was described earlier in the chapter, the NAMA in Trnsko was next to a market, albeit somewhat smaller, as well.²² The Praska street and Tresnjevka store's proximity to the existing markets is telling, seeing as how the market belongs to the traditional space of the public (we consider this in line with the agora, market square and town square). The reasoning behind the programmatic proximity can very well be explained as the introduction of the modern society in relation to shopping, while making use of the public importance of the traditional market. In a way, they offer a fuller whole of the same, with different variations of shopping.²³

20 Both illustrations were made by the author.

21 As discussed in chapter 1.

22 During the author's visit this was not clear, but this information was found in the previously cited article by Boris Magaš. Magaš, "Robna kuća 'Na-ma' Trnsko," 36-42.

23 One could consider the market an informal manner of obtaining goods, whereas the department store is a more formal manner. Similarly, Richard Sennet explains this phenomenon as respectively active and passive variety of shopping. Sennet, Richard. *The Fall of Public man*. New York: Knopf, 1977.



Top: the arcade of Trnsko has a certain resemblance to the Lijnbaan in Rotterdam (photo cut-out from architectural magazine *Covjek i Prostor* 45 (1955)). Bottom: the two neighborhood centers are both separated from the educational institutions by a permeable space, in Trnsko (bottom-left) by free-standing towers, in Zaprudje (bottom-right) by a square.

This continuation of the public, apart from any program or activity that is linked to the public life, is perhaps most tellingly accommodated by its architectural expressions. Trnsko was praised for its human scale,²⁴ referring to the accommodation of the pedestrian, rather than motor vehicles and masses; it revokes the concepts of Bakema, whom they were familiar with.²⁵ In past studies of the department store in general, it is attributed various characteristics, two of which are clearly to be found in Trnsko: the retreated facade creating a gallery of sorts, and glass facades.²⁶ In an article written shortly after realization it is described precisely what is the result of this: “*Forming the porch as a passage under the cantilever enabled its space not to be limited by the columns. Also, the connection between interior and exterior is achieved this way.*”²⁷ This variant of interiorized exterior is seen in virtually all department stores erected during this time in Zagreb, in general the design of all department stores. And this reaches even beyond that: even today, the glass facade may be covered mostly with advertisement but this cantilever is still a relevant and intensively used space of the building.²⁸

The composition of program in these “first generation” stores are not to be taken literally, as directly within the architectural object only commercial program is found. However, in a horizontal way, there is a certain symbiosis of different program in the newly built neighborhoods of Trnsko and Zaprudje. Another program, namely the educational institutes, is a key component in these new neighborhoods. As can be seen in the comparative analytical illustrations on the facing page,²⁹ placing the educational program in proximity to the neighborhood center is also visible in Zaprudje, both with a well-defined distance between the two conglomerations. The illustrations also show an important difference here how Zaprudje introduces a square or market between the two, whereas Trnsko makes use of the surrounding towers to introduce this physical distance. In both cases the distance between the two is permeable.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the neighborhood department-store (most specifically in Trnsko, but comparable to others) engaged with its neighborhood through a clear axis, permeable from the various directions of the surrounding neighborhood by openings and small squares.

Its exact architecture kept in mind the pedestrians, and cars and other motor-vehicles were redirected around the area. The composition and proportion of the building focused on exactly the residents, and blurred the divide between the interior and exterior by introducing a semi-arcade through the cantilever and canopy on the front of the store.

The next chapter discusses a next step in department stores, a next step in scale, time and role in the city and engagement with it. The characteristics of department stores as mentioned before by Kooijman³⁰ are also clearly visible in this type, but this chapter illustrates the extra added layer to the program, engaging more with the city, rather than neighborhood.

24 Magaš, “Robna kuća ‘Na-ma’ Trnsko,” 36-42.

25 For reference, the facing page shows a Croatian magazine cut-out showing the Lijnbaan bij Bakema. Their international engagements are mentioned, specifically relating to CIAM, by Klarin, “CIAM Networking – International Congress of Modern Architecture and Croatian Architects in the 1950s,” 40-57.

26 Dion Kooijman, *Machine en Theater* [Machine and Theatre], (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1999).

27 Magaš, “Robna kuća ‘Na-ma’ Trnsko,” 36-42.

28 One could only imagine how his earlier department store on Praska street would have aged along (see image on top previous spread, page 37). image taken from architectural magazine *Covjek i Prostor* 299 (1978).

29 both images were made by the author.

30 Kooijman, *Machine en Theater*.



PROCESSED CUT-OUT FROM ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE ARHITEKTURA 199 (1984 -'85 -'86).

CHAPTER 2: CASE STUDY: ROBNA KUČA RI The inner-city department store

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY:

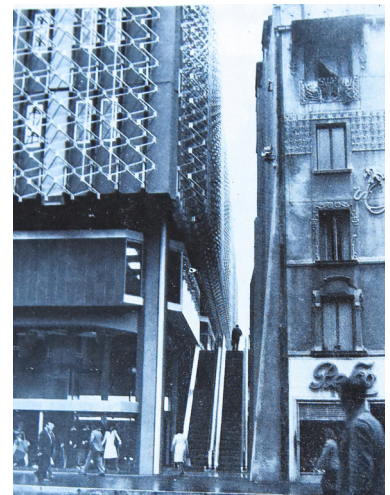
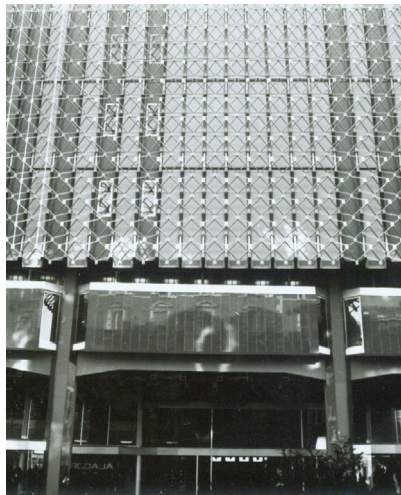
Rijeka is the third biggest city in Croatia and its main naval port, and has a history industry. The history of its name always included a reference to the river. Its port was specially of strategic interest, which is reflected in the many different ruling countries throughout history, being under Italian, Venetian, Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslav rule. Its industrious history is reflected in the creation of the first large scale oil refinery and torpedo factory in Europe and was a major producer of cigarette paper. Its development can be seen in layers of the landscape, each period extending further into the sea. Although at the beginning of the 20th century the main population of the city was Italian, the surrounding area and left bank of the city's river was predominantly Croatian. This eventually resulted in heavy conflict during the second world war, and the city was eventually bombed by the Allies under Nazi-Germany. It was during this bombing that, as the archival photo on the following page illustrates,¹ the space for this chapter's case study was created, albeit violently.

The promenade leading to the department store is nowadays tree lined, on the left hand imposing buildings with some Italian or Austro-Hungarian influences and with the harbor on the right-hand side they hint at this feeling of being in a Mediterranean port. RIJE-07 However, the harbor is the place the department store refers to most. Of course, nowadays this part contains mostly yachts, but not far away the original old cranes still dot the landscape. RIJE-26 The Robna Kuća RI, now shopping center/ mini-mall, is certainly a massive building. According to a statement of the architect, Ninoslav Kucan,² the store was preceded by some serious research with tours to Maribor, Ljubljana and Belgrade and the European countries Germany, Italy and Austria; even to the US.³ The basic concept was to produce an architecture with no precedents: only referring to the future. Looking west the history of the city truly becomes visible: during the Yugoslav period this was the biggest harbor in Croatia and this part of its past is not far away in history. RIJE-27 The building is quite notable in its surroundings and engages with the city in various unconventional manners. The location of Robna Kuća RI in Rijeka is right in the

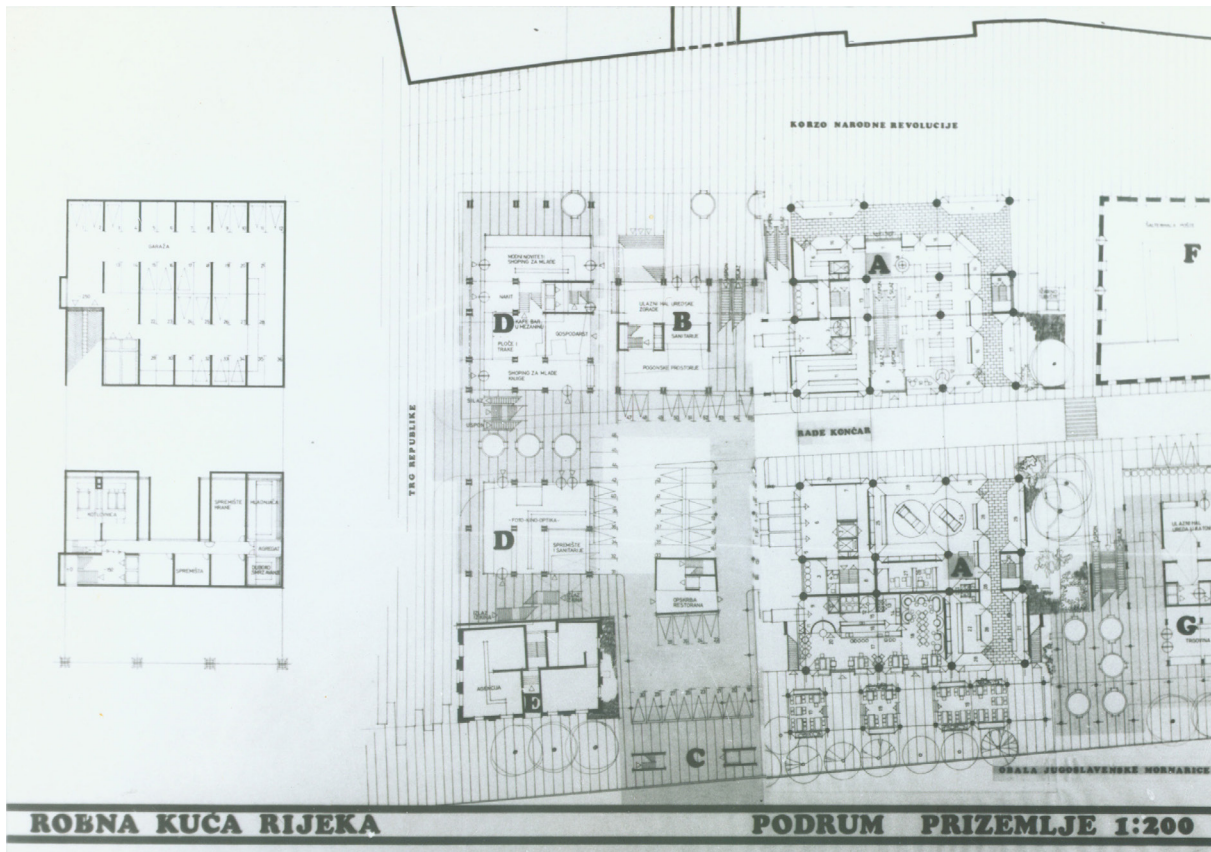
1 The image is owned by the Musej Grada Rijeke, both obtained by a third party. THE BATTLE OF RIJEKA: WW2 PHOTOS REVEALED", Croatia-Times.Com, accessed 30 June 2018, <http://www.croatia-times.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/The-Battle-of-Rijeka-4.jpg>.

2 The building was designed by three architects in total: Ninoslav Kucan, his wife Vjera Kucan and Boris Babić, found in: Ninoslav Kucan, "Robna kuća "Rijeka"" [trans. Google translate] *Covjek i Prostor* Vol. ??, no.266, (1975): 4-7.

3 Ninoslav Kucan, "Robna kuća "Rijeka"," 4-7.



From top (clockwise): the destruction of the second world war, the facade (archival photo), the entrance at the Korzo side, the former escalators, the terraces under the south-side arcade, the harbor-side.



