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journal

international committee for
documentation and conservation
of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the
modern movement

№ 72 – 2024/3

Editors-in-chief: Uta Pottgiesser & Wido Quist

Guest Editors: Nataša Koselj, Mejrema Zatrić

THE WAY TOWARDS REGIONAL MODERNITIES

PUBLISHER
Docomomo Journal is published twice a year by Docomomo International.

Print-ISSN: 1380-3204
Online-ISSN: 2773-1634
Docomomo Journal 72, 2024/03
Cover image: Juraj Neidhardt, Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, 1954-59, Faculty courtyard. © Dragana Anotnić and Enis Logo, 2019.

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INDEXATION
Docomomo Journal is indexed in the Directory of Open Access journals (DOAJ), Google Scholar, Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, EBSCO—Art & Architecture Complete, EBSCO—Art & Architecture Source, Electronic journals Library, European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences, Polish Scholarly Bibliography, British Architectural Library Catalogue (RIBA), Scientific indexing Services, Index Islamicus, Latindex and Scopus.

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Uta Pottgiesser & Wido Quist

Editors-in-Chief

DISCIPLES, DEVOTEES, SCHOLARS, AND FRIENDS

It is a long-standing and well-appreciated tradition of Docomomo International to emphasize its diversity expressed in buildings, sites, and neighborhoods due to different geography, language, education, and personalities. The term *multiple modernisms* has been coined to express regional, stylistic, and constructive differences in the formal and philosophical expression of Modern Movement across the globe, within the continents, and even within countries. Docomomo conferences and Docomomo Journals have used and interpreted the term over the last 30 years to express and acknowledge the diversity in the growing community of national working parties. We only need to refer to the recent Docomomo Journal no. 67 (2022) on *Multiple Modernities in Ukraine*[1], or no. 36 (2007) on *Other Modernisms*[2], published in parallel with the 2006 Docomomo International Conference in Istanbul and Ankara (Turkey) with the same title. Other issues highlighted local and regional particularities together and, at the same time, referenced common roots and personal links, such as the preservation technology dossier no. 13 on *Perceived Technologies in the Modern Movement 1918-1975* published by the International Specialist Committee on Technology (ISC/T) in 2014. In that publication, the specific and long-term collaborations of architects with engineers and artists were explored often leading to exceptional solutions in structure, design, and function.

The current issue of Docomomo Journal on the architects Dušan Grabjian (1899-1952) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979) keeps with this tradition of collaboration and discourse. The authors investigate, describe, and interpret the friendship, exchange, and works of both architects and their role in the modernization of Yugoslav architecture since the 1920s based on their international experience. Grabjian, the first graduate of Jože Plečnik at the University of Ljubljana, went to study in Paris in 1925-26, and Neidhardt worked in the studio of Le Corbusier in Paris from 1933-35. Grabjian left an extensive archive currently hosted by the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) in Ljubljana and containing correspondence with Neidhardt and other architects, like Milan Sever. While a large part of Juraj Neidhardt's private archive was tragically lost during the Siege of Sarajevo, an important portion was preserved and is now held at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another part of Neidhardt's archive, primarily representing the research and designs from his later career, was acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2021. Celebrated for their dedication to integrating international modernist ideas with the local architectural and cultural traditions of the

Balkans, they shaped a unique architectural discourse that responded to both global and local contexts. "Through their work and teaching they disseminated modernist ideas to the territory of former Yugoslavia." as Zupančič wrote[3].

Grabjian, unlike many modernists who sought to break entirely with the past, remained committed to exploring the potential of vernacular architecture. He can be seen as a scholar devoted to the idea that regional architectural languages could provide solutions for modern challenges, and he practiced these principles in his pedagogical work at the Secondary Technical School (STS) in Sarajevo. His work was not merely nostalgic for a lost past but an effort to show how the local could shape the future of architecture.

Neidhardt was deeply committed to modernism, but he recognized that any architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina had to respond to the unique social, historical, and environmental context of the region. His approach to regionalism was neither romantic nor conservative; instead, it was dynamic and future-oriented, using local tradition as a springboard for modern innovation. Neidhardt's work and writings after Grabrijan's early death in 1952 carried forward the central ideas they had developed together: architecture needed to serve the local population and respect local traditions while embracing the future.

The legacy of Grabrijan and Neidhardt lies in their ability to act as intermediaries between two architectural worlds: the global modern movement and the local traditions of the Balkans. Their work emphasized that architectural innovation does not need to come at the expense of cultural continuity. They contributed to the broader narrative of Yugoslav architecture, which in the post-WWII period was characterized by an exploration of how socialist modernism could be adapted to different regions of the country. Their approach foreshadowed the later 'critical regionalism' movement and viewed regionalism not as a rejection of modernity but as a more sensitive and responsive way of embracing it.

Both Grabrijan and Neidhardt played crucial roles in articulating a Yugoslavian architectural identity that straddled modernism and regionalism. Their work in Bosnia and Herzegovina was groundbreaking in its insistence that modern architecture could not simply be imported from the West; it had to be adapted to the local climate, materials, and ways of life. They both remain influential in the study of how architecture can reconcile the tension between modern abstraction and regional specificity, and their work continues to be studied as a model for integrating global and local architectural practices.

We thank our guest editors Nataša Koselj and Mejrema Zatrić to bring the characters of Dušan Grabjian and Juraj Neidhardt to our attention and for their passion and continued efforts in shaping this issue of the Docomomo Journal, published both in print and online via www.docomomojournal.com.

1 Pottgiesser, U. & Quist, W. (eds.), (2022), DOCOMOMO Journal 67, p.112. DOI: https://doi.org/10.52200/docomomo.67

2 Tournikiotis, P. (ed.) (2007), DOCOMOMO Journal 36, pp. 116. https://doi.org/10.52200/docomomo.36

3 Zupančič, B. (2024), Letters from Paris and Architect Dušan Grabrijan's Archive. In: Koselj, N. & Zatrić, M., DOCOMOMO Journal 72, p. 72. https://doi.org/10.52200/docomomo.72.01

THE WAY TOWARDS REGIONAL MODERNITIES - JOINT WORKS OF DUŠAN GRABRIJAN AND JURAJ NEIDHARDT

Nataša Koselj

The original idea to dedicate a special issue of the Docomomo Journal to the architects Dušan Grabrijan (1899–1952) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901–1979) came to my mind when Prof. Dr. Uta Pottgiesser became the new Chair of Docomomo International and when Docomomo Bosnia and Herzegovina joined Docomomo in 2021. The focus was two-fold; to help a new Docomomo chapter in the process of integration into the broader Docomomo community, and to present the research and creative work of two architects whose creativity connected Europe with the countries of former Yugoslavia already in the first part of the 20th century. Dušan Grabrijan was a Slovenian architect, and Juraj Neidhardt was a Croatian-Bosnian with German origins. Dušan Grabrijan was Plečnik's student in Ljubljana, and Juraj Neidhardt was a student of Peter Behrens in Vienna and a valued collaborator in Le Corbusier's Paris studio. Their Sarajevo lived experience, dedicated to the study of Bosnian and Macedonian traditional architecture and ways of life, combined with the Plečnik's school as well as with the school of Peter Behrens and Le Corbusier, resulted in a special attitude towards modernity – marked by concern for human scale, geography and history. Our first Zoom meeting coincided with the start of the war in Ukraine in February 2022, which became a priority for the next two issues of the Docomomo Journal. Similar to how our work started, the architect's Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's joint creative period also coincided with the inter-war and wartime. In those unstable times, they dedicated their research to studying the eternal values of the origins of modernity and were searching for the links between pioneering modernism and regional characteristics of 'architecture without architects'. Their seminal book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity (1957), with a preface by Le Corbusier, which was reprinted in 2023, became the most quoted book among the received papers for this special issue of the Docomomo Journal, so the title: The Way Towards Regional Modernities originates from this prominent book.

Merjema Zatrić

The recent environmental turn in the humanities has foregrounded a set of questions in architecture history that reframed the relevance of "regional modernism". The theory-writing, research and design in modern architecture have occasionally addressed the value of the local, but few have done it as thoroughly and daringly as the architects Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt.

Their appreciation of the landscape, climate, culture and materiality of the geographic regions enriched modernist universalism with local values and placed architecture in the regional environment, marked by geographical-historical local specificities.

Just like the works of vernacular architecture emerged in the regions as results of collective authorship, Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's joint work was constituted as the fusion of their individual visions and curiosities. Grabrijan's modernist respect for the otherness of non-Western cultural values met Neidhardt's modernist desire to integrate his designs into a larger, organic whole. Their resulting original outlook on the architecture and the world was best represented in their book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity, which combined ethnography, modernist design, regional planning and environmentalism *avant la lettre* into a meticulous layout shaped in the image of the Bosnian region.

In the foreword to the book, Le Corbusier reconfirmed the need to comprehend local architecture in the "milieu" that "created it." The book was, indeed, a map of Bosnian architecture in its milieu, including an attempt to make sense of its rapid post-Second World War transformations and the role of modern architecture in their midst.

As a crowning achievement of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's joint research and theory-writing, Neidhardt's design practice sought to insert itself into what he called a "single-stroke quality" of the historic agglomerations. The timeless substance and value of his built work are a physical testament to what was one of the most productive and unique collaborations and friendships in Yugoslav architecture.

The contributions in this Docomomo Journal unravel and (re)frame the richness of ideas presented in Dušan Grabrjan's and Juraj Neidhardt's written and built work, tracing these back to the influence of their teachers, regionalism, modernity, identity politics, heritage, context, disciplinary domains of architecture, and urbanism, to name a few of the most recurrent themes.

The richness and multiplicity of themes addressed in the different contributions made it very difficult to create the optimal order for this issue: every grouping of contributions would undervalue at least one of the aspects of the individual papers. Finally this Journal is structured in three main blocks where the first focusses on the joint origins and joint works of Dušan Grabrjan and Juraj Neidhardt. It includes contributions by Bogo Zupančič, Lejla Džumhur with Aida Idrizbegović-Zgonić and Dijana Alić. The second block of papers has the main focus on Plečnik and Dušan Grabrjan's work and contains contributions by Miloš Kosec, Mirjana Lozanovska with Viktorija Bogdanova and Aleksa Korolija. The third block of papers focusses on Juraj Neidhardt and is authored by Darja Radović-Mahečić, Aleksandar Bede with Dragana Konstantinović and Slobodan Jović and by Nevena Novaković. As guest-editors, we contributed with a paper on the origins of modernity and the synthesis of the arts with the region in the second and third block.

Troughout the papers, the influences and relevance of Juraj Neidhardt's and Dušan Grabrjan's evolving understanding of regional modernities is discussed. Including the multiple meanings, agencies, and controversies of the ways in which the Ottoman-era architectural heritage was understood and presented in two of the most important joint publications by Grabrijan and Neidhardt: "Sarajevo and its Satellites" and *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*. The specificities of the importance of Jože Plečnik's influence in the region in connection with Dušan Grabrijan's research, his fieldwork, theory, and personal archive are discussed, as well as Juraj Neidhard's architecture, design, and urban planning ideas, from contextuality to "radical" modernism. In the final part of this Docomomo Journal, several books by and on Dušan Grabrjan and Juraj Neidhardt are highlighted and the Heritage in Danger section presents the challenges of conserving the built legacy of Juraj Neidhardt.

We are both enormously thankful to the editorial team of Docomomo International, for their kind support and dedication to the subject. Our thankfulness goes also to the peer reviewers of this special issue: Tamara Bjažić Klarin, Ljiljana Blagojević, Miles Glandinning, Franci Lazarini, Jelka Pirkovič, Damjan Prelovšek, Luka Skansi and most of all to all the authors of the submitted papers: Dijana Alić, Aleksandar Bede, Viktorija Bogdanova, Lejla Džumhur, Slobodan Jović, Miloš Kosec, Dragana Konstantinović, Aleksa Korolija, Peter Krečič (book review), Mirjana Lozanovska, Nevena Novaković, Darja Radović Mahečić, Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić and Bogo Zupančič.