Above: the ground-floor plan (and basement) clearly show the arcade-like features demarcated by columns and two small diamond-shaped kiosks, on both the Korzo (top of the image) as well as the harbor-side (with terraces).

city center. This can be clearly seen on the context land-usemap: showing few exclusively residential buildings in the area, with plenty of (historical) mixed-use buildings.⁴ Apart from that, the presence of large institutional buildings such as universities, museums and churches show large portions of the city center were built prior to modernist urbanism ideas: the urban fabric is full of overlapping and adjacent program. Far before the construction of the robna kuća RI, the city developed outward over time, moving the shoreline with every expansion. The location of Robna Kuća RI at both the front-line of the harbor as well as the Korzo, the main pedestrian avenue in city center, plus the traversing of a major traffic route, has major influence on the workings and expression of the building. Even though it isn't much taller or wider than its neighbors, the department store is quite imposing. The aluminum facade was clearly the most visible of the future-oriented concept.⁵ The facade meant to hold large banners is actually displaying a large banner. Leading to believe the architects' intent got carried out.⁶ RIJE-23 Pretty much every vertical surface is plastered with advertisements, not just the aluminum mesh above. RIJE-17 Although the entire building was meant to be assembled rather than constructed, its representation of a futuristic concept is pretty much limited to the facade. RIJE-08 Perhaps not meant to look like nets, the idea behind them was repetition and assemblage, fit for holding up banners and billboards in the future. RIJE-11 Apart from holding up billboards and banners, the facade can also be used for seasonal celebrations, such as Christmas lights. RIJE-31

4 this illustration can be found on page 44.

5 Historic photo on the following page shows how well it held up over the decades. Photo from reference paper by Mara Kučan Smešny (2003), obtained via Idis Turato (2017).

6 Ninoslav Kucan, "Robna kuća "Rijeka", 4-7.

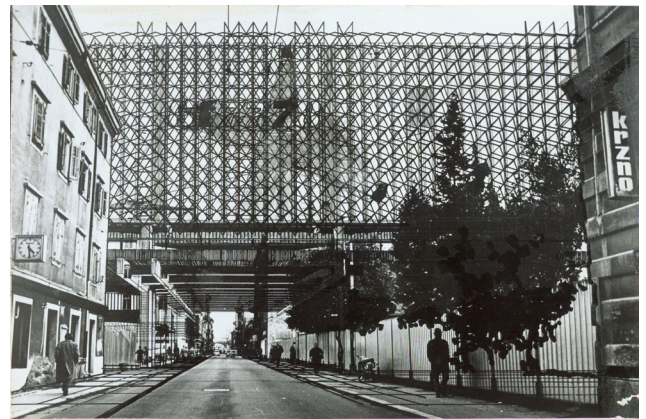
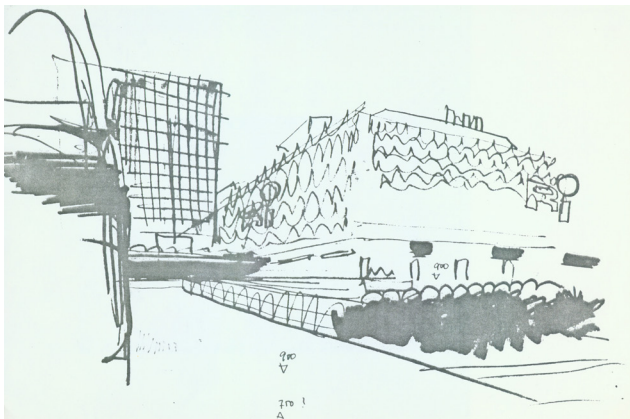


From top (clockwise): context land-use map, activity setting map, circulation map, public-private map, Rijeka.

The balcony on the port-side is adorned with small hanging arches, perhaps a small hint at some part of history, rather than a one-sided focus on the industrial harbor. RIJE-10 Originally, the balcony was quite large but now a glass house covers most of it.⁷ RIJE-09

Circulation around Robna Kuca RI is the most interesting part of the urban analysis, as can be seen above. The large avenue on the harbor side could have had a similar image such as the Riva in Split but lacks terraces and emphasizes motor vehicles. In addition: various former jetties and quays are now used as parking lots. The crossing of a major traffic artery by various pedestrian paths indicates an at-

7 Unfortunately, on SUNDays the entire complex is closed, even the bar on the balcony terrace is not opened.



Above: (left) an early sketch of what Robna Kuća RI was meant to become, and (right) a photo-montage of the facade over the street below.

tempt of engaging with the harbor, apart from its architectural expression.⁸ From the top of the stairs on either side of the harbor side you can see past the entire building, which clearly is a leftover space with some parking garages and the service entrance for the building. RIJE-20 Although the other side has a walkway, (that today no longer is connected to the square in city center) this side offers a view on that square. The striking facade of the building prevents neighboring buildings of coming any closer, leaving gaps like these. RIJE-19 Not unlike the town centers in Zapruđje or Utrina in Novi Zagreb, the department store (now shopping center) is riddled with corridors going underneath the building to the other side. They are not well lit, but light at the end of the tunnel guides you through and indicates it is not a dead-end. RIJE-12

The real pedestrian zone is not until the third axis parallel to the shoreline: the Korzo is a wide avenue that wraps around the older part of the lower city. With various 'scalinatedas,' (stairs), the upper city can be accessed from this axis. It is north of a large portion of the city, where the hill begins, that the next major traffic artery, the Street of the Victims of Fascism (Ulica žrtava Fašizma) runs. In between, a network of squares as well as a network of parking lots make up this part of the city. Walking into the Korzo one can easily see how the building amassed such fame: it clearly sticks out with its futuristic facade next to the historicist city center. RIJE-32 The lettering marking the building's name was not part of the original design, and the space below used to be open, but the kiosks and small diners are not terrible additions. They convey the message that the building, even though hacked up into various shops and all sorts of voids filled up,⁹ has been future proofed as some of its most defining characteristics have survived, and most of the original ideas are still visible. RIJE-16 On the corners and front entrance, the building opens up double height: this is where the entrance is clearly.¹⁰ Underneath the double height entrance 'gallery', various kiosks nearby for those on the road is a much-appreciated addition. RIJE-18 The various moments from small corridors to half open building space creates porous entry into the

8 As seen in figure 'circulation' on building level, following page.

9 See archival image previous spread on the former Korzo. Photo from reference paper by Mara Kučan Smešny (2003), obtained via Idris Turato (2017).

10 See ground floor plan previous spread. Drawing from reference paper by Mara Kučan Smešny (2003), as well as photo on the previous spread of the terrace under the arcade.

building. RIJE-15 The side of the building with the corridors opens up at the other side of the street and makes way for a small square with a flower bed. RIJE-14 On the opposite side of the building this space is a parking lot on the east side of the building which contains few cars but all the more space for birds to scavenge the premises for food.¹¹ RIJE-21

The car tunnel is lined with shop windows, with a narrow sidewalk on one side and what seems to be private parking on the other side: making this side not very hospitable for pedestrians either. RIJE-13 The cars and motor vehicles coming through here barely slow down to see any of the shop windows, but it doesn't keep shop owners from lighting them. The prospect of an unlit tunnel here would have significantly made this space even more unpleasant. The scale of the shop windows does indicate that during their conception motor vehicles were probably slower. RIJE-22 For an inner city two lane street, the cars here seem to fly through the narrow street. RIJE-30 In the evening and at night the lights brighten up shop windows and the building entirely with all its nooks and crevices to become a wonderland of shopping. RIJE-29

11 See archival image of the escalators on page 44. Photo from reference paper by Mara Kučan Smešny (2003).

Reflections on Arriving.

Arriving in Rijeka, this is almost the first thing you are confronted with when exiting the bus. RIJE-04 The department store is situated in one of the oldest parts of the city, but not so much here: above the historical city center, socialist housing blocks rise, looming over the city and port below. RIJE-27 Some parts of the harbor still have large housing blocks from previous era's, never forgetting their proximity to the harbor at the end of the street. RIJE-28



RIJE 06

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 27



RIJE 04

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 28

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 25

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 17

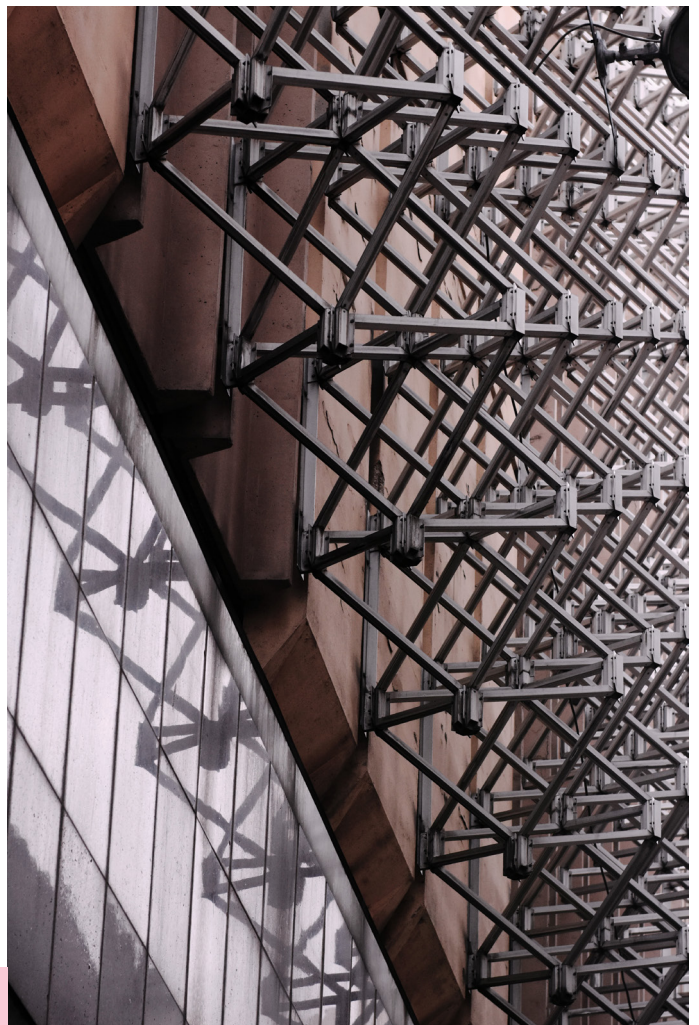


RIJE 23

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
 PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
 RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 08



RIJE 11

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 31



RIJE 07

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 26

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 10

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 09

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 20



RIJE 19

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 12

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 16



RIJE 32

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUĆA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 18



RIJE 15

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
 PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
 RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 14



RIJE 21

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 13



RIJE 22

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



RIJE 30



RIJE 29

ARCHITECT(S): NINOSLAV KUCAN, VJERA KUCAN, BORIS BABIC
PROJECTNAME: ROBNA KUCA RI,
RIJEKA, 1971



Above: the Tresnjevka store (left) and Kvaternik store (right) are both located in existing urban fabric.

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS:

The Robna Kuca RI makes use of, and strengthens the centrality within the existing urban fabric, rather than creating a whole new center in the absence of it. In terms of its role within the city, Robna Kuca RI functions differently than the previously discussed NAMA store in Trnsko. Kvaternik and Tresnjevka are both situated within existing urban fabric (although Tresnjevka was partially built around the same time as the NAMA store there) and this can be seen in the analytic illustrations of both sites found above.¹² They both relate to Robna Kuca RI in different ways. The NAMA store in Kvaternik is connected to a square with plenty of space for pedestrians, connecting it via underground walkways to the store. Much like Rijeka, this store also has multiple levels, corresponding with the surrounding buildings. Another department store belonging to this typology is the PRIMA store in Split.¹³ Tresnjevka in form is related much more to the typology to which Trnsko also belongs, with its 2 story and modestly expressed building volume.

The architectural expression of the building in Rijeka reflect many parts of its surroundings. As previously described, the facade refers directly to the harbor: a clear historical or regional reference that emphasized the biggest port of Yugoslavia at the time. Not only that, the balcony on the harbor side refers to the historic city with the detailing referring to arches. This is of course contrasting with the earlier department stores, also co-designed by Kucan,¹⁴ that were expressed in a functionalist modernism aiming for abstraction. Both however can be explained in a reference to the socio-economic context at the time: the first as a new Yugoslavia turning away from the pre-socialist times,¹⁵ second as a reference to the economic success of Yugoslavia at the time.¹⁶

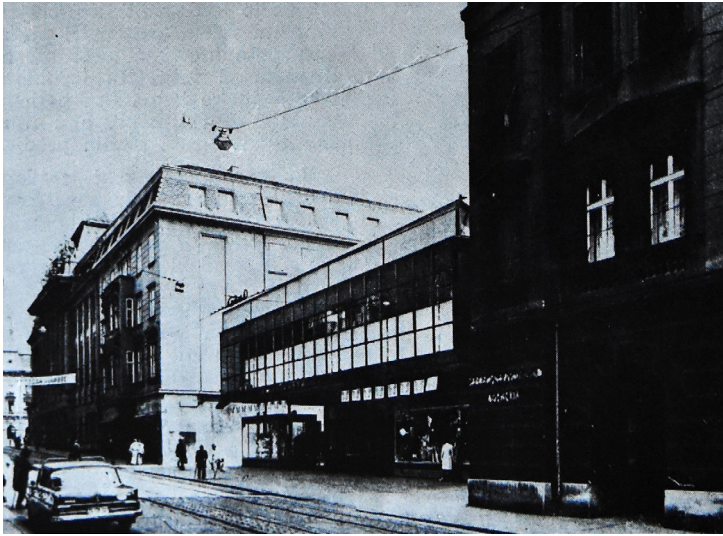
12 both figures made by the authro

13 see photo (by the author) on the following page.