A special thank you goes to Tatjana Neidhardt, Miran Kambič, Dragana Antonić and Enis Logo, who granted us permission to reproduce visual documentation without which this volume could not have been conceived.

Mejrema Zatrić *is an architect, architectural historian, and assistant professor at the International University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her research focuses on the relations between architecture and the environment, Yugoslav modern architecture and genealogies of modernist regionalism in the Western Balkans and beyond. She holds a doctoral degree from ETH Zurich and a Master of Architecture and Urban Culture from the Metropolis program of the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya and Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona. She has been a curatorial advisory board member for the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980, and holds a certificate of the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) in Los Angeles for the conservation of modern architecture. She is Chair of Docomomo Bosnia-Herzegovina and co-founder of the Archive of Modern Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

Nataša Koselj *is an architect and Associate Professor with a PhD (2003, University of Ljubljana) on post-war architecture in Slovenia. She completed MARC2002 MoMo conservation course in Finland and did part of her PhD studies at Oxford Brookes University. Since 2004, she has been serving as Chair of Docomomo Slovenia. In 2008, she was a guest researcher at the Docomomo International Headquarters, Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine in Paris as a member of the ISC/Registers. She curated numerous exhibitions, published over 200 articles and books (she wrote the chapter 'The Balkans and Greece' in Sir Banister Fletcher's Global History of Architecture, 2020), and was awarded the Plečnik Medal for her monograph on the architect Danilo Fürst (2014). Her publication, Architecture of the 60s in Slovenia (1995), represents a pioneering synthesis in the field. In 2018, she co-organized the 15th International Docomomo Conference in Ljubljana.*

LETTERS FROM PARIS AND ARCHITECT DUŠAN GRABRIJAN'S ARCHIVE

Bogo Zupančič

ABSTRACT: The article presents the archive of architect Dušan Grabrijan at the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) in Ljubljana. It describes one of the key moments in the modernization of Slovenian (and Yugoslavian) architecture and society in the 1930s, namely the "invasion" of Le Corbusier's studio at 35 Rue de Sèvres in Paris by Jože Plečnik's students. The article primarily focuses on Grabrijan's correspondence with architects Juraj Neidhardt and Milan Sever, who wrote to Grabrijan in Sarajevo from Paris. Four letters sent to Grabrijan from Paris are just a fraction of the extremely varied and extensive archive, testifying to the influence that the studio in Paris had on the architectural developments in Slovenia. Grabrijan's archive is one of MAO's largest. It comprises various materials, from sketches, letters, lecture notes, and official documents to different photographs and similar. The materials from the 1920s relate to Grabrijan's study of architecture in Plečnik's seminar at the Technical Faculty in Ljubljana and at École national supérieure des beaux-arts de Paris (ENSBA Paris). Materials from his Sarajevo period date back to 1930-1945, when Grabrijan served as professor at Secondary Technical School (STS) and was fascinated by Bosnian architecture, observing parallels with modernist architecture. The last period offers an insight into the years between 1945 and 1952 when Grabrijan was a professor at the Department of Architecture at the Technical Faculty in Ljubljana. After Grabrijan's death in 1952, the archive was kept by his wife, who organized the publication of his books and their translations into foreign languages. These documents shed light on extensive architectural connections between Paris, Sarajevo, Ljubljana as well as Zagreb and Belgrade; the authors comment on architectural developments in their circles and on architects with whom they interacted.

KEYWORDS: Bosnian-Oriental architecture, Dušan Grabrijan, Juraj Neidhardt, Milan Sever, Marjan Tepina, Edvard Ravnikar

INTRODUCTION: Between 1926 and 1940, Le Corbusier's studio at 35 Rue des Sèvres in Paris received 17 Yugoslav architects, of which ten were Slovenian.[1] The reason why so many Slovenian architects (outnumbered only by the French and Swiss) went to Paris to work for Le Corbusier was that Plečnik's students had expected the professor to introduce them to modern architecture, whereas he insisted on the classical foundations. The most notable among Yugoslav architects in Le Corbusier's studio were Ernest Weissmann and Juraj Neidhardt from Croatia and Edvard Ravnikar from Slovenia, who later all became members of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. In 1939, there were as many as five Plečnik's students at the studio, so Le Corbusier, impressed by their drafting skills and work ethic, called this period l'epoque slovène[2] as both Marjan Tepina and Marko Župančič confirmed to me. What was their connection with Dušan Grabrijan, the first graduate of Plečnik's and the first who left for Paris already in the academic year 1925/26, with Plečnik's references and a French scholarship to study at the ENSBA? Grabrijan did not work for Le Corbusier, but he was kept in the loop about the studio through his architect friends. While serving the army in Maribor, he met Zagreb-based architect Juraj Neidhardt, a close collaborator of Le Corbusier's from January 1933 until mid-1935. Their letters brim with enthusiasm for modern architecture, but at the same time, both architects incessantly sought parallels between Bosnian-Oriental and modern architecture. What can we learn from Dušan Grabrijan's rich and varied archive and correspondence, and how can understanding of what went on in Le Corbusier's studio in Paris help us in our investigation of the modernization of Slovenian (and Yugoslav) architecture and society?

ARCHITECT DUŠAN GRABRIJAN—ASTUTE RESEARCHER AND FACILITATOR OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS

Architect Dušan Grabrijan's (1899-1952) death was marked with many obituaries (Sever, 1953; Neidhardt, 1953), and his name lives on in encyclopedias, lexicons, and memoirs. Numerous specialist books and conferences have referenced his work, and he has been featured in exhibitions on Slovenian and Yugoslav architectural history as well as in the context of architects such as Jože Plečnik, Le Corbusier, Juraj Neidhardt, and others (Zupančič, 2017). In his book *K arhitekturi* [*Towards architecture*], Fedja Košir (2007, pp.160-167) offered the most comprehensive assessment of Grabrijan's (theoretical) work, highlighting his pioneering efforts in the promotion of functionalist thought in Yugoslavia in the 1930s, as well as his research into Bosnian vernacular architecture before World War II, and into Macedonian architecture immediately after–something he had been preoccupied with already before the emerging fascination with "architecture without architects" as launched by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy and Bernard Rudofsky. Grabrijan was a passionate seeker of connections between Bosnian-Oriental architecture and modernism, which was the common thread that ran through his work. In the articles published before WWII in magazines such as *Tehničar* (Belgrade), *Jugoslovenski list* (Sarajevo), *Novi Behar* (Sarajevo), *Građevinski vjesnik* (Zagreb), *Arhitektura* (Ljubljana) and others, he promoted the emerging modernism in Yugoslavia, illustrating his arguments with Neidhardt's sketches and examples of his projects. A selection of his articles from 1936-1942 was published in 1970 in the volume *Grabrijan i Sarajevo* [*Grabrijan and Sarajevo*], edited by Džemal Čelić (1970). Grabrijan himself never published a book in his lifetime; all of his books and their translations were published after his death when the progressive architectural thought turned away from the strict principles of CIAM.

Grabrijan's work continues to be both a subject and a source of various research studies and his extensive archive, with its plethora of accumulated graphic materials, is and will be of great help in further research. Unlike Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979) [FIGURE 01], whose life and work were discussed in a comprehensive volume produced by his Sarajevo colleagues (Karlić Kapetanović, 1990), Grabrijan still has not received a monograph that would shed light on his work and significance.

Grabrijan [FIGURE 02] is one of the key figures contributing to as many as ten Slovenian architects joining Le Corbusier's studio in Paris in the 1930s. It is not known how the first Slovenian architect, Miroslav Oražem, Grabrijan's colleague from Plečnik's seminar, came to the studio in 1929, but Grabrijan definitely helped Milan Sever [FIGURE 03] to be accepted there in the autumn of 1933. The impression Sever made with his work was a good reference for other Plečnik's students, as from then on, the mention of Plečnik School alone was enough to open the studio door for them. Every Slovenian architect who left for Paris in the 1930s kept in contact with Grabrijan.

A RICH AND VARIED ARCHIVE

For more than 50 years after Grabrijan's death in 1952, the architect's wife Nada Grabrijan (1913-2003) kept, cataloged, and otherwise maintained his archive. During this time, she and her colleagues organized the publication and translation of most of his books into different languages. She allowed access to his archives to everyone disseminating Grabrijan's ideas. The bulk of the archive consists of letters that Grabrijan received from his colleagues. After his death, Nada Grabrijan also received letters from her husband's colleagues, publishers, and others with whom she

01 Architect Juraj Neidhardt. © Unknown photographer, Karlić Kapetanović, 1990, p. 73.

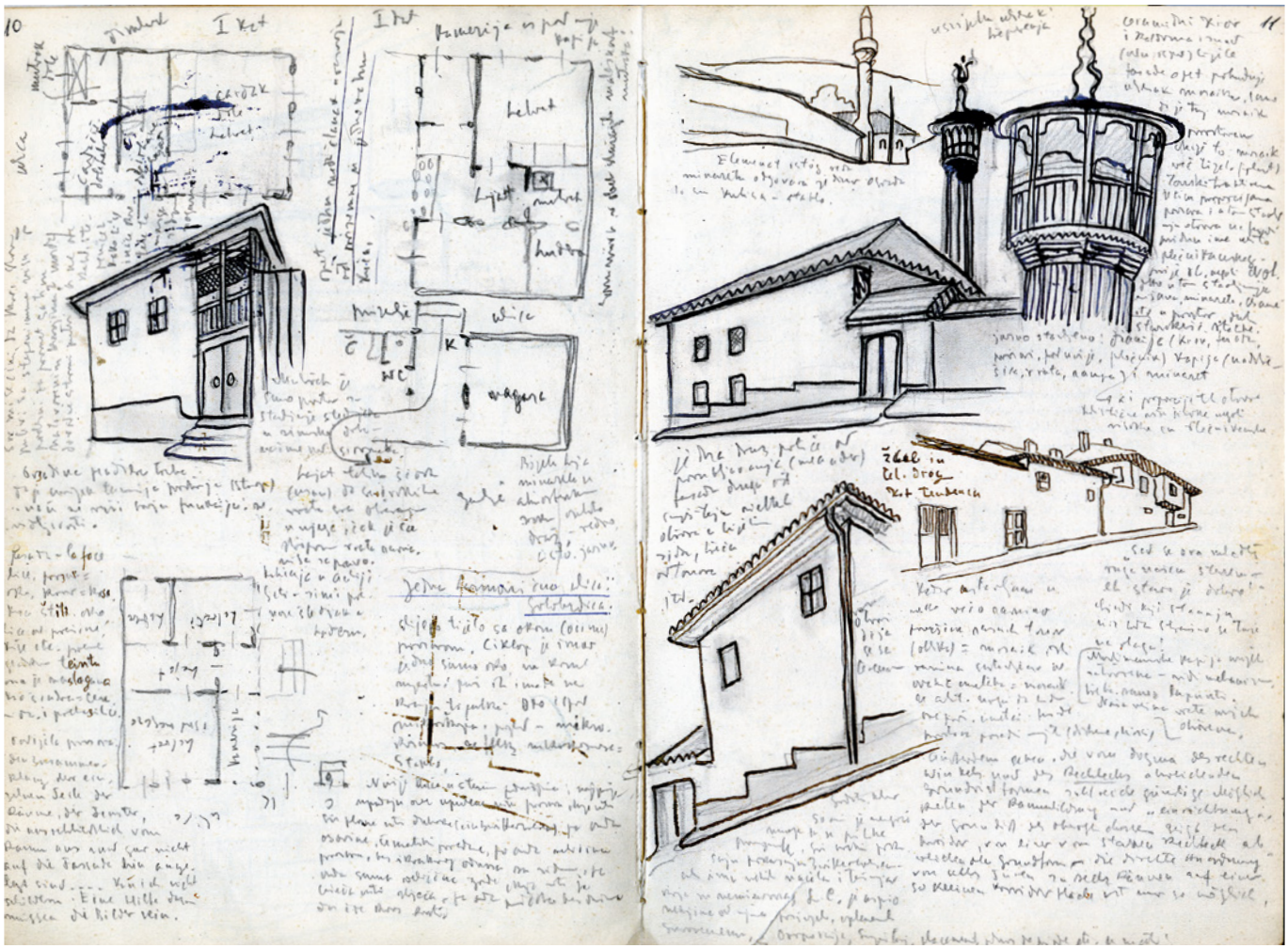
02 Prof. Dušan Grabrijan, architect. © Unknown photographer, Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

03 Architect Milan Sever. © U nknown photographer, Milan Sever's archive, MAO.

worked on the publication and translation of his books. Her comments accompany numerous letters and other archival materials. Dušan Grabrijan's archive was donated to the Architecture Museum Ljubljana (AML, today the Museum of Architecture and Design, MAO) in 2003 by Irena Confidenti, Nada Grabrijan's relative, who bestowed the archive upon the museum, with Dr. Peter Krečič at the helm, immediately after Nada's death. At the time, the structure of the archive was retained and materials were arranged in storage boxes by subject. In 2006, I curated the exhibition *Plečnik's Students at Le Corbusier's Studio* (Zupančič, 2007), which was subsequently updated for new exhibitions and lectures that took place in Ljubljana, Murska Sobota, Split, Nova Gorica, and Firminy and culminated in the book on Plečnik's students in Le Corbusier's studio (Zupančič, 2017). For this purpose, the museum decided to catalog the archive in more detail with the help of our volunteers–cultural mediators from the Third Age University in Ljubljana. Grabrijan's letters were subsequently presented at the AML museum evening on 16 December 2008. The inventory of other materials was completed in 2012.

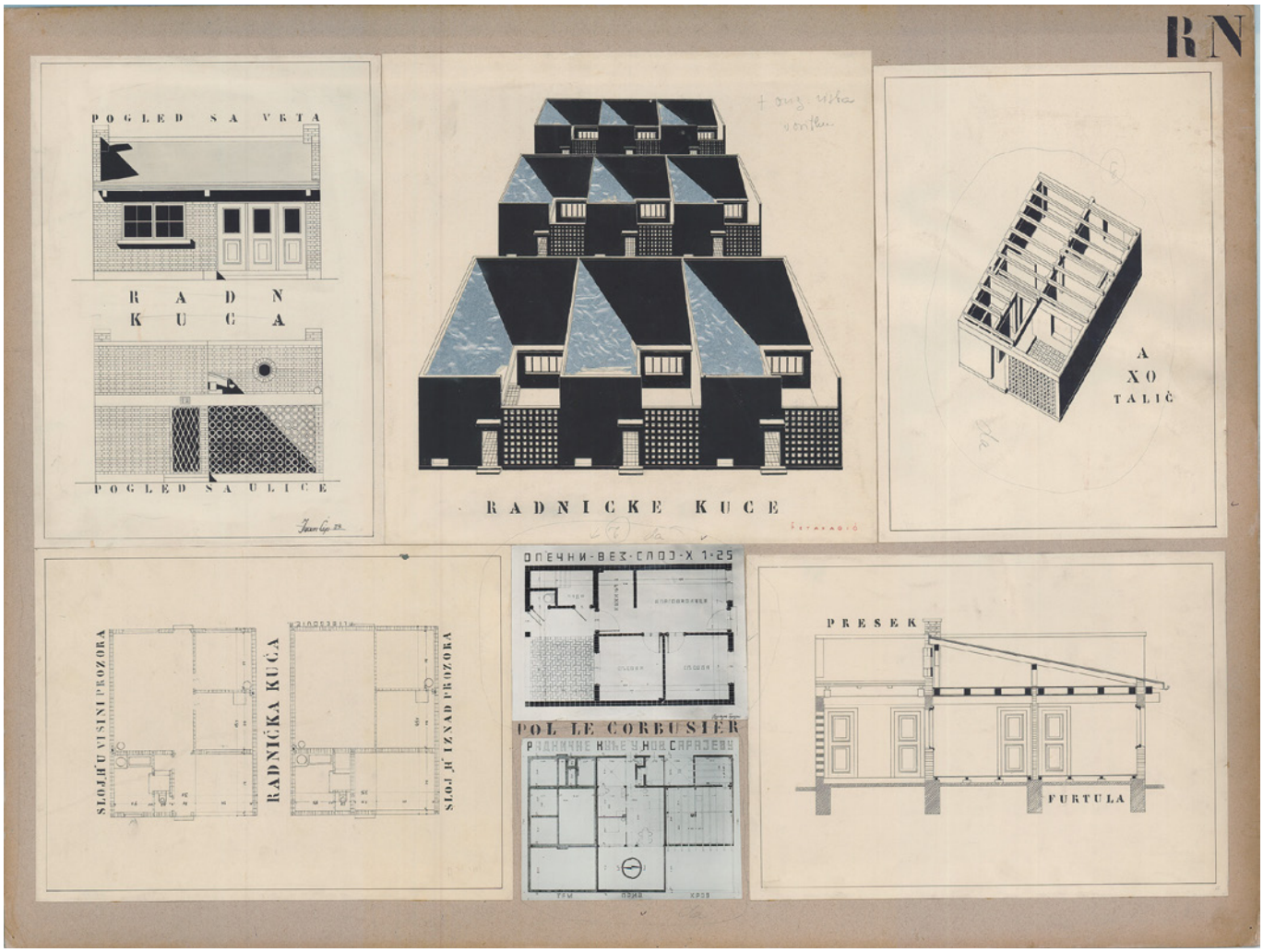
Comprising 60 storage boxes and 14 large folders with plans,[3] the archive is one of the largest at the museum and holds around 15,000 items. A third of the boxes comprises letters received by Dušan Grabrijan and his wife from numerous architects, editors, and friends, as well as sketchbooks, documents, and other materials. Other boxes hold diverse materials relating to Grabrijan's books (and translations): *Makedonska hiša ali prehod iz stare orientalske v sodobno evropsko hišo* (Macedonian house or its transition from old Oriental to modern European house, 1955 & 1976), *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* (Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity, 1957), *Kako je nastajala naša sodobna hiša* (How our contemporary house evolved, 1959 & 1973), *Plečnik in njegova* šola (Plečnik and his school, 1968), *Bosensko orientalska arhitektura v Sarajevu s posebnim ozirom na sodobno* (The Bosnian Oriental architecture in Sarajevo with special reference to the contemporary one, 1984 & 1985).

The inventory offers an insight into the extensive and fascinating archive comprising diverse materials, from letters, postcards, and telegrams to drawings, plans, sketchbooks, notebooks and jottings, lecture drafts and notes, official letters, personal documents, copies, drafts and manuscripts of Grabrijan's articles, newspaper

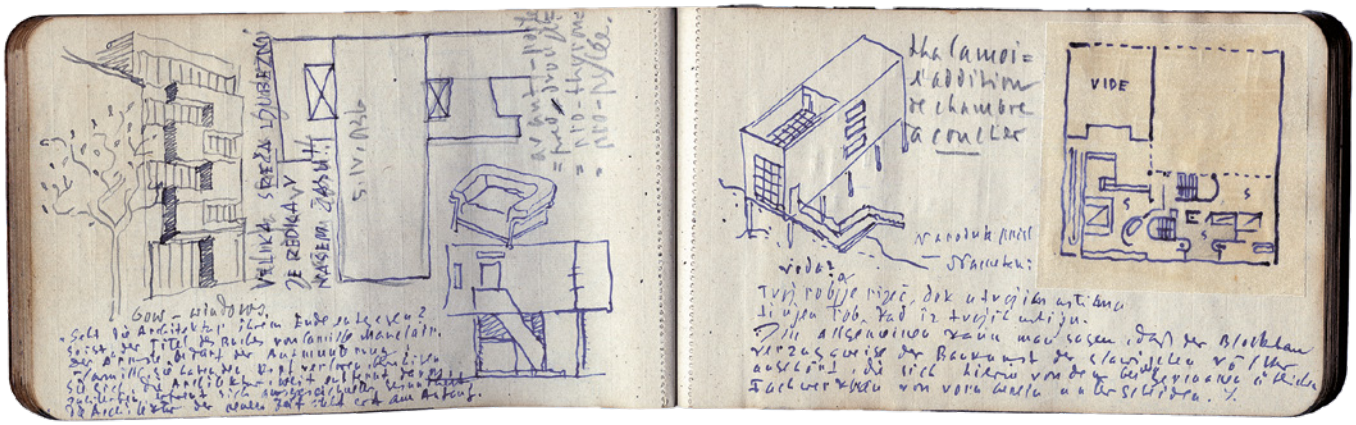


04 Pages 10 and 11 from Dušan Grabrijan's sketchbook from the 1930s with the architect's analytical sketches and notes on Bosnian Oriental houses. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

clippings, numerous photographs, books, clichés, and small (drawing) items. Most texts are in Slovenian and Croatian, some in German and French, and several in English. The majority are written in Latin script, with several official letters also in Cyrillic. The manuscripts are almost illegible; there are many copies, rewrites, duplicates, and undated documents [FIGURE 04]. The materials from the 1920s relate to Grabrijan's study of architecture in Plečnik's seminar at the Technical Faculty in Ljubljana and at École national supérieure des beaux-arts in Paris. Materials from his Sarajevo period date back to 1930-1945, when Grabrijan served as professor at Secondary Technical School (STS) in Sarajevo and was fascinated by Bosnian vernacular architecture, which he related to contemporary modernist architecture [FIGURE 05, FIGURE 06]. Most of his correspondence about architectural developments



05 Seven school projects at Secondary Technical School (STS) labeled RN, Sarajevo, (1933); Workers' housing in the spirit of Le Corbusier: façades, perspective, axonometry, floorplan, and section; white cardboard and two photographs; pencil, black Indian ink, silver paper; brown cardboard; 60 x 80 cm; signed by Ivan Cip Ila, Fetahagić, Talić, Alibegović, Furtula. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.



06 Grabrijan's sketchbook labeled 1935-1936. He used it to copy the motifs from architectural magazines and put down his thoughts and the images that crossed his mind. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

at the time was with architect Juraj Neidhardt and his many colleagues from Plečnik's seminar. Among the latter, architect Milan Sever (1904-1962) is represented with the most letters and mentions, whereas architects like Franc Tomažič, Jaroslav Černigoj, Nikolaj Bežek, Marjan Šorli, Boris Kobe, Janko Omahen and others are mentioned considerably less often and corresponded much more sporadically. Especially interesting from this period are the letters that architects Neidhardt, Sever, Marjan Tepina, and Edvard Ravnikar, who all worked in Le Corbusier's studio in Paris, sent to Grabrijan in Sarajevo. In them, they comment on the work and goings-on in both the studio and in Paris, as well as on their relationship with Le Corbusier. The last period, 1945 through 1952, when Grabrijan served as professor at the Department of Architecture of the Technical Faculty in Ljubljana, comprises Grabrijan's correspondence with his colleagues and others at the time of post-war reconstruction and modernization of socialist Yugoslavia.

NEIDHARDT'S AND SEVER'S LETTERS TO GRABRIJAN

Between 1925 and 1941, Neidhardt sent about 180 letters, postcards, and telegrams from Zagreb and abroad to Grabrijan in Sarajevo; the correspondence slowed down after 1945 until Grabrijan's death in 1952. The archive also holds a number of Sever's letters and letters that traveled between architects' wives, i.e., between Nada Grabrijan, Mili (Ljudmila) Neidhardt, and Jelena Sever (all of them Slovenians). Illustrated with sketches, Neidhardt's letters (the first were written in German and later in Croatian) bring interesting professional news. Often written in haste, they offer personal comments on the architectural developments of the time. Neidhardt comments extensively on competitions and (non)awarded solutions as well as the social context that was largely averse to modernism; he describes his own projects and media reception of his work and occasionally touches on more personal issues.