14 See magazine cut-out on the following page. Archival image taken from architectural magazine *Covjek i Prostor* 299 (1978).

15 Karin Šerman, "The New Reality and the phenomenon of Abstraction: on some aspects of Croatian Architecture in the 1950s and 1960s," *A&U: Journal of architectural and town-planning theory* XLI, no. 3-4 (2007): 135-145.

16 Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljas, and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediator Architecture Of*



Above (left): Kucan's (and Dragomanovic') first department store on Praska street in Lower city unfortunately did not survive a fire. Currently it's being claimed by the Jewish community to rebuild a synagogue that was located there previously. Above (right): the Zaprudje side-entrances have a similar feel and size as the passages underneath the RI-store.

Robna Kuca RI is arguably more active when it comes to continuing the public. By covering two blocks, it allows the road to pass under the volume: offering a safe passage for pedestrians to the harbor and its avenue. It is not merely a footbridge over traffic, but its entire program is lifted, and (seen from the Korzo) ends with a balcony offering a view on the harbor.¹⁷ These extra elements make the crossing more relevant than a shopping street intersected by traffic as is happening on multiple occasions in the area. The former escalators on the side of the building lead up to the pedestrian crossing leading to the balcony with the harbor view. Halfway through, this path previously included a side entry,¹⁸ blurring the lines between what is department store and public.

Socialist Yugoslavia (Berlin: Jovis, 2012).

17 See previous image of the balcony and harbor view found on page 42

18 The side entrance on the first floor can also be seen on the section on the facing page.



Above: other department stores responding to an existing urban context are the Prima in Split, and Nama store in at Kvaternik Square in Zagreb. Both of them boast multiple floors and again illustrate this arcade-like cantilever.

On the street level the department store operates in similar fashion as the previous typology. With its permeable edges, it operates as a traditional department store as described by Kooijman blurring the borders of in and out. The open arcade-like structure at the public sides of the building share a similar feel and proportion with Zaprudje,¹⁹ whereas the main entrance at the Korzo is of a different size than previously discussed department stores, with an entrance consisting of almost two floors. The section drawings also shows it gradually, through various intermediate levels and escalators, moves into the building.²⁰

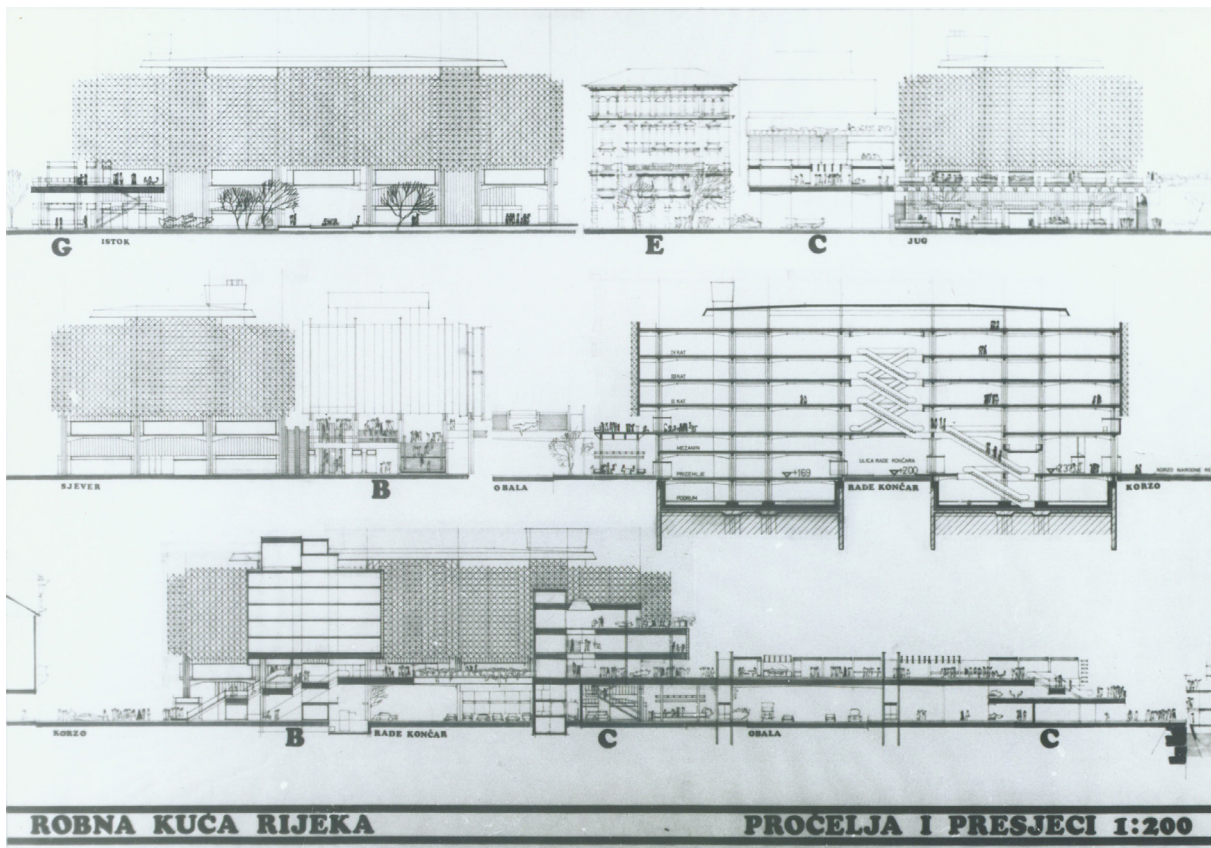
The department-store in Rijeka consist(ed) of a single shop. Its composition of program, much like its relation to centrality, is one of a response to the existing program of the city center. It is however important to compare it thus to other, multi-level inner-city departments stores, such as the store in Kvaternik, Zagreb; and the Prima department store in Split as was mentioned previously.²¹ The former shows an interesting parallel to Robna Kuca RI, regarding to a certain circularity theme. Where RI facilitates pedestrians over a busy road, the Nama store in Kvaternik connects to an underground parking garage, and via underground paths guides visitors into the building.²² The other department-store mentioned, Prima in Split, hosts a whole bunch more than just shopping. From the exterior the Kvaternik Nama and the Split Prima resemble each other greatly, although the store in Split also hosts a cinema at the back of the store. Judging from the descriptions and plans, this extra program was never intended for RI.

19 As mentioned in the previous chapter, the various courtyard/squares offer small entry points besides the main route going from the south into the neighborhood. Also see images on previous page.

20 See sections on the facing page.

21 Both department stores can be seen above.

22 Today, many residents dislike the Kvaternik square, even though it houses plenty of bars and terraces and even a market. The underground path is quite necessary as the square is surrounded by various main routes through the neighborhood. Supposedly, right-wing local government parties blame the origin of the faults of the square on the Nama department-store. Friend, personal conversation with author, May, 2018.



Above: various elevations and sections offer a great insight in how the building attempted to engage with the city. Note: the bottom section shows a hefty extension towards the harbor; this was however never executed.

Concluding this chapter, this type of the inner-city department-store (again, most specifically in Rijeka) engaged with the existing city by imitating in a near post-modern fashion elements and proportions of the surrounding city, yet sticking to generally established ideas about department-stores.

Much like the previous typology, its architecture catered to the pedestrian, lifting them away from the motor-vehicles but by doing so closely or even inside the store, automatically converting them to shoppers. This building did not cater as much to the residents, but to the shoppers. The porosity of the store on both ground-level as well as the first floor blurred the lines between interior and exterior, much like the previous typology, but did so in a grander scale altogether.

The next chapter will go to the final step in this shopping genealogy, surpassing the single building expanding into a complex. It is the final chapter of Socialist-era shopping typologies truly, as the decade of global (oil) crises, combined with the death of a driving leader followed by the subsequent dissolving of Yugoslavia after this decade, prevented any other to be completed. This chapter will discuss the shopping center, by case-study of Koteks shopping- and Gripe sports center. This type, as will follow from the comparative study and analysis, was situated outside of the original city center, as an extension, or relocation of the gravitational point, of the city center.



PROCESSED CUT-OUT FROM ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE ARHITEKTURA URBANIZAM 88-89 (1982).

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY: KOTEKS

The shopping center

The final project in the series of shopping centers and department stores in Yugoslav Croatia is Koteks, a multi-volume (and multi-level) shopping complex annex sports facility. The architect is Slaven Rozic, with the sports facility by the hand of Zivorad Jankovic, who also worked on Skenderija in Sarajevo: a big brother to Koteks.¹ Koteks is situated in a predominantly residential area. In the sense of a center, Koteks and Gripe are situated in the middle of living.² Along certain axes surrounding the plot mixed use buildings can be found. These are usually modernist slabs, but between that one can find plenty of small apartment buildings and detached housing. This was supposedly due to regulations: where (local) governments were unable to directly cater the housing needs, small subsidies were granted for private people and communities to build their own housing.³ This can be found all over Split. On the north side of the area, modernist towers and slabs can be found mostly.

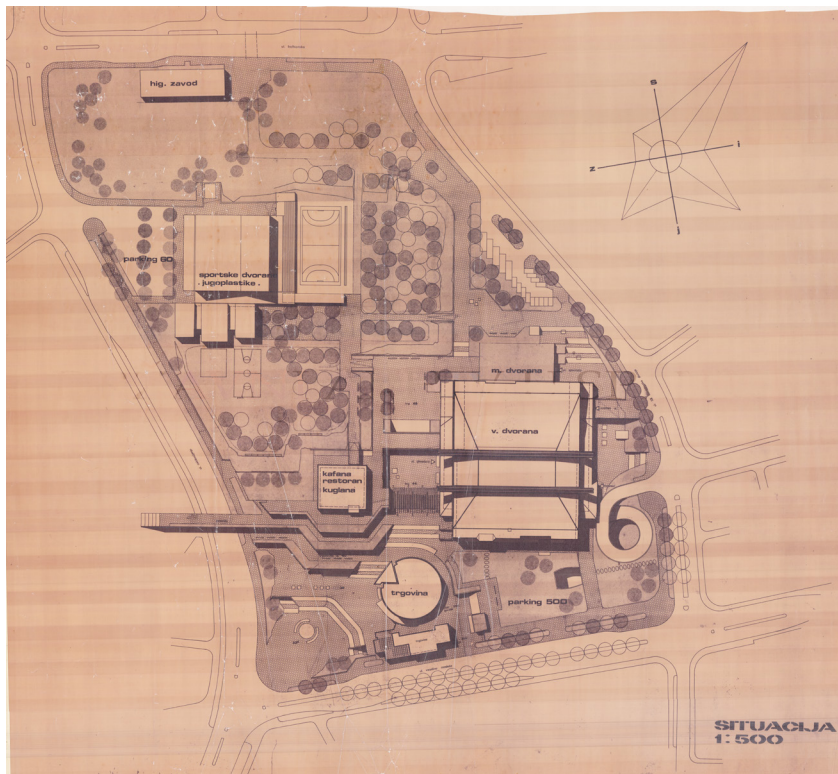
The shopping center, being a multi-volume complex within the city, is approachable from various angles.⁴ The complex itself can be easily divided in two parts: the south part is mostly commercial, whereas the north side clearly focuses on sports. The commercial structures are relatively small in comparison with the sports facilities but are clearly larger than the residential buildings. They follow roughly the same direction as the sports facilities (of which the north-west buildings are the oldest) but respond to the east-west axis that runs south of the plot towards Split 3. Walking from the street on the south side of the complex, one of the first encounters possible is next to the parking garage entrance and coffeehouse volume, the former being entirely underground. In the back the Ziggurat-shaped building is clearly visible and seems to be leaning on the hill, visible by the many steps and terraces going up besides the volume. KOTE-1 From the far corner of the square lying against busy intersection, four volumes can be seen clearly: the ziggurat, a cylindrical shape, the sports facility in the back and the previously mentioned diner on the South-side of the plot. KOTE-2 On the North-West side of the plot is a less visible building situated. The sports hall here was built before the complex started but has been refurbished to become part of the whole. However, it is separated from the complex by a parking lot and doesn't really seem to be part of it apart from some elements in the facade and roof, that were introduced when the Koteks &

1 Dimitrije Mladenovic, "Tri Znacajna Drustvena Centra," [trans. Katerina Hubeny] *Arhitektura Urbanizam* Vol. 21, no.88-89, (1982): 8-21.