The two architects met while serving the army in Maribor and were drawn together by their passion for architecture. Grabrijan was also a big (and critical) admirer of Professor Plečnik, whereas Neidhardt studied under architect Peter Behrens in Vienna and worked for him in Berlin. They complemented each other and became good friends and collaborators. Most of Neidhardt's letters in the archive date back to when he worked for Le Corbusier in Paris and immediately after when he returned home to Zagreb.[4] From January 1933 to mid-1935, Neidhardt worked at the studio at Rue de Sèvres in Paris, where he assisted the guru of modern architecture in some of his internationally acclaimed projects. His letters reveal a palette of emotions and responses, from enthusiasm and small disappointments to indifference and minor conflicts, but the predominant tone is positive and friendly. Let's take a closer look at some of the letters.

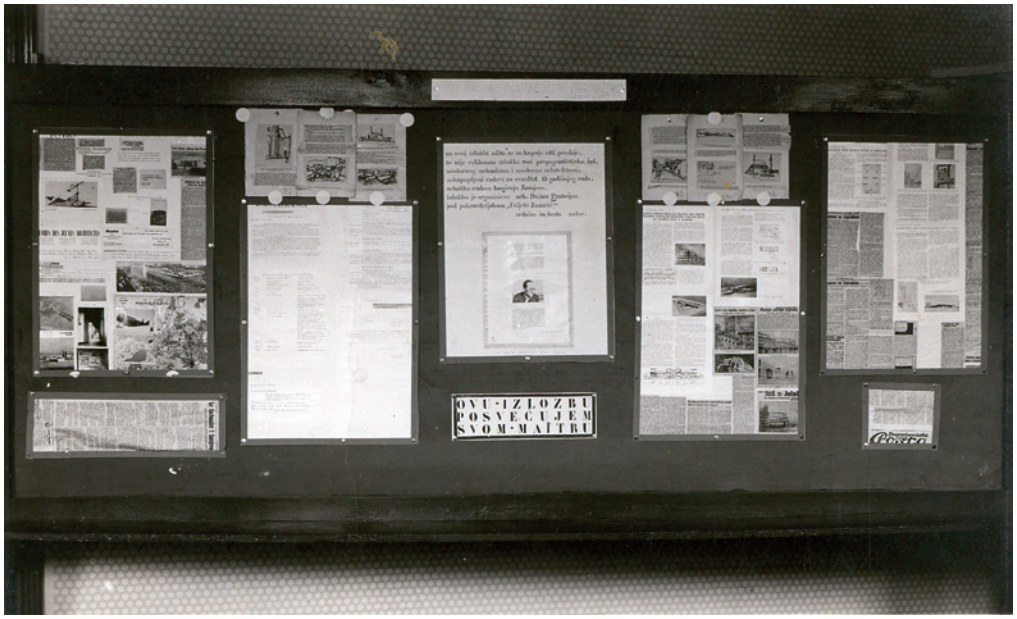
IMPRESSIONS FROM PARIS AND BEYOND

1 Sever wrote a postcard dated 8 December 1933 to Grabrijan in Sarajevo soon after his arrival in Paris, describing his first impressions, colleagues, conditions, and work at the studio:

> *"Dear Grabrijan, I'm over the moon! I got a place with Corbusier as soon as I arrived here. Neidhardt has been extremely kind. You might know the studio at 35 rue de Sèvres, an enormous corridor of a former monastery. Other than Le Corbusier, Jeanneret and Ms Perriand, who designs furniture, there are about 15 people of all nationalities, ages and educational background. At the moment we are working on a competition project for an insurance company in Zurich. An amazing solution, appealing both with its organisation and form. I have to admit that this is not how I had imagined Corbusier's work, and I had my doubts. Today, I am a believer. Corbusier himself is approachable, although a bit reserved, and he speaks German, too. But he is very gentle, no nimbus around him. He says little, more when he gives corrections. I haven't enrolled to the school (Ecole special d'arch.) for which I received scholarship; judging by the programme it's one of the best technical schools. I am matriculated at the Sorbonne, the faculty of arts, because of the urban design institute and its library, which I frequented later on. As regards work at the studio, I can say this for now: Corb. demands precise, clear drawings. I worked very hard at the beginning. And we study everything to the last detail. The form of the entire floorplan, individual rooms, proportions of bodies and planes, positioning of furniture, everything is equally important and worthy of meticulous study. And the measure of all things is man at rest and in motion"*
> *(MAO).*

Leading Slovenian architects were soon drawn to Le Corbusier's ideas, and many went to work at his studio, but just as soon turned away from them, following instead the ideas inspired by Regionalism; they were fascinated by Metabolism, Structuralism and similar (Zupančič, 2017, pp. 210-211).

2 Neidhardt and Sever met with Le Corbusier at his studio on several occasions, as testified by some of the



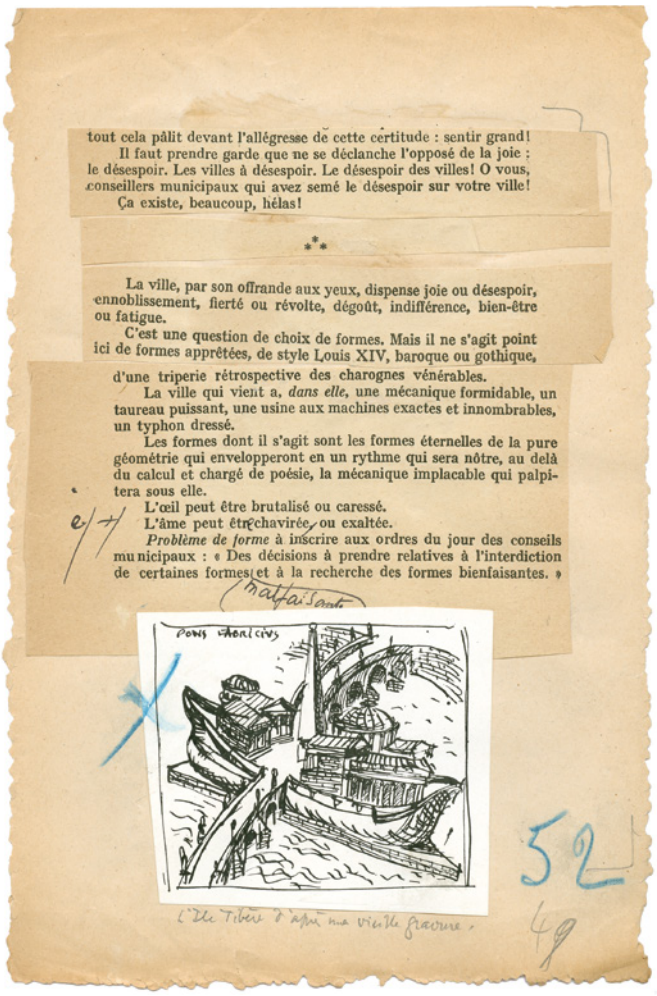
07 An exhibition of Juraj Neidhardt's works was set up by his friend Dušan Grabrijan in Sarajevo in 1936. Neidhardt dedicated it to his maitre Le Corbusier.
© Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

letters in the archive, which offer interesting details. In an undated letter (probably written in mid-1935, B. Z.) Neidhardt wrote to Grabrijan in Sarajevo (from Paris):

> *"... I have recently seen Le Corbusier and he advised me not to return to Yugoslavia and to go to Argentina instead. He says returning would be a waste of my talent. It would be good for me to fall on fertile ground. He says that in Argentina I could do great things with little effort. This time I saw he was right. The eye-opener was the Sarajevo competition [for the Sokol club house, B. Z.) for which I am sure I submitted the best project. ..." (MAO).*

The quality of Yugoslav modernism is undeniable and can definitely be compared to South American modernism. Yugoslav architects in Le Corbusier's studio at 35 Rue de Sèvres in Paris were outnumbered only by the Swiss and French. The significance and relevance of Yugoslav modernism were showcased also in 2018 at the exhibition in MoMA, New York, titled *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980.*

3 Dušan Grabrijan's archive in the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) in Ljubljana holds an original sketch by Le Corbusier and a few documents. In October 1936, Grabrijan organized an exhibition on architect Neidhardt in Sarajevo, which went on to visit Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Belgrade [FIGURE 07]. A photograph from Neidhardt's Sarajevo exhibition, which is kept both at MAO in Ljubljana and at Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris, shows the original sheets (in the photograph recognizable attached with round white stickers), which Le Corbusier used for his book *L'Urbanisme* (1924) [FIGURE 08].


tout cela pâlit devant l'allégresse de cette certitude : sentir grand!
Il faut prendre garde que ne se déclanche l'opposé de la joie : le désespoir. Les villes à désespoir. Le désespoir des villes! O vous, conseillers municipaux qui avez semé le désespoir sur votre ville!
Ça existe, beaucoup, hélas!

***

La ville, par son offrande aux yeux, dispense joie ou désespoir, ennoblissement, fierté ou révolte, dégoût, indifférence, bien-être ou fatigue.
C'est une question de choix de formes. Mais il ne s'agit point ici de formes apprêtées, de style Louis XIV, baroque ou gothique, d'une triperie rétrospective des charognes vénérables.
La ville qui vient a, *dans elle*, une mécanique formidable, un taureau puissant, une usine aux machines exactes et innombrables, un typhon dressé.
Les formes dont il s'agit sont les formes éternelles de la pure géométrie qui envelopperont en un rythme qui sera nôtre, au delà du calcul et chargé de poésie, la mécanique implacable qui palpitera sous elle.
L'œil peut être brutalisé ou caressé.
L'âme peut être ravie, ou exaltée.
Problème de forme à inscrire aux ordres du jour des conseils municipaux : « Des décisions à prendre relatives à l'interdiction de certaines formes et à la recherche des formes bienfaisantes. »

08 One of the pages serving to organize the layout of Le Corbusier's book L'Urbanisme (1924).
© Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

09 Le Corbusier's drawing, most likely of the famous dancer Josephine Baker, as suggested by the round stamp of the shipping company Compagnie De Navigation Sud-Atlantique, the owner of the liner with which the two traveled to Brazil in 1929. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

To thank him for his help with the Sarajevo exhibition, on 6 November 1936, Neidhardt in Zagreb to Grabrijan in Sarajevo sent a letter with an original drawing by Le Corbusier. He wrote: "Please accept this original drawing made by Le Corbusier on his travel to Africa as a token of my gratitude." (MAO, 1936). We have reason to believe that the drawing is of the famous dancer Josephine Baker, as the paper measuring 13.5 x 21 cm bears the stamp of Compagnie De Navigation Sud-Atlantique, the owner of the liner with which the two traveled to Brazil in 1929 [FIGURE 09].

4 In his letter of 12 January 1939 from Ljubljana to Grabrijan in Sarajevo, Sever wrote that Neidhardt had criticized Le Corbusier's ideas, that Le Corbusier's book featured Sever's drawing from the studio and that Le Corbusier's approach to developing architectural solutions was much the same as Plečnik's.