2 As seen in figure land-use map

3 Višnja Kukoc, in conversation with author. May, 2018.

4 See site-plan on the following page. Obtained via Sanja Matijevic, 2018.



Above: site-plan of Koteks and Gripe shopping and sports center in Split.

Gripe complex was built.⁵ KOTE-32

Composition-wise, it is able to slightly alter appearances from different angles, presenting itself as several layers now, then as continuous shape later. KOTE-9 From a slightly different angle the shapes melt together forming a continuous shape, indicating architectural composition in the landscape played an important role, as opposed to a merely functional execution of what creates the most incentive for shopping. KOTE-3 The stepped ziggurat shape is, together with the sports complex in the back, the most striking of shapes. KOTE-8 The sports facility was already finished in '79 but its formal language, materialization and its harmony with the shopping center would suggest it was built and designed simultaneously. KOTE-16 From the bottom of the steps the stadium is quite imposing with its big hovering roof, creating a grand gesture. KOTE-17 The cylinder previously housed a department-store but now hosts a hostel, and a small restaurant.⁶ KOTE-25 The café next to the cylindrical restaurant has been appropriated heavily and today, the cantilevered balconies have been screened off, creating a larger interior for the café. KOTE-27 Even though, with its stepped balconies it creates a clear dialogue with the ziggurat.

The circulation plan shows that plot is surrounded by various busy roads.⁷ West of the complex is the road that goes north and circles around the old city center, leading to two more large stadiums (including Magas' Poljud Stadium) to eventually end in the harbor. Directly south is the road that runs straight to the University Campus and Split 3, fanning out of the ring-road following the direction of the peninsula land-inward, same goes for the road north of the complex. This road was existing from before the construction, but integrated heavily in the urban plan made for the Mediterranean Games in 1979, the occasion at which this complex was built.⁸ The entire complex is pedestrian only: only the edges are permeable, even though most of it is through the underground parking garage in the south. The road north-east of the complex boasts a sizable parking lot as well as the side of the road near the northern-most

5 Kreso Ivanis, "Arhitektura i Sport," [trans. Katarina Hubeny] *Arhitektura* Vol.??, no.169-169, (1979): 20-28.

6 Dimitrije Mladenovic, "Tri Znacajna Drustvena Centra," 8-21.

7 The analytical illustration is found on following spread, made by the author.

8 Kreso Ivanis, "Arhitektura i Sport," 20-28.

sports hall. There are various ways to enter the complex, their accentuation gives away its history as a building at the edge of the urban fabric. The entrances from the north angle are clearly less important because they are almost invisible, indicating a focal point of the complex towards more accentuated entrance points of the complex. KOTE-29 From the street on the West-side of the complex we see that the complex also goes across the street with a footbridge, improving its connection with its surroundings. KOTE-5 Another access-point from this street leads to the foot of the bridge in the West direction, while giving access to two layers of the ziggurat in the East direction. KOTE-31 From the intersection further south, where the complex' main entry is situated, the bridge is clearly visible. KOTE-28 The bridge leads to the fort used in defense against the Turks in previous eras.⁹ KOTE-11 The position and orientation of the fort actually dicates an important part of the complex as it matches the general orientation and grid consisting of approximately 8m x 10m of the complex itself, as can be seen in the site-plan on the facing page. Unfortunately the bridge leads to the foot of the fort, dispersing a direct route to it, giving the bridge less use than its prominent presence would insinuate. Following the path East from the bridge, a small stairwell can be found. To connect the top of the ziggurat with the Pergola square below, this stairwell cuts through the shape, connecting seamlessly with the pergola structure. KOTE-23 Going beyond the interlinked squares to the north, the route leads to a parking lot at the far back of the complex, next to some sports halls that are considered part of the complex but were built previously. KOTE-30 There space here is focused towards motor vehicles rather than pedestrian circulation, resulting in a dead-end for pedestrians.

The shops are disconnected directly from the main square with the help of some flowerbeds, that simultaneously provide some seating for waiting shoppers. KOTE-6 Apart from this use, the shop entrances are provided with some shade by a cantilevered flowerbed on the level above. KOTE-12 The square at the top of the first flight of stairs is provided with shade by the pergola. Much like the lower square, this square is almost empty and its main purpose is being the entrance to the stadium with a (closed) club on the opposite side. KOTE-18 Between the upper square and the lower square is the main entrance to the stadium. The entire area is covered with a white pergola. KOTE-20 Although completely open to wind and rain, the dimensions offer a completely shaded square in front of the entrance to the sports hall. KOTE-22 The squares lack the often-seen kiosk, and instead of a cooling fountain, small trees (or tall bushes) provide some shade on the bottom square. It might be enough in spring or autumn, but it lacks effectivity in the 40 degrees Celsius summer. KOTE-7

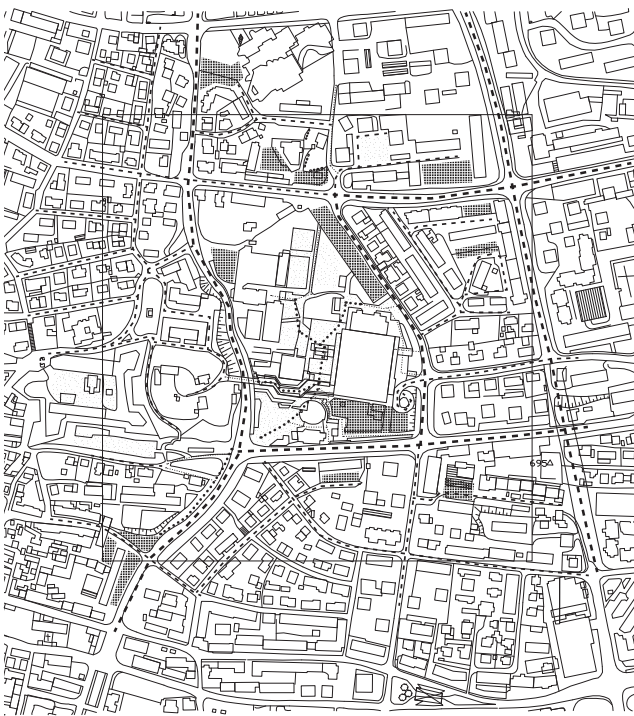
As previously stated, the complex consists of several squares connected by stairs, on each level accessible from various directions meandering around the buildings. The route then splits in two after it passes the commercial buildings, each going its own way, one towards the north of the parking lot eventually towards the small campus in the north, one to the south of the parking lot eventually circling around the main sports hall. Behind the ziggurats top, on the top level, it is clear that the entire building is perched against the hill, barely a free-standing structure. A small playground race-track is shaded by trees, otherwise lacking program: it is the only public program at the end of the route. KOTE-33 The complex also digs into the hill on other occasions, such as the carpet shop on the lower level of the ziggurat, besides the parking garage in the South-East. KOTE-4 In between the cylindrical shape and the sports facility is a huge plot of land visible underneath which is the parking lot which runs all the way back to the end of the sports complex. KOTE-24

9 The quite literal position of pedestrians over motor-vehicles by means of a bridge in the direction of the center have an interesting parallel to the Robna Kuca RI.

Reflections on Use and Material.

In the pictures perhaps 1 person walks through the complex every time. On close inspection, it is always a different individual. KOTE-21 The upper part of the ziggurat is quite derelict and (young) urban artists have used this to practice their skills. KOTE-14

The top is covered with what seems to be small tiles that have collected quite some dirt overtime. The letters on top could use an update but still stand proudly watching over the complex. KOTE-10 The glass, most likely installed decades ago, is now retro and could almost be considered hip. KOTE-13 The large white roof contrasts with the dark glass facade put back. Because of this, the entire roof seems to be hovering over its base structure, that echoes the pyramid shape of the ziggurat (or does the ziggurat echo the stadiums shapes?). KOTE-19



From top (clockwise): context land-use map, activity setting map, circulation map, public-private map, Koteks.



KOTE 01



KOTE 02

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 32



KOTE 09

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 03



KOTE 08

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 16



KOTE 17

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 27



KOTE 29

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 05



KOTE 31

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 28



KOTE 11

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 23



KOTE 30

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 06



KOTE 12

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 18



KOTE 20

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 22



KOTE 07

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 33



KOTE 04

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 24



KOTE 21

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 10



KOTE 14

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



KOTE 13



KOTE 19

ARCHITECT(S): SLAVEN ROZIC & ZIVORAD JANKOVIC
PROJECTNAME: KOTEKS & GRIPE SPORTS AND SHOPPING CENTER.
SPLIT, 1979-1981.



Above: Dom Mladih (Youth Hall, left) in Skenderija shopping center in Sarajevo, BiH. From personal collection of Halid Muhasilovic, date unknown.

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS:

Koteks was built at the border of the existing city,¹⁰ considering Split 1 and 2 (Split 3 was built in the east¹¹) and served as a final stop of the bus-lines.¹² As the inner city ring-road ends more or less at Koteks, this area was thus made as a central point of the infrastructure of Split. It was meant also as a connecting point for the campus in the east (Split 3) and the historic city center, with the Diocletian Palace, on a position that was considered at the time a transitional point.¹³ As mentioned, the Mediterranean Games were the occasion for which the center was built, and as such was considered in a larger urban infrastructural plan. Important here is the notion that the sports complex was initially built, and the shopping center as a means to enrich the environment for the public and create a new centrality in on the border between the two parts of the city.¹⁴

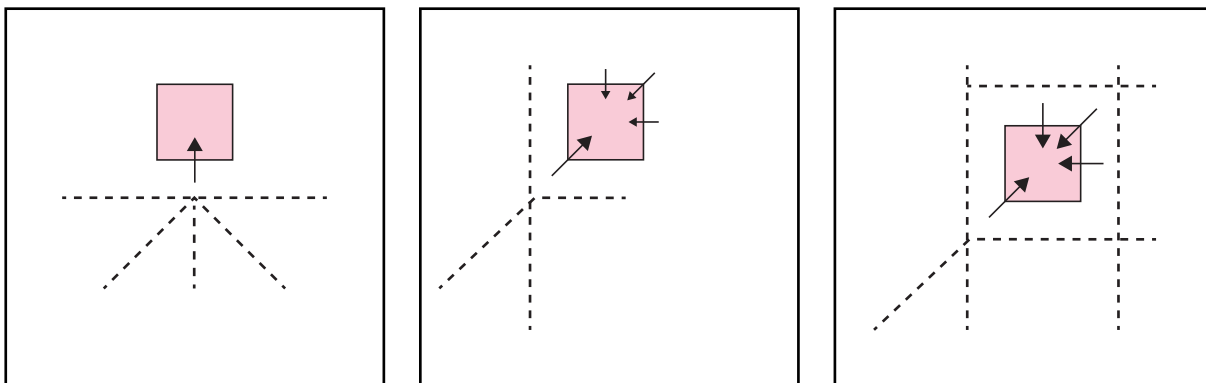
10 In terms of being placed on the border of the older existing city, Tresnjevka also belongs to this category, although Split (and as we will see, Skenderija) both offer a larger program have fewer existing public spaces to depend on (as is the case with the Tresnjevka market).

11 The new DASH magazine contains some excellent maps showing the development of Split, exactly extending to the Koteks complex.

12 Sanja Matijevic, "Shopping center Koteks: Mediterranean scenery for socialist consumerist leisure," (unpublished chapter, 2018). note: this book is supposed to be published in the Summer of 2018 through the effort of 'slobodne veze/loose associations' who are seeking to obtain a monument-status for Koteks.

13 Dimitrije Mladenovic, "Tri Znacajna Društvena Centra," 8-21.

14 Idem . Take note here: the much-saying translation of the article reads: "Three Important Community Centers," which echoes the original intention for shopping centers by Victor Gruen.