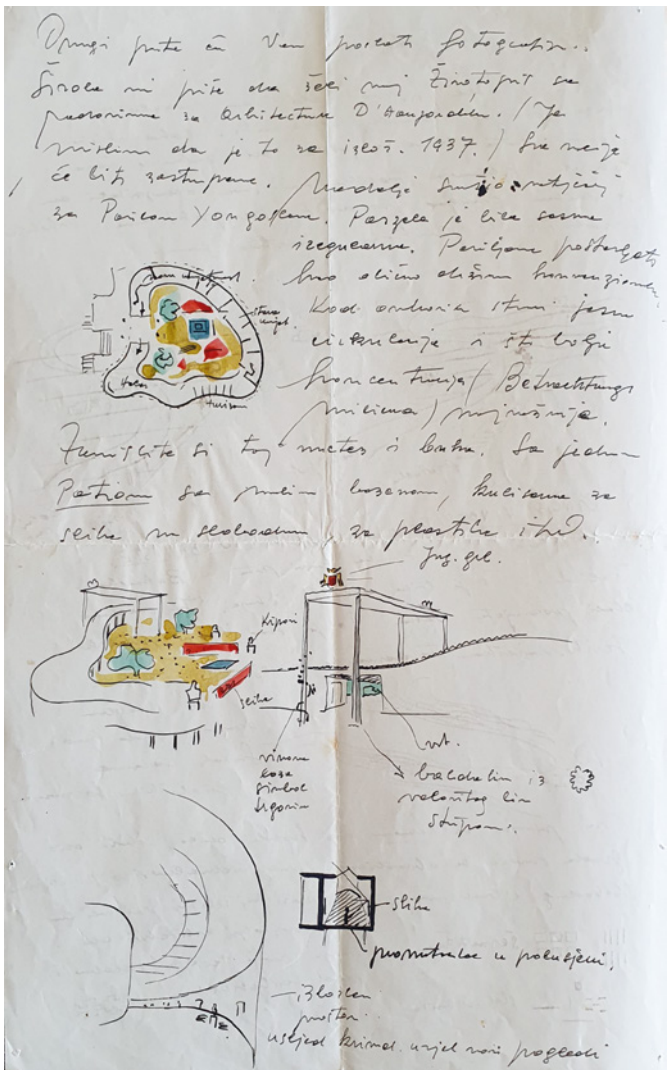
> *"Interestingly, in his introduction (to the book Le Corbusier 1934–38, B. Z.) Le Corbusier wrote that he renounced connected blocks and started with freestanding cuboids. Attention! Neidhardt had criticised that already in Paris and I wrote somewhere that this was Neidhardt's progress versus Le Corbusier. In the book, you can also see a "cooperative" from the village on which I worked at length in 1934 at Le Corbusier's. The floorplan drawing is mine. It is clear that I developed the published work under his guidance (Plečnik!)" [He is probably suggesting that, like Plečnik, Le Corbusier also wanted to be in control of every detail; B. Z.] Regards, MS.*
> *(MAO)*

He went on to say that in Paris, he and Neidhardt worked together on the urban design competition for King Peter Square in Sarajevo.

5 Aware of the role of architectural magazines, newspapers, and similar publications in raising awareness of the architectural and general public, Marjan Tepina and his colleagues also aspired to launch an architectural magazine. In the promotion of architecture and in his writings about urban issues, Tepina took on the role of a moderator between Grabrijan, who after 1935 wrote for expert magazines in Sarajevo, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana, and the editorial board of the French architecture magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (AA). Tepina wanted the magazine to engage another reporter from Yugoslavia, namely Grabrijan, and to dedicate more space to Yugoslav architecture. He sent several letters from Paris to Grabrijan in Sarajevo. In the first letter of 26 January 1939, he informed Grabrijan of his intention; in the second letter of 16 May 1939, he listed the themes for the coming issue of AA; and in the third letter, it already became clear that reporting would require Grabrijan to invest a lot of effort, time and his own resources (for field trips, photographs, and other expenses). Tepina went on to explain that the decisions on what was to be published in AA and Grabrijan's fee were up to the editor and, therefore, uncertain. Grabrijan declined the invitation, although even Ravnikar encouraged him to accept. Tepina and Ravnikar both became acquainted with the operation and organization of one of the leading French architecture magazines already in Paris [FIGURE 10, FIGURE 11]. Both of them continued to write for different publications for the rest of their lives. In 1951, Ravnikar and his colleagues started the Slovenian architecture magazine *Arhitekt*.

6 What Edvard Ravnikar, who is considered the most important Slovenian architect of the second half of the twentieth century, thought of Le Corbusier immediately after his return from Paris remains unknown because no correspondence between Ravnikar and Sever on

10 In an undated letter (date 3/9/1936 attributed by Nada Grabrijan) on page 2 architect Neidhardt presented his proposal for the Yugoslav pavilion at the Paris exhibition in 1937 to architect Grabrijan with drawings and text. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.



11 In an undated letter (date 3/9/1936 attributed by Nada Grabrijan) on page 3 architect Neidhardt presented his proposal for the Yugoslav pavilion at the Paris exhibition in 1937 to architect Grabrijan with drawings and text. © Dušan Grabrijan's archive, MAO.

the subject has been preserved. There is, however, a note that suggests they corresponded on the subject. In the letter that he sent from Ljubljana to Grabrijan in Sarajevo on 5 July 1939, Sever wrote: *"Please return my correspondence with Ravnikar. You will see there how we parted ways and what Ravnikar says of Corbusier. MS."* (MAO).

CONCLUSION

When Professor Jože Plečnik returned from Prague in 1920 to teach at the University of Ljubljana, his students expected him to introduce them to modern architecture, but they were wrong. Slovenian architects came into contact with modern architecture through various sources: all of them read professional magazines and literature, some attended Professor Ivan Vurnik's seminar, and others studied abroad and returned inspired by modern tendencies. In their pursuit of modern architecture, some of Plečnik's graduates left to study and work in Paris in the studio of the guru of modern architecture. Architect Dušan Grabrijan knew them well, just like he knew his way around Paris, having studied there at ENSBA in 1925/26, and with his connections, he played a key role in securing a place for Slovenian architects at Le Corbusier's studio in Paris. Through his close friend, architect Juraj Neidhardt, who worked with Le Corbusier when the master was making a name for himself in the international (architectural) arena, he was kept in the loop with what went on in the studio. Grabrijan and Neidhardt helped Slovenian architects, among them Milan Sever, Marjan Tepina, and Edvard Ravnikar, to join Le Corbusier's studio in Paris. Both keen explorers of Bosnian-Oriental and modern architecture, Grabrijan and Neidhardt sought connections between them, as testified by numerous papers published in magazines and the daily press, Grabrijan's pedagogical work at STS in Sarajevo, as well as the materials in Grabrijan's extensive and diverse archive. The letters inform us who worked in the studio and what projects they tackled; the architects describe the work methods there and compare them to work at Plečnik's seminar; they comment on Le Corbusier's personality and share their enthusiasm as well as criticism of his work. The letters also reveal the importance these architects attributed to their media presence, both through writing about architecture and publishing their

papers in architectural magazines. The correspondence between Sever and Ravnikar has not been preserved. Grabrijan's archive at MAO holds several items designed by Le Corbusier, such as his sketch of Josephine Baker and sheets from the model used for his book *Urbanisme* of 1924. While the Kingdom of Yugoslavia already saw the emergence of modern architecture and the first attempts to modernize society, these efforts were not pursued on a larger scale until new circumstances brought social change in the wake of World War II. Yugoslav architects who had worked at Le Corbusier's studio before World War II went on to become leading architecture professionals after the war, both in their homeland and beyond (like Weissmann); some went into politics (Tepina), and many became professors, including Sever, Tepina, Neidhardt, Ravnikar and Krunić. Through their work and teaching they disseminated modernist ideas to the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Bogo Zupančič *is a museum councillor at the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) in Ljubljana. Architecture historian, he graduated from the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana, also studied at the École national supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris. After five years working as a freelance journalist, he served 15 years as a curator at the Museum of Architecture and Design, and as the Museum's director from 2020 to 2023. He has (co)authored more than ten exhibitions on Slovenian architecture and has written ten books on the history of Slovenian architecture and Slovenian architects, most notably the scholarly monograph Plečnik's Students and other Yugoslav Architects in Le Corbusier's Atelier (MAO and KUD Polis, 2017). He has received several awards, both for his work and group projects, three Plečnik Medals (2006, 2019, 2022) and Valvasor Prize for Outstanding Achievements 2024.*

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ENDNOTES

1 Yugoslav architects at Le Corbusier's studio before World War II were: 1. Zvonimir Kavurić (1926–27), 2. Ernest Weissmann (1927–30), 3. Miroslav Oražem (1929, 1930–31), 4. Juraj Neidhardt (1933–35), 5. Milan Sever (1933–34), 6. Janko Bleiweis (1936–37), 7. Milorad Pantović (1936–37), 8. Krsto Filipović (1937), 9. Ksenija Grisogono (1937), 10. Branko Petričić (1937), 11. Feri Novak (1938), 12. Fran Tavčar (1938?), 13. Hrvoje Brnčić, (1938–39), 14. Marjan Tepina (1938–39), 15. Jovan Krunić (1938–39, 1940), 16. Edvard Ravnikar (1939), 17. Marko Župančič (1939–40). Architects marked 3, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 were Plečnik's students in his seminar at the Department of Architecture at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana.

2 Five Plečnik's students worked in the studio in 1939: Brnčić, Tepina, Krunić, Ravnikar and Župančič.

3 Fourteen folders hold ca. 400 plans, drawings and sketches. Folder 1: Sokol club house in Sarajevo; Folder 2: Collective housing; Folder 3: Individual houses; Folder 4: Old Bosnian houses; Folder 5: For the judge; Folder 6: Unwritten laws; Folder 7: Houses, hammams, kiosks, fountains, burial grounds; Folder 8: Europeisms; Folder 9: School projects; Folder 10: Perspective, axonometry; Folder 11: Book design; Folder 12: Rental houses; Folder 13: Small family house; Folder 14: Exercises from the history of architecture (STS Sarajevo, 1930–45).

4 The archive keeps 15 letters from 1935, 32 from 1936, 40 from 1937, 40 from 1938, and 8 from 1939.

AUTHORITY TO LIBERATE THE OTTOMAN LEGACY

Double Decentralization in Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's Theoretical Narrative

Lejla Džumhur, Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić

ABSTRACT: One of the most striking elements of Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's *oeuvre* is the extent and freedom of associations with the contested Ottoman legacy in the first decades of the socialist era in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as seen in their book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity. Such freedom primarily resulted from the increasingly favorable political environment that permitted and encouraged decentralization from the predominantly negative portrayal of the Ottoman past.

This paper seeks to unravel the structure and sources of the main discourses used by Grabrijan and Neidhardt in Architecture of Bosnia to deal with the stigma of the Ottoman heritage. We argue that they utilize a certain syncretic language that reflects their own and varied experiences within the Orient-Occident borderline. We assert that their first generating discourse is that of modernism, while the second one revolves around the so-called 'close neighbor' or 'domesticated foreigner' perspective on the Orient. The premise of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's first position is argued through the parallels of their narrative and the inherent modernist authorization to operate with scientific displacement. The premise of the second position is confirmed through contact nodes with the local differentiated orientalist discourse, which Heiss and Feichtinger (2013) define as distinct in relation to Said's general concept of oriental Otherness as formulated in Orientalism (1978).

In addition to plunging into the dualistic nature of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's work on the lines of modernism and otherness, center-periphery, the conclusions of the paper point to the broader problem of the controversies of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage, where the relationship of modernism towards/with Ottoman heritage is still an underrepresented subject.

KEYWORDS: Modernism, Orientalism, Colonial Heritage, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Le Corbusier

INTRODUCTION: The controversy surrounding the Ottoman heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina stems from the adverse experiences of the non-Muslim residents inside the Ottoman theocracy, a system characterized by the validity of political and economic segregation of its population based on religion. The stigma of the Ottoman legacy solidified by facilitating these experiences into a cultural trauma within the new Balkans' nation-state projects outside the Ottoman context in the 19th century.

Cultural trauma, according to Jeffrey (2012, p. 15), is caused by a fundamental threat to people's sense of "who they are, where they came from and where they want to go" and is the result of "acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity." Critical to the formation of cultural trauma is not the occurrence of an individual negative experience but rather the collectivization of that experience, conceived as "wounds to social identity."

This process requires exceptional cultural and political work. Traumatized collectives do not just exist as rational identities; they have to be imagined, and the key is to determine the group that 'did it,' that caused the trauma rather than individuals. Intellectuals, political leaders, and creators of symbols of all kinds—writers, poets, and the theater stage—are a critical mass and a resource in balancing the power necessary for conveying cultural trauma (Jeffrey, 2012, pp. 15-16).

The Balkans' national programs of the 19th century portrayed the Ottoman Empire as an acute threat to the collective identity of non-Muslims, as a "religiously,

socially, and institutionally alien imposition on autochthonous Christian medieval societies (Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian and so on)" (Todorova, 2009, p. 162) that caused suffering through Ottoman oppression. The stubborn trend to conflate the labels Ottoman, Islam, and Muslims (Todorova, 2009, p. 162) enabled these projects to bind not only foreign conquerors but also local Muslims in the context of 'those who did it.' This political stigma finally pervaded a rather indiscriminate range of allusions to Islam as a religion, a system of values, and societal and cultural customs, also encompassing 'oriental type' architecture (Hajdarpašić, 2008, p. 718).

As Todorova explains, it was not enough to marginalize this group and make a radical departure; it had to be entirely negated (2009, p. 180). Hajdarpašić (2008) convincingly guides through the ongoing presence of this stigma, which, as he argues, remains dominant throughout the interwar and socialist periods and ominously looms over the horizon of the 1992–95 conflict to burden the post-socialist reality today. Although there is a continuity of numerous innovative perspectives that shed new light on the place of Ottoman heritage in local history, "for a number of reasons, such approaches were often overshadowed by more dominant political events and eventually relegated to archives and publications that are rarely used" (Hajdarpašić, 2008, p. 727).[1] The 1950s, a time significant for the context of this paper, were a whirlwind period. Following the break with the Soviet Union in 1948 and the emergence of a new national consciousness, Bosnia became a model of the larger socialist Yugoslavia as a union of diversity. In this context, the role of the Ottoman past in shaping the identity of Bosnia and Bosnians gradually evolved. However, by reading a comprehensive review of the official historiography produced between 1945 and 1955 on various phenomena of the Ottoman era, it can be concluded that the prevalent historical view of the Ottoman period as being foreign, oppressive, and retrograde has remained unchanged (Vucinich, 1955). In this body of research, the work of Š. Kulišić (1953) on the ethnic origin of Yugoslav Muslims, an "especially controversial subject" (Vucinich, 1955, p. 296), stands out as a novelty. Kulišić draws on numerous themes of identification of Muslims with Serbs, Croats, Bogomils, and Turkish colonists from Africa and Asia to explain how the Bosnian Muslims have evolved into a distinct 'ethnic' community apart from outsiders, regardless of their origin. Those Muslims, as Kulišić concludes, acquired a unique character due to special historical conditions. This perspective on the history of local Muslims is "in harmony with the official line" (socialism), as Vucinich states (1955, p. 296).

An alternative approach that follows such a novel socialist official line and largely challenges the prevalent negative viewpoint of the Ottoman past, enabling other visions, is the modernist narrative of Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, as summarized in their 1957 book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity.* This writing is deeply immersed in the Ottoman period, reprogramming traditional values from the perspective of a new socialist organization and way of life. The scope and range of allusions to the Ottoman past in *Architecture of Bosnia* are all-encompassing, including not only the vernacularism of the folk residential house, but also the achievements of classical Ottoman profane and sacred buildings, traditions, practices, and culture of living.

Previous studies have described the progression of motivations and incentives for Neidhardt's tradition-inspired modernist agenda. His collaboration with Le Corbusier on the Algerian project in the early 1930s[2] (Kapetanović, 1988) and general admiration for Le Corbusier were certainly an impetus that was further strengthened by his professional contact and long-lasting friendship with Dušan Grabrijan. Grabrijan performed a crucial role in Neidhardt's growth of knowledge, deep respect, and modernist commodification of the Bosnian Orient. Furthermore, Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić-Zatrić (2016) depict how Neidhardt's agenda was shaped by an attempt to conform Yugoslavian political-economic reality and the environmental paradigm of the region to a new kind of modern organicism.

As a contribution to this body of research, this article is intended to unravel the nature of language and the main discourses structuring the *Architecture of Bosnia*, as it confronts the weight of history and liberates the Ottoman legacy from its disturbing presence.

We argue that European modernism, as a way and structure of thinking, is the first generative outset of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's decentralization and displacement from the bias of the Ottoman legacy. We discern such a core narrative in the agenda of understanding, systematization, and objectification, which is very much how the consciousness of the European West works and how Europeans imagine the world (Heynen, 2013, p. 12). Scientific objectivity is an intrinsic instrument of such understanding, and the subject of what is being observed often shifts from capturing natural order by the laws of physics to the European understanding of 'Other' native cultures, customs, and traditions in a (quasi) anthropological manner (Latour, 1993). Laws, lawfulness, order, and harmony are the building blocks of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's rhetoric, which stems, as we assert, from early purists' intentions to induce a positive state of the modern mind through the artificial fabrication of rhythm and harmony.

From a scientific perspective, Grabrijan and Neidhardt occasionally transition to define the Other in a classical

colonial /modernist manner but also in a differential manner characteristic of the 'Bosnian version of Orient.' Although these discourses appear to be foreign concepts about natives, they also reflect the ongoing experiences of Bosnians and generally South Slavs within two empires: both the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian. As Said argues,

> *"even though a hard and fast line separated coloniser from colonised in matters of rule and authority (…), the experiences of ruler and ruled were not so easily disentangled. On both sides of the imperial divide men and women shared experiences—though differently inflected experiences—through education, civic life, memory, war"*
> *(Said, 2003).*

The analysis presented on the following pages separates Grabrijan and Neidhardt as transmitters of scientific modernist aspirations from Grabrijan and Neidhardt as successors to the 'distant neighbor' rhetoric to grasp their decentralized position in addressing the borderline (Orient-Occident) architectural identity. This analysis (re)indicates the context of Bosnian-Herzegovinian 'becoming modern' to be that of a place of transition and syncretic clash of colonial narratives, orientalism, and the superiority of European thinking into something that coheres after all.

It is important to note that our endeavor is not to indicate any of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's clear (counter) positions or in-depth familiarity with official paradigms that they would have consciously incorporated into their agenda but rather to uncover historical and social influences in an almost intuitive wandering along the intricate paths of heritage. These paths are never clearly demarcated and often represent, as Said (2003) noticed, a reflection of the informal periphery's encounter with the central, imperial, or colonial powers in subsequently created official discourses.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt themselves are Westerners by education, Slovene and Croat and South Slavs by birth, citizens of Sarajevo, and Bosnians by choice, where they meet the Orient, familiar yet exotic. Claiming such incoherent heritage and experience, they gain the authority to understand the same syncretic environment of Bosnia and liberate the Ottoman heritage from its dominant, one-sided, contested anticipations.

ACTING LIKE A SCIENTIFIC MODERNIST

The general discourse used in *Architecture of Bosnia* for coming to terms with Ottoman heritage relies on the objectivity of science. In this chapter, we will demonstrate how science effectively structured the basic scaffolding of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's narrative, albeit concealed by its poetics toward the local context of Bosnia.

The origins of science in its narrative can be traced back to the early conceptualization of how to incorporate scientific principles and the spirit of modernity into the realm of architecture. This issue was of great concern within an interdisciplinary artistic milieu in which the figure of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) played a pivotal role after the end of the Great War and the years that followed. Our reflection on the sources of early purist aspirations is prompted by the enormous influence Jeanneret had on Neidhardt, with whom Neidhardt maintained a professional collaboration during the first half of the 1930s, and, as we learn from recent research (Ivanković, 2016), conducted a written correspondence. Le Corbusier even revised some of his projects, such as the urbanistic project of revitalization and new construction of Marijin dvor in Sarajevo (Ivanković, 2016).[3] Although both architects demonstrated a shift away from the rigorous Cartesian geometry of early purism toward the use of organic and vernacular forms and materials—Le Corbusier during the period from 1930 and 1935 and 1935 (Benton, 2018, p. 373)[4] and Neidhardt in his postwar infrastructural thinking[5]—we argue that the puristic scientific foundation stayed intact.

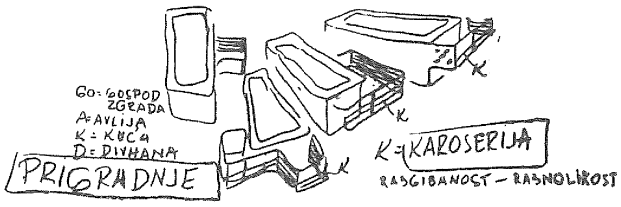
Our argument is founded on recent research by Judy Loach (2018) on the Jeanneret Ozenfant duo's (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret and Amédée Ozenfant) early conception of science-art connection. As we discover, this conception was initially influenced by late-nineteenth-century German parallelist theories, passed down to the duo from the Genevan Cercle Independent, by Le Corbusier's brother, Albert Jeanneret, who joined the duo in 1918. Parallelists, in the tradition of Spinoza, were intensely interested in the indivisible and parallel connection between the states of the body and the mind. The study of the effects of rhythm in re-harmonizing the mind, preoccupying primarily the musician Albert Jeanneret, was the first trigger for the duo to apply the science of both psychophysics and mathematical theories to the field of visual and spatial arts. This approach was further impregnated by Le Corbusier's contact with the multidisciplinary Parisian avant-garde milieu of aesthetes, psychologists, and artists, who became interested in the psychophysics of the relationship between sensory perception and mental/physiological responses (Loach, 2018).

Without going into depth on the transfer of influences from one avant-garde circle to another, we will only outline the general attitude propagated by Le Corbusier (first with Ozenfant) in *Après le Cubisme* (1918) as a purism manifesto and then in the magazine *L'Esprit Nouveau* (launched in 1920), by publishing the positions of psychophysicists, aestheticians, musicians, and playwrights. These *L'Esprit Nouveau* texts also made up the bulk of his *Vers une Architecture* (1923).

Effectively, this conjunction of theories was about experimentally determining the "mechanisms of emotions" (Ozenfant & Jeanneret, 1918, p. 43-45). The human intellect and spirit, purist asserted, could sense universal (mathematical) order. In this relationship of universal order–senses–emotions, the artist (architect) has a special capacity, acting like a resonator with a high sensitivity to the vibrations emitted from the objects they sense. They (the architects) can reinstall the conditions that caused the positive emotions, hence materializing such emotions. By translating the sensed natural order into art and architecture in a controlled manner, they are able to generate identical vibrations in the observers and users of architectural space, causing the "greatest feeling of delight" (Loach, 2018, p. 213).

The deterministic potential of two-dimensional and spatial art is also underpinned by the use of pure forms "that capture the timeless essence of a thing through its carefully selected and simplified representation in material form" (Loach, 2018, p. 214), a view that has led to the creation of purist archetypes or types of objects and forms that have proven best adaptation to their function. The use of simple, geometric forms, both tectonic and stereotomic, can elicit the purest and most direct emotional responses. Acting like a modernist, or an architectural modernist, thus entailed not only harnessing the messy behavior and phenomena by rational means but also further regulating that behavior that can be predicted, ordered and structured by the scientific method. Spatial, demographic, and cultural disorder flowed into the funnel of modern ratio that was about to deal with its purification, selection, and harmonization. This "bias for purity," one of the fundamental characteristics of modern practice (Lawl, et al., 2014, p. 174), actually had a scientific background. How does it reflect in Neidhardt's modern-traditional relationship?

Beholding the form and function of the traditional architectural fabric in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not as disparate entities but primarily as a system and organism, Grabrijan and Neidhardt imply the underlying harmony of the proportion and function of the organs of a biological object. Such harmony is as predictable as the one that emerged from mathematical calculations, given that the origin of both is identical—natural order. The harmony of the traditional, mostly Ottoman, fabric and buildings exists due to their resonance with nature, and the artist-builder, as a resonator sensitive to vibrations, only allows themselves to be permeated by balanced forms. The purest forms of Ottoman domes and arches, as well as the tectonics of the Ottoman house, are a means of restoring harmony (Grabrijan and Neidhardt call these archetype forms "cubic and domed architecture").