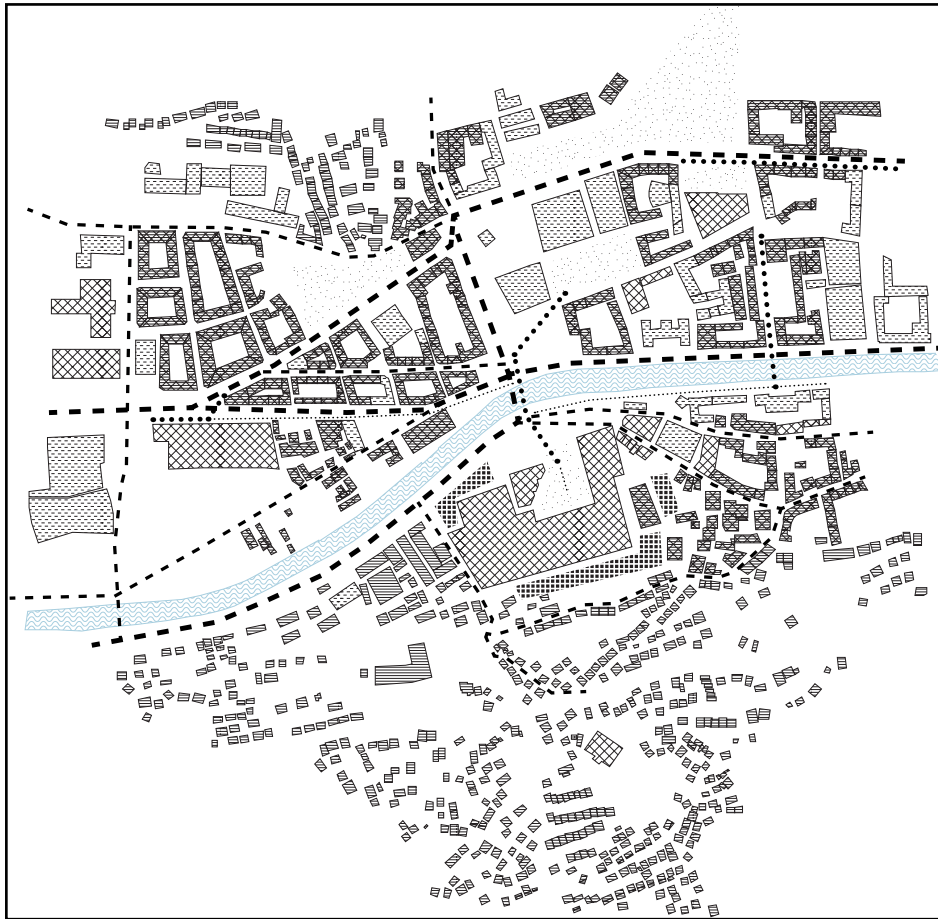


Above: the context land-use map of the Skenderija shopping center in Sarajevo, BiH shows its location on the edge of the historical (Habsburg) city. Below: the orientation of Skenderija, Koteks (old), Koteks (new).

The architect Zivorad Jankovic was not unfamiliar with the type. Earlier, he had (co-)designed various other centers: in Novi Sad (1978), Pristina (1974) and Sarajevo (1969), of which the latter two he co-designed with Halid Muhasilovic.¹⁵ These new city centers, particularly Skenderija, were meant as truly a new city center: stepping away from the traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian city center, most importantly expressed as a harmonious yet individual building ensemble.¹⁶ This ambition, or description of Skenderija resonates strongly with the Koteks complex. It is therefore that the comparative studies go

15 For the simple fact that I could only visit Croatia and Bosnia (time-wise), only the latter will be discussed in this chapter. See image above of Skenderija in Sarajevo.

16 Mirza Mehaković, "Naslijede zrele moderne u Sarajevu – KSC "Skenderija", accessed January 31st, 2018, <http://tristotrojka.org/naslijede-zrele-moderne-u-sarajevu-ksc-skenderija/>.



Above: the circulation map of the Skenderija shopping center in Sarajevo, BiH shows how the urban fabric behind (to the south) the complex completely detour around it: a clear indication of its single orientation.

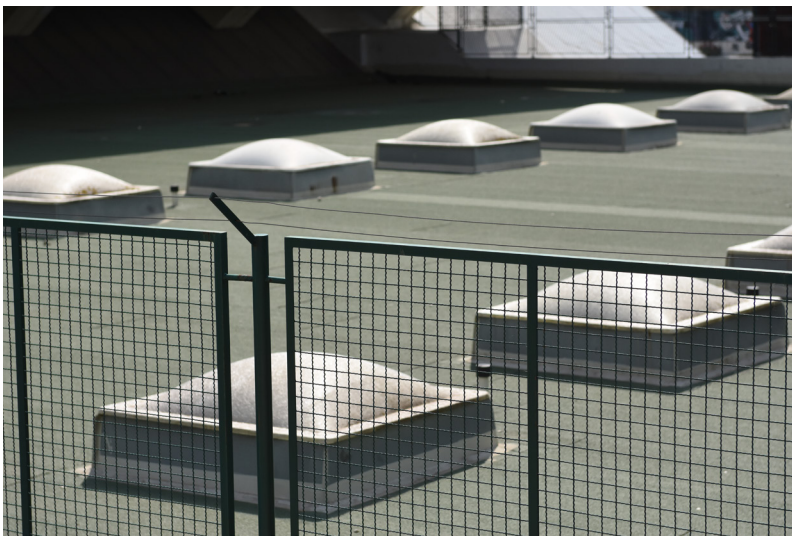
outside of (ex-)Yugoslav Croatia, not only because Koteks was boasted to be the first shopping center in Croatia.¹⁷ The orientation of both the complexes are telling, as both seem to focus one-directionally, towards the existing city center, this can be seen on both the circulation map and context land-use maps.¹⁸ It appears however, that with the development of the city in Split, the strong orientation of Koteks becomes impaired and the architectural design was arguably not able to reply. This can be seen by the fenced off roofs of subterranean halls and electricity sheds that dominate the landscape here.¹⁹

Although the orientation of the complex may not have aged beautifully, the different methods of reaching the complex are quite peculiar. As mentioned, the bridge towards the fort and city center over the horseshoe-shaped ring road indicate a strong focus on the pedestrian, much like the department-store(s) in the previous chapter. The other method to reach the complex, again paralleling Skenderija, is by car. However in both situations, the cars are lead to parking garages beneath the complex, leaving the complex itself purely for pedestrians. Since the large sports-halls would attract quite some visitors, and the shopping complex itself were intended for both locals as regional visitors, many cars were expected. This was solved by excavating the large, 2 story underground parking garage. Its older sibling also houses a large car park underneath (parts of) the complex. However, both complexes accommodate cars at the back of the complex as well: which does explain part of the earlier mention problem of the orientation: the 'backyard' is a leftover space. As can be seen in the circulation map of Skenderija, there is no direct point of entry from the back of the complex, which safeguards the mono-orientation.

17 Matijevic, "Shopping center Koteks: Mediterranean scenery for socialist consumerist leisure," 2018.

18 see both analytical illustrations on the top of this spread, as well as the diagrams on the facing page.

19 See images on following page, made by the author.

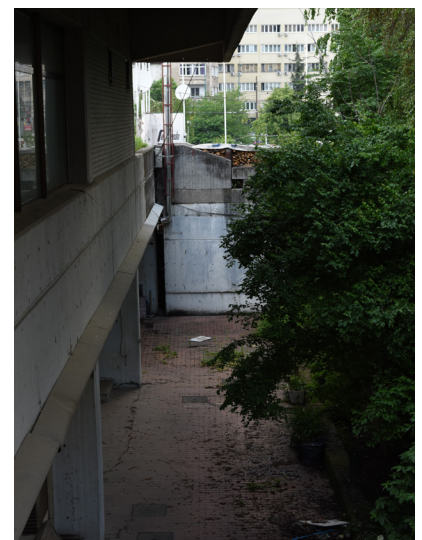
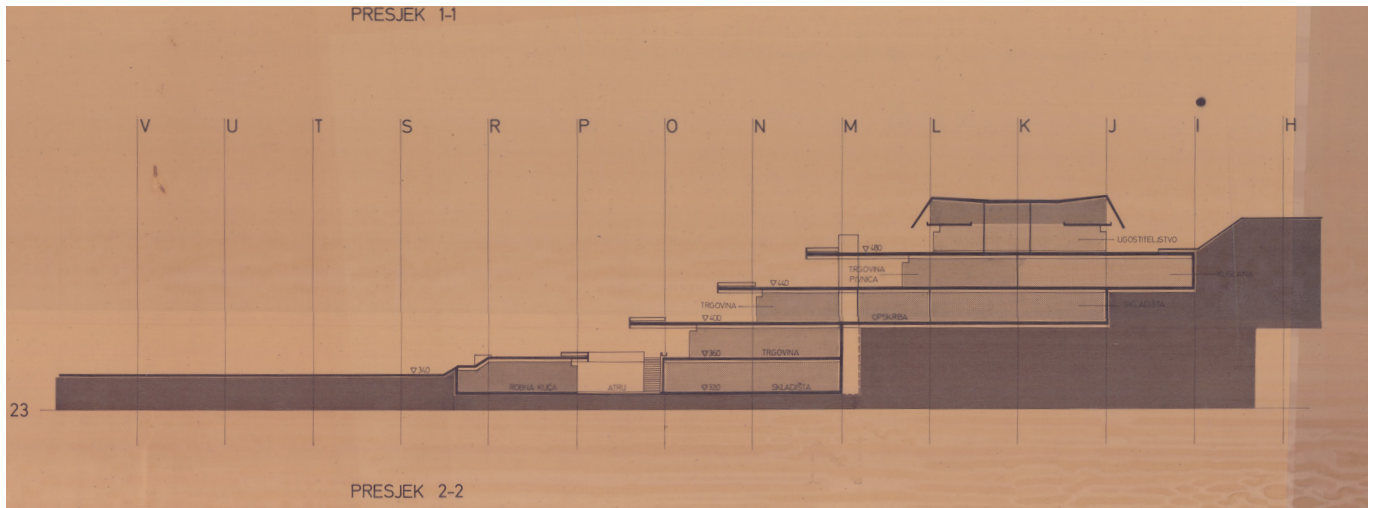


Above: the north-side of the complex offer less inspiring scenery than the south-side. Arguably one can see the sea (top-right).

Much like the previously discussed types, Koteks blurs the line between interior and exterior by many arcade-like cantilevers. As previously mentioned, not all of these survived as was the case with the building on the south border of the plot, of which the balconies are all covered to increase seating area for the cafe.²⁰ If anything, this method of continuing the public into the building/complex is a popular one in shopping, although this might be somewhat obvious. The same goes for the combination of a strong axis yet a porous complex. Although the grand stairs connecting various squares offer a very clear route, they are all accessible from various directions, as is the case with Trnsko, Zaprudje and the base of Robna Kuca RI. Accordingly, it is again the size of the building that scales the public spaces around and between, much like the others. Because the building sizes differ, this becomes clear in the small open spaces between the cylinder and building on the south border, and the sports-halls in the north, as can be seen on the site plan earlier this chapter.

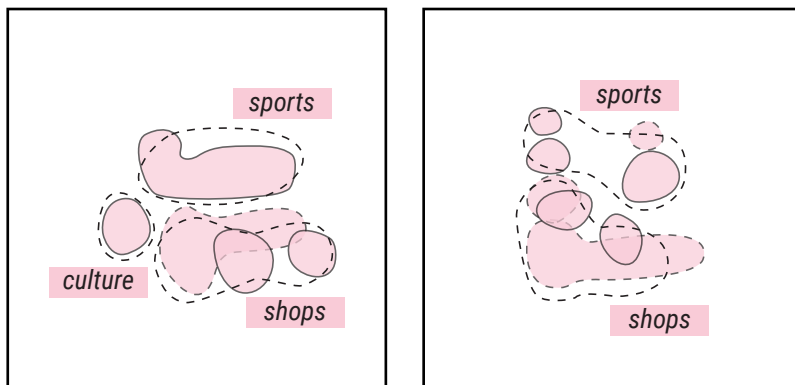
Another important comparison must be made when looking at continuity. As mentioned in chapter 1,

20 The general idea of cantilevered entrances can be seen in the section and archival image on the next spread.



Above: (top) a section of the ziggurat-shaped on the southern half of the complex shows how far into the hill the building goes, and simultaneously underground. The cantilevered floors blur the line between interior and exterior. (middle-left) the creation of a subterranean terrace blurs again interior and exterior. (middle-middle and right) the stairs and courtyard/patio elements are also found in Skenderija. Below: the southern most building previously also featured cantilevered floors, like the ziggurat.