01 The laws that make a machine move and unwritten laws of traditional craftsmanship are seen as coming from the same source–Natural Order. © Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 237. (Partial)

In *Architecture of Bosnia*, the often-used terms "harmonious" and "disharmonious" amounted to what has been the dialectical relationship between the traditional (Ottoman) city and the first effects of modernization (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 11, 14, 72, 110). The disorganized urban contingent needs to become a lively modern organism of the city again, and harmony is endorsed if certain laws are employed. Grabrijan and Neidhardt do not ascertain them using precise scientific methods but rather sense them as rules (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 249-316) that have survived in the process of resonance and record them as the "unwritten laws." By applying them, they determine the resonant response. The laws that have arisen in the long-term process of resonance are no less deterministic in assuring emotional harmony than psychophysical laws or mathematical relations.

The issue of the universality of laws–those that make the machine move and those emitted from the order comprising the vernacular organism–was evoked, for example, through the traditional Ottoman-Bosnian house, which they observe as a system composed of the main body and annexes (*divanhane, doksat*). By calling the latter a car body (*karoserija*) to align them with the nature of a mechanized system, they allude to the architect's ability to extract unwritten natural laws and translate them into a system of signs inherent to rigorous science [FIGURE 01]. This is just one example of such a conjuncture.

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's discourse tracks the scientific postulates of the early branch of modernity, which was seriously engaged in the problem of fabricating the essence of art–harmony. The trajectory of creating harmony and balance, visible in *Architecture of Bosnia*, is in the tradition of avant-garde purists led in the 1920s and 30s by Le Corbusier. Acting like a modernist, by objectifying the principles of Ottoman architecture as laws, and by rendering explicit and conflicting Ottoman forms into purist archetypes, they strip them of their controversial meaning. Thus, science and scientific modernism became the means of their latent decentralization.

ATTEMPTS OF 'DISTANT NEIGHBOR'

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's decentralization from negative ideas on Ottoman legacy may also be seen in what is known as the 'differential orientalist discourse' (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013). But, before delving into the differential

representation of the Bosnian Orient, let us first observe the classical colonial orientalist discourse which modernists often, deliberately or not, introduced to their agenda.

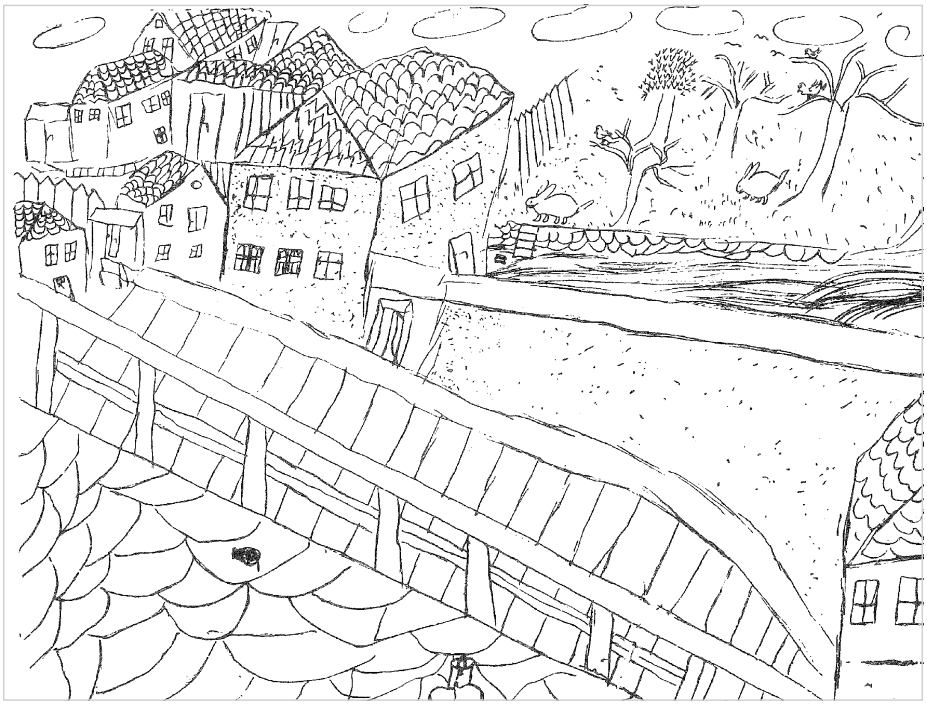
The similarities between colonialist and modernist positions have already been discussed (Heynen, 2013). The discourse that justified colonialism–orientalist discourse inherent to Western European culture–spills over into modernism. Essentially, the conquest of distant territories and peoples, understanding the natives as primitive, backward, and sort of wild, was necessary for Europe's self-explanation as superior, progressive, and modern (Heynen, 2013, p. 11). Such a subjective mirror reflection of the objective Other did not merely serve as justification for the colonial civilizing mission. Without such a reflection, the very existence of the European concept as a collection of ideas, narratives, and practices would be called into question. It could not be sustained without its diametrically opposing inferior (Said, 1978).

The colonial bias is noticeable in Loos', Le Corbusier's, and Rudofsky's views on the primitive in architecture. According to Loos' principle, the primitive is 'childlike,' evolutionarily undeveloped, a stage to be overcome. Controlled development is necessary in order to prevent extinction (Heynen, 2013). An identical attitude permeates Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's narrative. *Architecture of Bosnia* is illustrated by a multitude of children's drawings that depict the essence of folklore architecture. This essence is so simple that children's logic and perception can grasp it [FIGURE 02].

Moreover, primitivism and backwardness are highly desirable characteristics in Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's modernist mission–an idea entirely consistent with the structure of European thinking. Bosnian Ottoman dwellings, for example, are receptive to further development since they are "not rich, but typically peripheral architecture" within the Ottoman Empire, "simple and straightforward." "Unlived," pure forms, like the spirit of a child, are a kind of *tabula rasa* in his modernist civilizing mission:

> *"Everything has its beginning and end... architecture is justified as long as it is alive, until it decays, until it turns into schematism, and then it withers within itself. Many cultures have diluted in this way. Gothic, for example, cannot be further built upon. But while the one's country culture has not yet developed so much as to be saturated, it can be built upon its foundation. In Bosnia, it is about ... succulent architecture, ... unfinished, unlived culture, which can be further built upon and it would be a shame if it did not come to life" (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 12-14).*

Folk architecture cannot survive without modernist common sense. Since it is too "subtle and emotional" (characteristics again attributed to the spirit of a child), modernism takes on the task that has always been Western–rationalizing, using "common sense and healthy sentiment" to enable the creation of "harmonic contemporary architecture" with the primitive as a starting point (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 14). Such an evolutionist narrative in thinking about differences in the cultures of individual peoples "is very much part of the colonial discourse" (Heynen, 2013, p. 13).



02 A child's drawing of the Bosnian oriental residential fabric. © Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 155.

Unlike this classical colonialist and accordingly modernist 'Othering of the Other' as outlined by Said (1978), the local orientalist discourse to whose contours Grabrijan and Neidhardt align in their liberation from the Ottoman stigma is somewhat more complex; in fact, it is differential. Heiss and Feichtinger (2013) reveal this local polarization of the Orient by looking at the variants in the rhetoric of different opinion makers within the Dual Monarchy. Divergent views on the nature of Ottomans circulated among Austro-Hungarian politicians, intellectual elites, and clergy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, clashing with local views to eventually merge into the official colonial paradigm (Ruthner, 2018). It is important to emphasize that official politics was not only influenced by the Austro-Hungarian image of the Orient, the Ottomans, or the Turks but revolved around the widespread local stances and utilized them to forward its own agendas. As Ruthner (2018) informs us, the separatist nationalist movements in Bosnia that disputed the uniqueness of Bosnian Muslims on the one hand and the lively native discourse on the united Bosnian identity on the other were local factors around which the scaffolding of the colonial paradigm was built.

WHAT WAS THE NARRATIVE FLOW OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DIFFERENTIAL DISCOURSE?

In short, one polarity represents the image of the Orient as 'distant.' It refers to the Ottoman Empire and the Turks and is a consequence of the all-pervading *metus Turcarum* and *Türkenhass*, which became particularly prominent following the siege of Vienna in 1683. It was of vital importance to demarcate the Ottomans and keep them at a safe distance. The other polarity creates the idea of the Bosnian Orient as 'close to home,' focusing on the geographical and cultural proximity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the South Slavic people (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013, p. 148).

'Distant Orient' aligns with Said's concept of the 'imperial divide'. Nevertheless, while the 'imperial divide' speaks of the distinction between the colonizer and the colonized, the discourse of the Orient as 'distant' is used to establish stable borders between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. The second idea of the 'Orient close to home' follows Said's notion of 'shared experience' but also extends to 'shared spaces' as zones of transition that exhibit both Western and Eastern cultural influences. Bosnia and Herzegovina belong to that zone, where the native Southern Slavs, both Christians and Muslims, are opposed to the savage and tyrannical Turks. As "good Orientals" residing in the Orient "close to home," they are worthy of an enlightenment mission effort (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013, pp. 148-149). Benjamin Kallay, a Hungarian who led the Habsburg civil administration in Bosnia for twenty years (until 1903), was one of the main creators of the colonial concept for Bosnia and Herzegovina. He managed to integrate the described twofold orientalist discourse into the Austro-Hungarian colonial paradigm and its identity politics (Ruthner, 2018).

As a reflection of this split in the imaginations of the two Orients, identity politics operated through two tools: a) the othering of the Other, and by b) creating of a unified Bosnian identity.[6] The othering of the Other follows the depiction of the distant Orient and contrasts the superiority of the Habsburg Monarchy and the backwardness and savagery of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as "an important pretext for the necessary 'education' of the Other" (Ruthner, 2018, p. 8). Creation of the unified Bosnian identity, as a second tool, was initially intended to tame national particularisms in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It pointed out the importance of a unifying Old Slavic identity for the particular Bosnian identity. Furthermore, it strengthened the concept of transitional and mediating Orient. Namely, Kallay shifted the traditionally conceived border between East and West from the Bosphorus to the West towards Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina to emphasize Hungary's qualification for a civilizing and indirect colonial role. Hungary, as Kallay propagated, by its centuries-long experience of being a zone of transition, is naturally predetermined for a mediating role (Kállay, 1883). The significance of the autochthonous, oriental Hungarian identity in understanding both East and West is mirrored in the similar encounter of the old Slavic identity with the Orient in Bosnia. The successful Hungarian experience of the transition zone should be transferred to Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of a civilizing mission (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2011, pp. 157-158).

In this political setting, the cultural production of Muslims as oriental Slavs was portrayed as simultaneously oriental and distinct from the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, Ottomanization had never taken hold.

The official paradigm gave the differential orientalist discourse its structure and persistance due to the extensive scientific research and publication efforts of the Dual Monarchy that explored and explained the local context in its favor. In described pursuit to curb the national tendencies of neighboring countries threatening Bosnia, Kállay insisted on Bosnia's cultural and artistic specificity and therefore delved into ethnographic research on the Bosnian population's provenance, traditional arts, and crafts and supported their collecting, systematizing, and development (Dervišević, 2021, p. 144). Reynolds Cordileone emphasizes that these processes of canonization allowed the Austro-Hungarian discourse toward Bosnia to endure over time. "The Austrians did not remain in Bosnia but, in the end, the imaginative power of their project persists" (Reynolds Cordileone, 2015).[7]

The mentioned identity politics remained deeply rooted in subsequent political systems that aimed to unite the South Slavs, and the narrative spills over into art and literature (Alić, 2010, p. 19-20) to be finally visible in *Architecture of Bosnia*. At the very beginning of the publication, as if they want to preempt any misunderstanding, Grabrijan and Neidhardt claim: "Our Muslims are therefore Slavs" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 23). With such a statement, they open up the discussion on the duality of their identity as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina's position as a transition zone between Christianity (West) and Islam (East) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 23-28). The architecture of Bosnian Muslims, although strongly oriental, is nevertheless connected to European tradition. Thus, everything created in such a zone–the oriental type of house, but also the dome and vertical of mosque minarets–is ambiguous, simultaneously exciting, and an unknown Other[8] but also 'our Orient' entangled with the in-betweenness of Europeans. Such an oriental is not ottomanized and hence is beyond the conflicting narratives.