Above: the diagrammatic sketches of Skenderija (left) and Koteks (right) show quite some similarities.

the architectural discourse in Yugoslav Croatia increasingly showed signs of regionalism, albeit stronger towards the south and countries that did not have earlier established architectural universities.²¹ This information becomes more valid, if you take into account the two architects of Koteks: Jankovic was the dean of the architecture school at the time in Sarajevo, and Slaven Rozic was born in Split and finished his architectural education in Sarajevo.²² As can be seen on the previous pages, the architectural elements of the stairs, piazzas, the shaded terraces and pergolas strongly indicate this regionalist influences.²³ Skenderija also features some of these elements, such as the stairs, wide patios, piazzas; but apart from these and some material aspects it is not as obvious or actively present in Skenderija.

In terms of program Koteks is of course very interesting, almost unprecedented except the other sports and shopping projects of Jankovic all preceded it. But that makes it easier to compare in the end. As mentioned, Koteks included various sports halls and shopping (including restaurants and cafe's and even a bowling track originally). Its big brother did a similar thing but included a cultural element by means of a large Youth Hall (Dom Mladih). The youth hall cultural center is not present in Koteks but situated just a small block north of the plot, built shortly after Koteks was completed. In the figures above, the pink shapes indicate buildings, with the dotted line putting it underground. From this we can see that although the program is grouped similarly in Skenderija and Koteks, Koteks separates its different volumes.

The different programs are however in close vicinity of one another, something that was not so clearly seen in the neighborhood department-stores, where the divide between different programs was very clearly enforced, in case of Trnsko: even with building volumes. Of course, in the small neighborhood, the other program was education, rather than sports. But often enough schools have various sports fields around it, making the comparison a little less hard to make.

21 Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljas, and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architecture Of Socialist Yugoslavia*. (Berlin: Jovis, 2012).

22 According to a friend, Rozic was so-to-speak incompatible with the Zagreb scene, which is why he finished studies in Sarajevo: subsequently Zagreb was not very interested in his endeavors. This would explain why the main architectural magazines (based in Zagreb) had not a single article on Koteks. I expect more on this relationship in the upcoming publication on Koteks by 'Slobodne veze/loose associations.'

23 Matijevic, "Shopping center Koteks: Mediterranean scenery for socialist consumerist leisure," 2018.



Above: (left) one of the entrances to the underground portion of the Koteks complex and (right) the upper square.

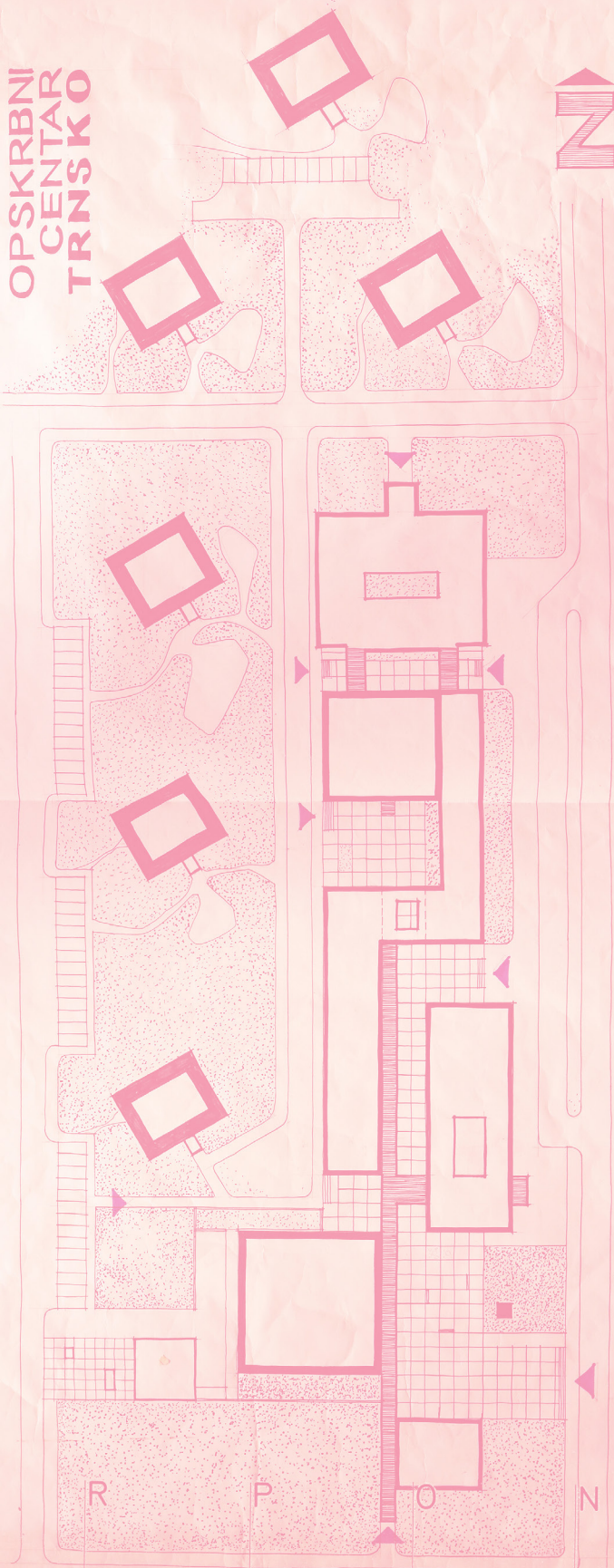
The Koteks sports and shopping center can surely be seen as an interesting architectural object. If not for the architecture itself, the discourse surrounding it.²⁴ To conclude this chapter, the shopping center typology in Yugoslav Croatia (this case, only Koteks) engaged with the city by the position itself, but also a strong orientation on the intersection of various parts of the city. The regionalist response through architectural elements quite literally embedded itself in its surroundings.

Unlike either previous typologies discussed, this was truly a part of the city by not only including the pedestrian, but also the shoppers coming by car: indicating the acknowledgment of the traveling visitor. However, it never put the car above the pedestrian and the design, like the previous typologies, boasted a fair amount of possible entry points in between the different volumes of the ensemble.

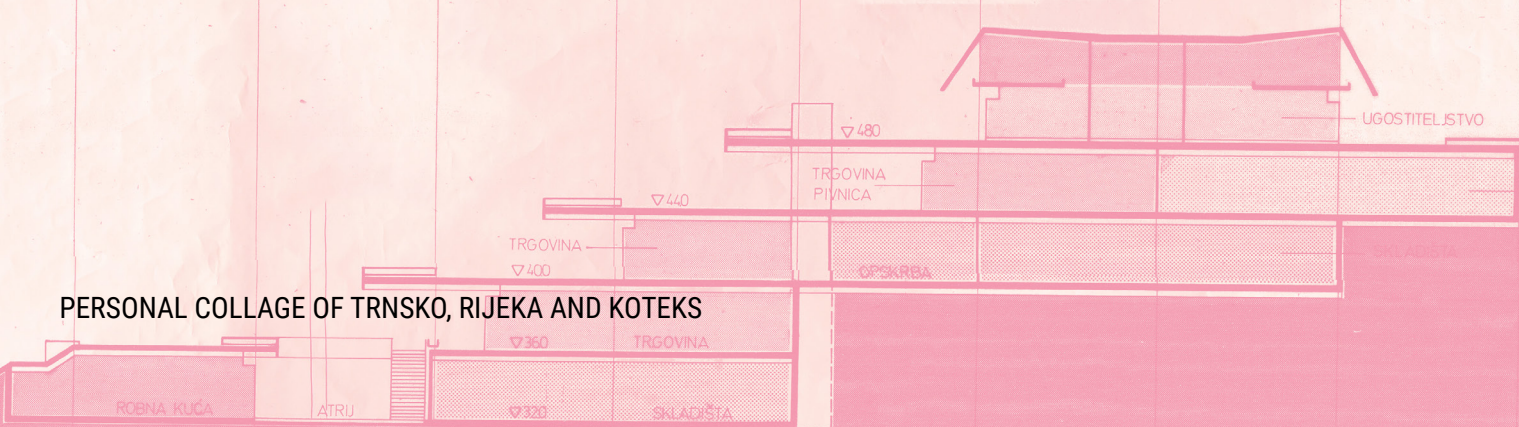
The next chapter will be a moment to conclude the study and reflect on the shared characteristics, as well as their main differences, in order to attempt to define the three separate typologies. Through this, three main typologies are described in their role and expression in the socialist context of Socialist Yugoslav Croatia.

24 For example, in Sanja Matijević' unpublished article she mentions an award for Koteks for international competitions in Cologne (source: Frano Gotovac, "Ostvarenja snage: Desetljeće izgradnje splitskih kapitalnih arhitektonskih objekata koji su mijenjali fizionomiju Splita", in: *Frano Gotovac: Izazov prostora*, ed. Miće Gamulin, Rober Plejić (Split: Association of Architects of Split and Konstruktor Design Office, 1995), pp. 147-149.) However, in a different book on competitions in Split, it becomes clear that the Koteks complex was never a competition, which would make sense as the architects only had 2,5 years to complete the complex. (: Darovan Tusek, *Arhitektonski Natjecaji u Splitu 1945-1995*, date and publisher unknown)

OPSKRBNI
CENTAR
TRNSKO



M L K J



PERSONAL COLLAGE OF TRNSKO, RIJEKA AND KOTEKS

THE TYPES SIDE-BY-SIDE

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Now that the comparative studies are done, an image appears of the typologies, their common characteristics and the differences. This chapter will be a moment to conclude the study and reflect in order to attempt to define the three separate typologies. At the end, three main typologies should appear and be described in their role and expression in the socialist context of Socialist Yugoslav Croatia and partially today.

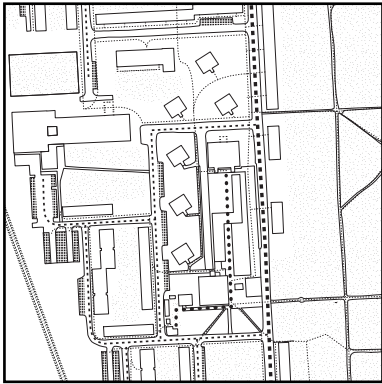
As a recap of the discussed typologies, the first case-study describes the (new) neighborhood department store. The neighborhood department store (most specifically in Trnsko, but comparable to others) engaged with its neighborhood through a clear axis, permeable from the various directions of the surrounding neighborhood by openings and small squares. Its exact architecture kept in mind the pedestrians, and cars and other motor vehicles were redirected around the area. The composition and proportion of the building focused on exactly the residents; and blurred the divide between the interior and exterior by introducing a semi-arcade through the cantilever and canopy on the front of the store. As to illustrate the shared characteristics of the first typology, photos, illustrations and archival material of different buildings are placed next to one another as a final overview of the typology, it includes even the Lijnbaan for its linear shape.¹

The second case-study describes the inner-city department store. The characteristics of department stores as mentioned before by Kooijman² are also clearly visible in this type, but this chapter illustrates the extra added layer to the program, engaging more with the city, rather than neighborhood. This type of the inner-city department store (again, most specifically in Rijeka) engaged with the existing city by imitating in a near post-modern or regionalist fashion, elements and proportions of the surrounding city yet sticking to generally established ideas about department stores. Much like the previous typology, its architecture catered to the pedestrian, lifting them away from the motor vehicles but by doing so closely or even inside the store, automatically converting them to shoppers. This building did not cater as much to the residents, but to the shoppers. The porosity of the store on both ground level as well as the first floor blurred the lines between interior and exterior, much like the previous typology, but did so in a grander scale altogether. The continuation of these characteristics can be found on the next spread, in a similar manner as the first typology. Interesting is that, perhaps due to its placement in the existing

1 see the next page.

2 Dion Kooijman, *Machine en Theater* [Machine and Theatre], (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1999).

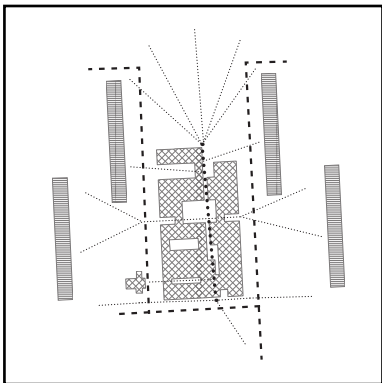
Typology 1: Axis use



Typology 1: Permeable edges



Typology 1: Arcades



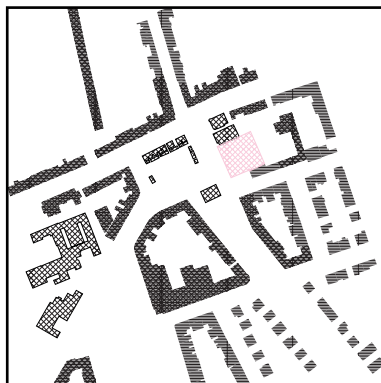
Typoogy 2: Arcades



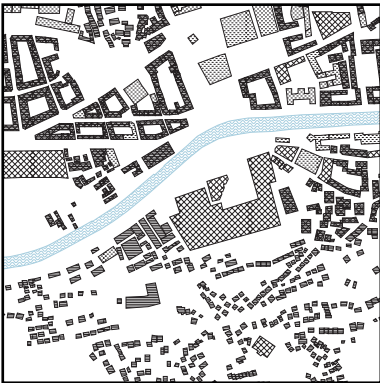
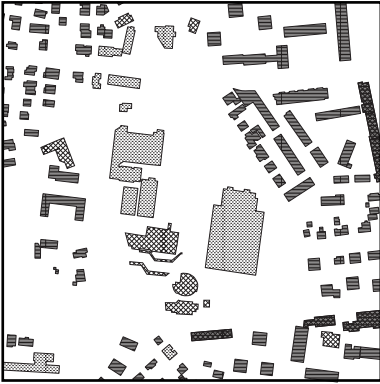
Typoogy 2: 'Plug-in'



Typoogy 2: Scale



Typology 3: 'Plug-in'

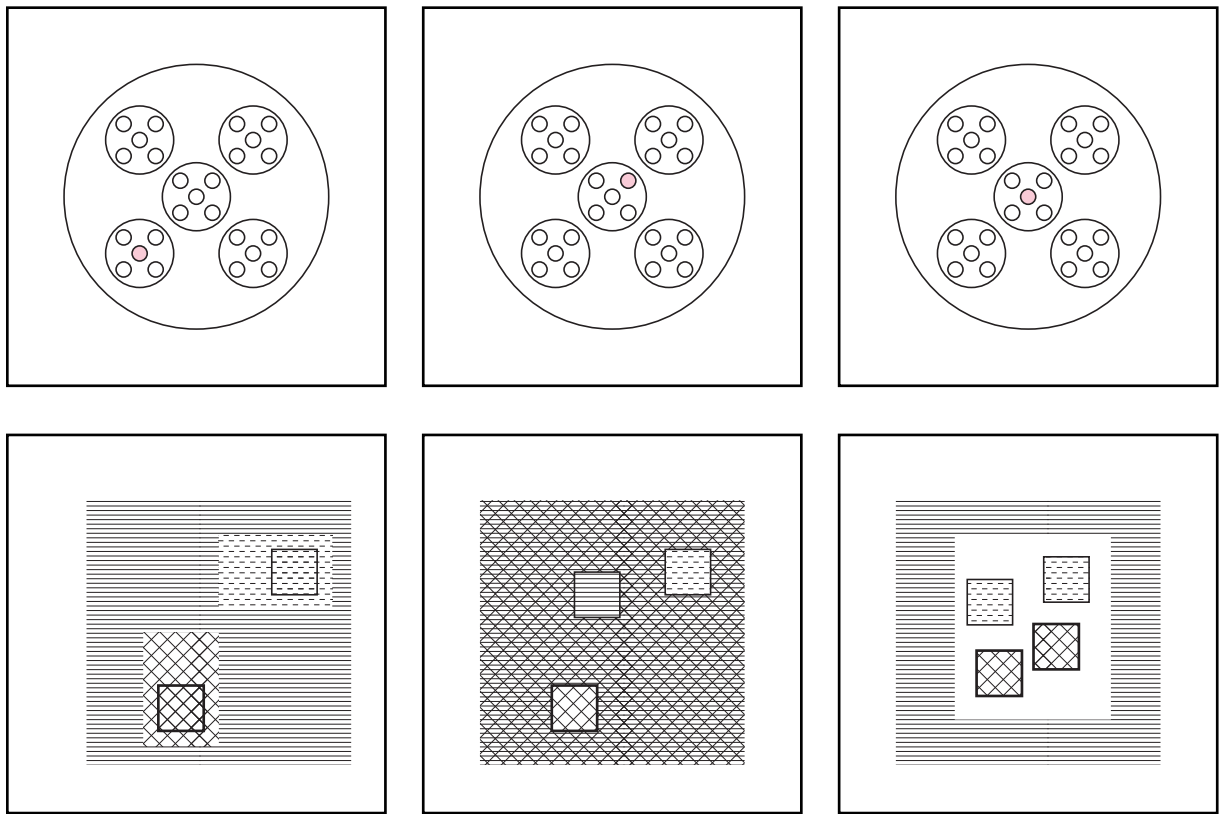


Typology 3: Historicism



Typology 3: Permeable edges





Above: (top-row) the diagrams used for urban developments in Croatia also illustrate the different positions of the typologies. (bottom-row) similarly, they also engage differently with their contexts programmatically.

urban fabric, the scale of this typology matches its surroundings. This can not be said for all (such as Tresnjevka, but it differs clearly from the first typology: which always seems to be of a smaller scale than its urban surroundings.

The third typology described the final step in this shopping genealogy, surpassing the single building expanding into a complex. This is the shopping center, by case-study of Koteks shopping- and Gripe sports center. This type is located outside of the original city center, as an extension, or relocation of the gravitational point, of the city center. Specifically, the Koteks sports and shopping center engaged with the city by the position itself, but also a strong orientation on the intersection of various parts of the city. The regionalist response, not unlike the previous case study, through architectural elements engaged with its surrounding Mediterranean context, and quite literally embedded itself in its surroundings. Unlike either previous typologies discussed, this was truly a part of the city by not only including the pedestrian, but also the shoppers coming by car and bus: catering to both residents and visitors. Internally it, like the others was pedestrian oriented. The overview, other than the previous two overviews, includes multiple instances of the same complexes. This is also because they offer different expressions of the same aspect. On the facing page, the overview also contains the Robna Kuca Rijeka, which shows similarities in these aspects, especially the historicist architectural language has a strong presence.

All-Type: Arcades



SHARED CHARACTERISTICS:

The three typologies both engaged with their city or neighborhoods differently.³ In the book *Project Zagreb*,⁴ it is shown that at the time the development of the city was expressed in these specific diagrams, that by highlighting specific circles in the whole, it becomes clear what the catered environment for new centers was supposed to be. These correspond perfectly with the discussed typologies: the neighborhood department store, the inner-city department store and the shopping center. The ideas on their role regarding centrality becomes nearly literal by using the circles in this manner, showing the neighborhood department store had a pivotal role in its urban context. The neighborhood department store plugged into the existing inner city and revolved around the city center. The shopping center was conceived to be a new city center and it was just that.⁵ However it is important to note that from the discussed case studies it becomes clear that they take up both the role of the revolving entity as well as the pivotal entity. Programmatically closer to a pivotal role, but physically a revolving role.⁶

If we fall back on the urban analysis' context land-use map and express this diagrammatically, the changes repeat itself.⁷ In the neighborhood department store, we see two separate zones of commerce and education. These are separated from one another and clustered, totally being surrounded by mono-functional housing. This clustering of program could be interpreted as an attempt to gain a certain critical mass and as such creates centrality. The inner-city department store operates in a highly mixed-use environment, there is little to no clustering as one would expect in a (historical) inner-city. The third typology separates itself from its surrounding city, often surrounded by mono-functional housing (although this also depend on the distance from the original city center) and within its 'zone' the program is extended with sports and/or cultural activity. Because the third typology describes a complex, the clustering is according to zones, not necessarily apparently being interconnected. However, like the first typology this clustering can result in this creation of a critical mass, and as such, referring back to the previous diagrams, both perform a pivotal as revolving role.

The three typologies have certainly in common the cantilevered floors.⁸ These portico or arcade-like fronts attempt to blur the line between interior and exterior but they do scale with the entire volume. Of course, there are differences. The first typology extends its arcade to the neighboring shops and does not only work to attract shoppers, but also guides them through the commercial cluster.⁹ This is important to note as the second typology offers only the front porch to visitors of the store: it is clearly part of that department store and does not connect to other buildings. This again is the opposite of the third typology, which uses these sheltered walkways all around the complex, so in a way it interconnects the constituent shops within the complex, like the first typology, but being part of only the shopping center does not further engage with the surrounding city. In the overview on the facing page, various instances of this aspect, the arcade, are put side-by-side showing the strong presence of this aspect. They are separated in three columns, corresponding with each typology.

3 The aspect has been simplified in diagrams, made by the author. See top diagrams on page 103.

4 Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007).

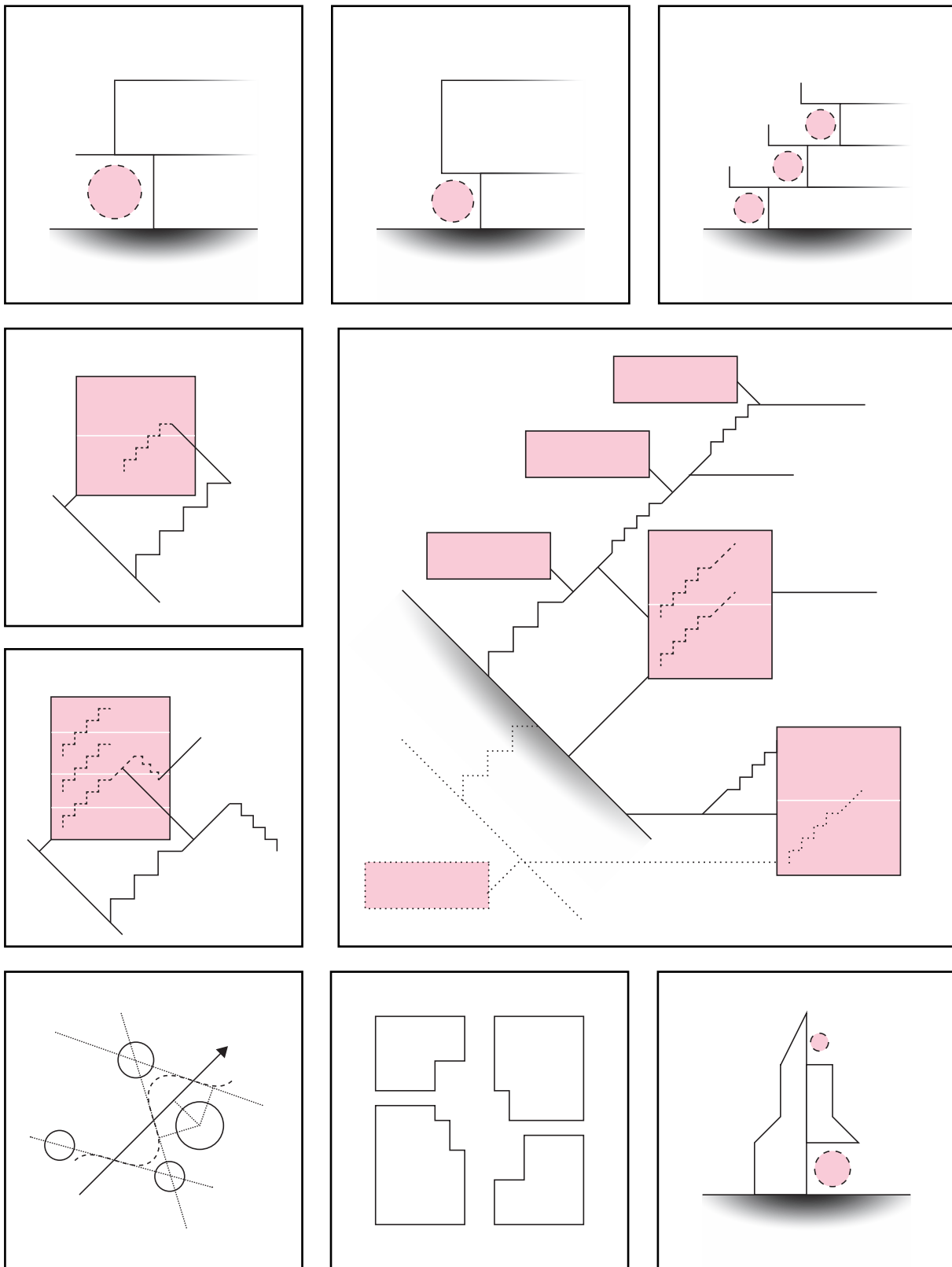
5 Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns, USA* (New York: Reinhold; Chapman & Hall, 1960).

6 The difference between pivoting and revolving here is meant as a difference between rotating around its own axis (the former) and rotating around an external axis (revolving): they 'plug-in' to the existing urban fabric.

7 This aspect was also simplified in diagrams, made by the author. See diagrams on the following page.

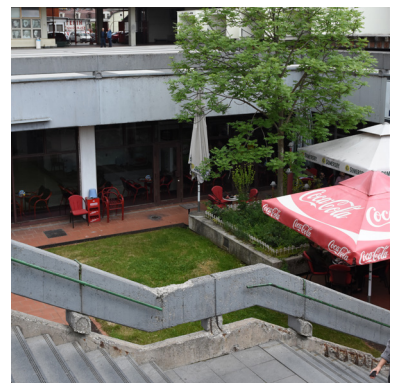
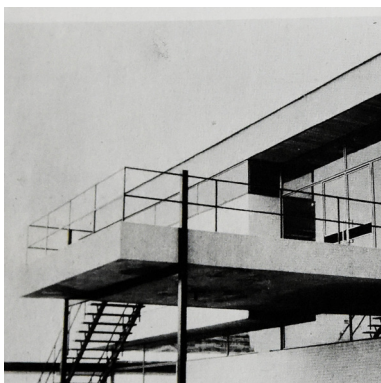
8 See diagrams on the following page, but also the overview of shared characteristics on the facing page.

9 For example, the Trnsko Nama store extends towards the commercial cluster and the Zaprudje neighborhood can be seen almost as a single building.

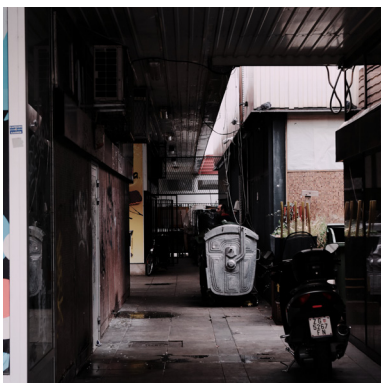
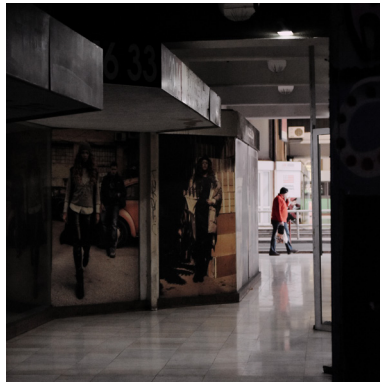


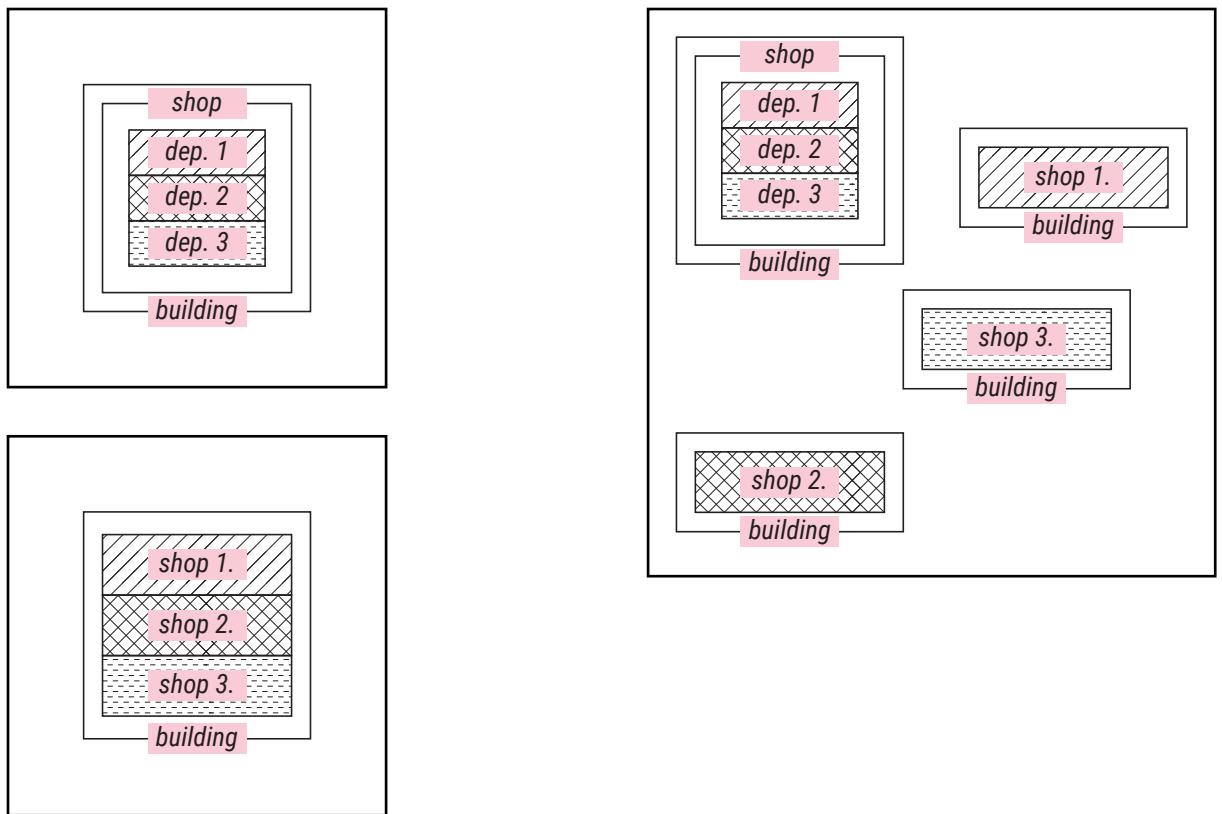
Above: (top-row) the three typologies share the same arcade-like structure at the entrances of the buildings. (middle) the routing in and around the building becomes increasingly more complex moving through the different typologies. (bottom-row) the three typologies do share a certain play on this axial direction, empowered in a way by a certain porosity increasing accessibility but in the end all suffered from ambitions meeting reality.

All-Type: Levels and the Public



All-Type: Permeable edges





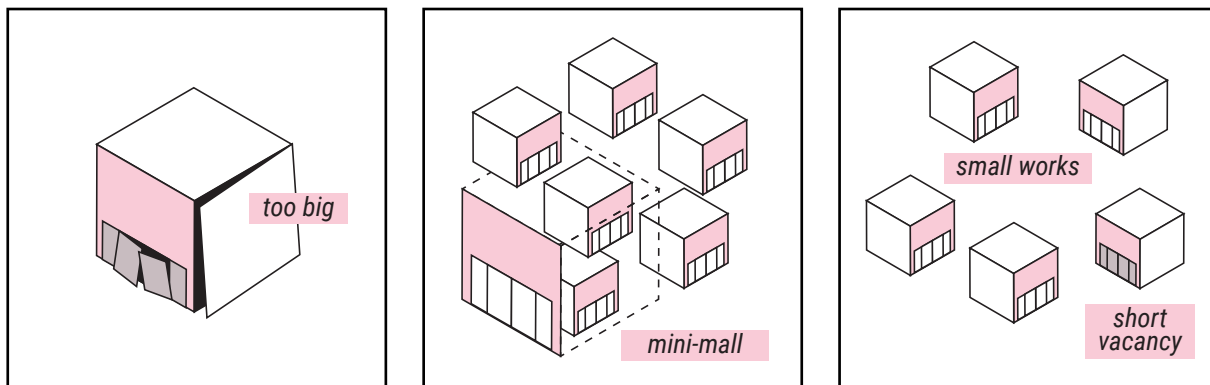
Above: (left column) over time, the different departments in the department-stores have often become different shops in the same building. This was less so the case with the shopping center, as this already housed different shops in different buildings.

The continuity of the public by the different typologies becomes increasingly complex though, after discussing the shared arcade element.¹⁰ The first typology has a simple main entrance. In case of the Trnsko department store, this is extended with an exterior staircase that leads up to the first floor in addition to the interior staircase. The second typology, apart from the front entrance, might offer secondary or even tertiary visitors' entrances and has a larger stairwell on the inside. In case of the Rijeka department store, it engages with the routing of the surrounding city by becoming a way to cross a busy road, externally. Similar engagements can be seen in other department stores as well, in different fashions.¹¹ The third typology, as a synthetic city center, displays both various interior as exterior stairs, inside and outside routes about the complex. In the specific case of Koteks, some shops can be entered from both sides, creating a string of shops, alternative to the shaded walkways. To show how shared this characteristic is, an overview of the different instances can be found on the previous spread. It becomes clear that the engagement of the public through different levels is limited in the earlier typologies, but becomes greater with each typology. It includes the New Zagreb neighborhoodcenter of Travno, that sits on top of a large garage.

All three typologies share some other characteristics as well. In all cases, a certain axial route along

10 The arcade aspect has been simplified in diagrams. See diagrams on the previous spread, page 106.

11 For example, where the department store in Rijeka moves the pedestrians and shoppers over the road, Kvaternik moves the pedestrians underneath the road.



Above: it appears that bigger shops have been unable to continue operations, the splintering into smaller shops are seeming to prove this works better.

which like centers of gravity, the buildings perform a certain gravitational pull.¹² In case of the second typology, this can be seen either in the placement along a busy road or square, but also internally, in case of Rijeka. This route or axis in the urban context is fed by a certain porosity: smaller streams that flow into the main stream.¹³ However, this is of course much like the river changes its routes, impacted by changing times. All buildings discussed had a certain ambition, of which not everything came to fruition.¹⁴ In order to keep the building accessible, all typologies showcase a certain permeability in order to feed into this axis or route. The overview of this aspect, permeable edges, can be found on the previous spread. It should be noted that the second typology offers slightly less strong examples of this, which could be explained from the fact that the second typology usually depends on existing routes in the surrounding city.

Mostly, the first and third typology seemed to share a lot of characteristics when it came to the creation of centrality and the continuation of the public. However programmatically the first two typologies seem to share a lot more. Since the department store is a single shop with various departments, and the shopping center has various buildings with different shops, the factor time had a different impact. Of the department stores, most of these were broken up into some sort of mini-malls, housing various shops in one building. As briefly discussed in the first chapter, the self-management organization may have had an impact on this splintering during or after the shift from socialism to neoliberalism. This internal splintering was not so much apparent in the shopping center but resulted in how much of historical city centers work: different buildings with different owners.

Following this development of internal splintering, and in case of the third typology, external splintering, a certain conclusion can be drawn in how the bigger shops could, programmatically, only continue in smaller shops.¹⁵ This can also be interpreted in a way that smaller shops can be easily replaced by other smaller shops, whereas when the big shopping concern leaves (bankruptcy or other usually financial reasons) it can not always so easily be replaced by another big fish. In Koteks this can be seen in a large empty portion of the complex, owned by the same investor that is unable to replace the shops, whereas Skenderija already had smaller shop units in parts of the complex.

12 See diagram on facing page (bottom left).

13 See diagram on facing page (bottom middle).

14 See diagram on facing page (bottom right).

15 See diagrams on top of page.

Through their size and position, the three shopping typologies acted out different roles to different people, and expressed these accordingly. The regional differences between architects and their architecture offer a wide variety as well. The three all take either 'classic' department-store elements¹⁶ or regional elements in order to take part in the public life, embedding themselves visually in their environments. Their exact placement in the city indicated their always pivotal or rotational role, be it near new squares, existing squares, or near existing city centers; which in turn certainly had effect on the size and eventually program of the different types. Although the economy always is a big impact on shopping, and therefore shopping typologies, the exact socio-economic make-up of the country resulted in a certain adaptability in which often the architectures survived to this day.

16 Kooijman, *Machine en Theater*.



ARCHITECT(S): A. SATARA
PRIMA DEPARTMENT STORE
SPLIT, 1966. (PERSONAL MATERIAL).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally this paragraph is an expression of gratitude and appreciation for the many people who helped with the research in one way or another, by sharing information, thoughts, materials and literature and for often being interesting and even enthusiastic. Many thanks to: Sanja Zadro, Jere Kuzmanic, Antonia Dajak, Katerina Hubeny, Frane Stancic, Maroje Mrduljas, Idis Turato, Sanja Matijevic Barcot, Karin Serman, Tea Trutava, the Museum of Architecture in Zagreb, and of course my tutors who were most involved with the research Tom Avermaete and Armina Pilav, with help of Roel v.d. Pas.