CONCLUSION

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's enduring masterpiece *Architecture of Bosnia*, engaging largely with the modernist deployment of Ottoman heritage, left us with a trace of their path of decentralization from dominantly negative perceptions. Their double detached vantage point, derived from the objectivity afforded by scientific inquiry and differentiated orientalist discourse that portrayed Bosnia and Herzegovina's culture as closely aligned with European culture, enabled them to transcend the contentious debates surrounding the Ottoman legacy. Instead, they discovered a source of inspiration.

In order to deepen the provided conclusions, we will end this essay with an encouragement to further develop theses about the modernist's confrontations with the stigma of the Ottoman heritage. It would be very instructive to investigate the significant absence/presence of the Ottoman-Islamic association in the work of the prolific modernists and Bosnian Muslims, the Kadić brothers, notably on the numerous projects they completed for the Waqf Directorate between the two World Wars. Modernism here, it seems, becomes not an unfortunate or even neutral substitution but a completely plausible answer to the quest for a unique architectural style for one of the major Islamic institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It showcases unexpected combinations of apparently incoherent logic and practices of modernism and 'retrograde' Islamic legacy. Today, in the post-transition period, we are witnessing again the emergence of concepts that try to present themselves as too stable, homogenous, and 'pure' in terms of understanding the relationship between the past and architectural identities. Our analysis, which "focuses not on identity but on identification as a result of contentious contact" (Lambropoulos, 2001, p. 229), can be instrumental for understanding tradition-inspired modernism not as a finished phenomenon, a complete synthesis, but as a syncretic process that mirrors the same syncretic environment of Bosnia and is open for further use and negotiation. Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's multiple, non-coherent experiences and provenance authorized them to confront the problem of the Bosnian oriental legacy in a coherent, thoughtful, and lasting way.

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ENDNOTES

1 Notable figures in these alternative approaches include Vladimir Dvorniković and Jovan Cvijić, as well as the works of Jelica Belović-Bernadzikowska and Milenko S. Filipović.

2 Neidhardt's sketch in a letter to Karl Mittel reveals his involvement in designing a residential building, for which he also made a model (1933) (Kapetanović, 1988, pp. 46, 47).

3 Le Corbusier studied this document in detail, as evidenced by some comments he wrote in blue ink on Neidhardt's attachments (Ivanković, 2016).

4 "Between the completion of the Villa Savoye in 1931 and that of the Villa Le Sextant aux Mathes, in 1935 (…) Le Corbusier threw out the 'Five Points of a New Architecture', formulated in 1927." Benton observes this "sudden shift towards vernacular construction and the use of natural materials" on two projects: The Villa de Mandrot, France and The Errazuriz House, Chile (Benton, pp. 218, 373, 374).

5 According to Zarecor, "Infrastructural thinking is decision making propelled by the requirements and scale of urban infrastructure" (2017, 5). Neidhardt's greater shift towards modernist organicism actually becomes apparent just at the onset of World War II in his and Grabrijan's conceptual regulation proposals for the city of Sarajevo (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942). "Compared with Neidhardt's prior urbanistic engagements, this 'organic whole' was much broader and now included 'the satellites'–the mining and industrial towns that surrounded the central city" (Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić-Zatrić, 2016, p. 437). After 1945, the scale of infrastructure thinking takes on a regional aspect, making this 'organic whole' more complex on both a horizontal and vertical level.

6 One of the factors of the colonial paradigm was Identity politics, which acts in turn to a) create a unifying Bosnian identity (Bosnianhood) top-down to combat the particularism movements of the three major population groups, the Muslims, Orthodox, and Catholics, and b) The othering of the Other (Ruthner, 2018, pp. 7-9).

7 Illustrative of the persistence of cultural practices that acquired syncretic character is the well-explored example of Bosnian kilim (traditional carpet) production, as demonstrated by Reynolds (2015). "Carpets sold in Sarajevo's bazaar today (as well as on the internet) are (the buyer is assured)–authentically 'Bosnian' or 'Sarajevan' because they rely on the old, presumably ancient, motifs–designs that were actually collected, refined, and standardized under Austrian Administration in the late nineteenth century. The efforts of administrators and scholars helped to create a canon of styles around 1900, styles that continue to be reproduced, adapted, and celebrated as symbols of the Bosnian craft traditions. (…) In 1984, the motif of the stylized circle (kolo), an unmistakable symbolic reference to an ancient Sarajevan/ Yugoslav textile motif, became the snowflake symbol of the Winter Olympics" (Reynolds Cordileone, 2015).

8 "Dual Monarchy was concerned that 'civilization' would effectively forfeit the appealingly exotic 'oriental' character of its unique Balkan possession at the expense of a townscape just about identical to most urban centers of the monarchy" (Hartmuth, 2015, pp. 150-160).

SARAJEVO AND ITS SATELLITES

The Baščaršija's Contribution to the New Master Plan of Sarajevo

Dijana Alić

ABSTRACT: In 1942, Grabrijan and Neidhardt guest-edited an issue of the Croatian architectural journal Technical Gazette (Tehnički Vjesnik). Titled Sarajevo and Its Satellites (Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti), the publication contributed to architectural and urban debates and to the development of the regulatory urban plan of the city of Sarajevo. It allowed the authors to present their design work and writings–both individually and collaboratively–framed by their shared vision of a new master plan for the city.

This paper argues that despite the authors' interest in and fascination with the historic core of Sarajevo, their master plan denied the relevance of the existing urban fabric to the growing city. Their discussion of the old precinct demonstrates the authors' gradually shifting intentions as they abandon their search for modernity within the old fabric's authentic qualities. Instead, they associated Islamic urban forms with stereotypical and preconceived oppositional relationships between new and old, progressive and backward. As this paper demonstrates, the result of this approach was that Grabrijan and Neidhardt's master plan assigned only a peripheral role to the old precinct within their proposed vision. However, even within this publication, some projects, such as designs of mining workers' housing, anticipate Neidhardt and Grabrijan's later redefinition of Bosnian architecture as innately modern, which would become a major theme of their subsequent collaboration and well-known book, Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity, published 15 years later in 1957.

KEYWORDS: Bosnian Oriental, Modern Architecture, Grabrijan and Neidhardt, Sarajevo, Satellites

INTRODUCTION: Together and individually, Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt have been celebrated as two of the most important practitioners and theorists of post-World War II Yugoslavia. Their capacity to "penetrate deep into the substance of [Islamic] architectural and urban heritage" (Ugljen, 2001, p. 34) is central to their ability to connect local architectural debates with the European modern agenda. However, while their contribution to the creation of Bosnian Oriental architectural expression has been acknowledged, there has only been limited discussion of the origins and evolution of their vision of modern architecture. This paper aims to fill this gap by discussing the development of architectural ideas and the serendipitous journey of the two authors to what became a well-known discussion of the Bosnian Oriental architectural expression.

AN URBAN VISION OF A MODERN CITY: SARAJEVO AND ITS SATELLITES

The opportunity to edit an issue of the journal *Technical Gazette* (Tehnički Vjesnik) in 1942 provided an occasion for Grabrijan and Neidhardt to present their ideas to a broad national audience (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942). Titled *Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti* [Sarajevo and its Satellites], the special issue focused on the city's architectural and urban debates and the development of the regulatory urban plan. The authors presented their design work and writings–both individually and collaboratively–framed by a shared vision of a new master plan for the city of Sarajevo.

The issue built on the work previously done by the two authors and introduced their views, such as those outlined in Grabrijan's 1936 article *Thoughts and comments on the development of Sarajevo* (Čelić, 1970, pp. 101–105). In that article, Grabrijan identified the city's lack of an overarching urban vision as a serious obstacle to future development and raised concerns about the haphazard

approach of local government when dealing with the heritage fabric of the city. In *Sarajevo and its Satellites*, Grabrijan and Neidhardt offered guidelines and suggestions that could be used to address those concerns. The opening statement of latter article: "conserve the old–but build a new Sarajevo!" created a broad framework for understanding the ideas behind the vision of the city presented. "Whichever way the city of Sarajevo develops in the future," the authors argued, certain principles "embedded in its historic development ought to be respected" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201). Taking the Acropolis as the root of Greek and, ultimately, Western civilization, the authors declared that their search for the "architectural principles" of new Bosnian architecture would consider equally the old precinct and the modern city.

For Neidhardt, the study of the old town in relation to issues of contemporary urbanism reminded him of his time spent in Le Corbusier's office. Neidhardt had worked in Le Corbusier's atelier at 35 rue de Sevres in Paris from 1 January 1933 until well into 1935. He was involved in a wide range of projects, including master plans for Algiers and Nemours. Neidhardt was significantly influenced by Le Corbusier's ideas and was particularly intrigued by the Algerian project, in which the dialog between 'Islamic' and 'modern' echoed themes apparent in Yugoslavia. Convinced that the French architect had "discovered the principle [of urban planning] somewhere in the Islamic world—somewhere in Algiers," Neidhardt was eager to explore the Islamic aspects of Bosnian architecture (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 227). The opportunity to present an urban plan for the city offered an ideal prospect.

In addition to the timely urban debates, the physical fabric of Sarajevo reminded Neidhardt of Algiers. Like Algiers, Sarajevo consisted of two distinct urban parts: the old Baščaršija, visually marked by small alleys and Islamic monuments, and the modern European quarters, structured along wide, regular streets lined with eclectic buildings. Grabrijan had already noted this oppositional relationship between modern and traditional in his articles. And for Neidhardt, the Occident-Orient relationship could enrich his own architectural approach by uniting the 'rational' and the 'sensual' and by developing the themes discussed with Le Corbusier.

Adding to the similarities of terrain and configuration was the increasing importance of the urban plan on city development. In Sarajevo, as in Algiers, urbanism was becoming a major public concern. In the 1940s, Sarajevo still relied on an 1891 plan developed by the Austro-Hungarian administration (1878-1913). It addressed the city as a whole and highlighted the colonial government's

01 Schematic representation of the new suburbs of the middle Bosnian mining basin. Map of satellite towns included in the proposal: (1) old and new Sarajevo; (2) Ilidža; (3) Breza; (4) Ričica; (6) Vareš-Majdan; (7) Zenica. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 272.

commitment to the city's westward development, away from Baščaršija. The linear structure of this master plan promoted a rational urban organization, zoning, and the orthogonal street system. The 1891 plan underpinned the basic outline for the city's urban development until well into the 20th century.

Like Le Corbusier, who recommended that Algiers retain its basic linear organization because it was particularly suited to 'modern life' and rapid transportation, Grabrijan and Neidhardt retained the linear layout established by the Austro-Hungarian planners in their new 1942 master plan proposal. The approach supported the linearity of electric tramways, in operation since 1895, and made provision for the city to expand sideways while remaining connected via a central spine. "The city is like a human organism," they wrote. "It has its heart (cultural centre), brain (administrative section), stomach (business section), lungs (green areas), arteries and veins (communications)" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 202). This biological analogy was represented in the drawing 'Schematic representation of the new suburbs of the middle Bosnian mining basin' [FIGURE 01]. Evoking the organic foundation of the proposal, the drawing showed a free-flowing body of streets and urban centers.

Despite their repeated statements that the urban plan would offer a comprehensive solution for the existing city center and historic precinct, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's preoccupation appears to be with the new city–beyond the borders of the old precinct. The proposed plan included a geographically expansive area, which indicated the authors' interest in large-scale planning and regional development. The inclusion of six new satellite towns showed the extent of their ambition. The satellites' proximity to Sarajevo varied from Ilidža (2), only about 10 kilometers away from the old town, to Breza (1), Ričica (3), and Vareš-Majdan (6) up to 45 kilometers away, to towns as far as Zenica (7), some 70 kilometers away. On a micro-urban scale, the proposal aimed to introduce a regular street network, with as many "[town] squares as possible to maximise sun and greenery" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 241). It identified hygiene as a "[precondition] for the development of any healthy and progressive city" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 202). "Well-organised streets and regular blocks" were, they argued, the backbone of a successful urban proposal (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 203).

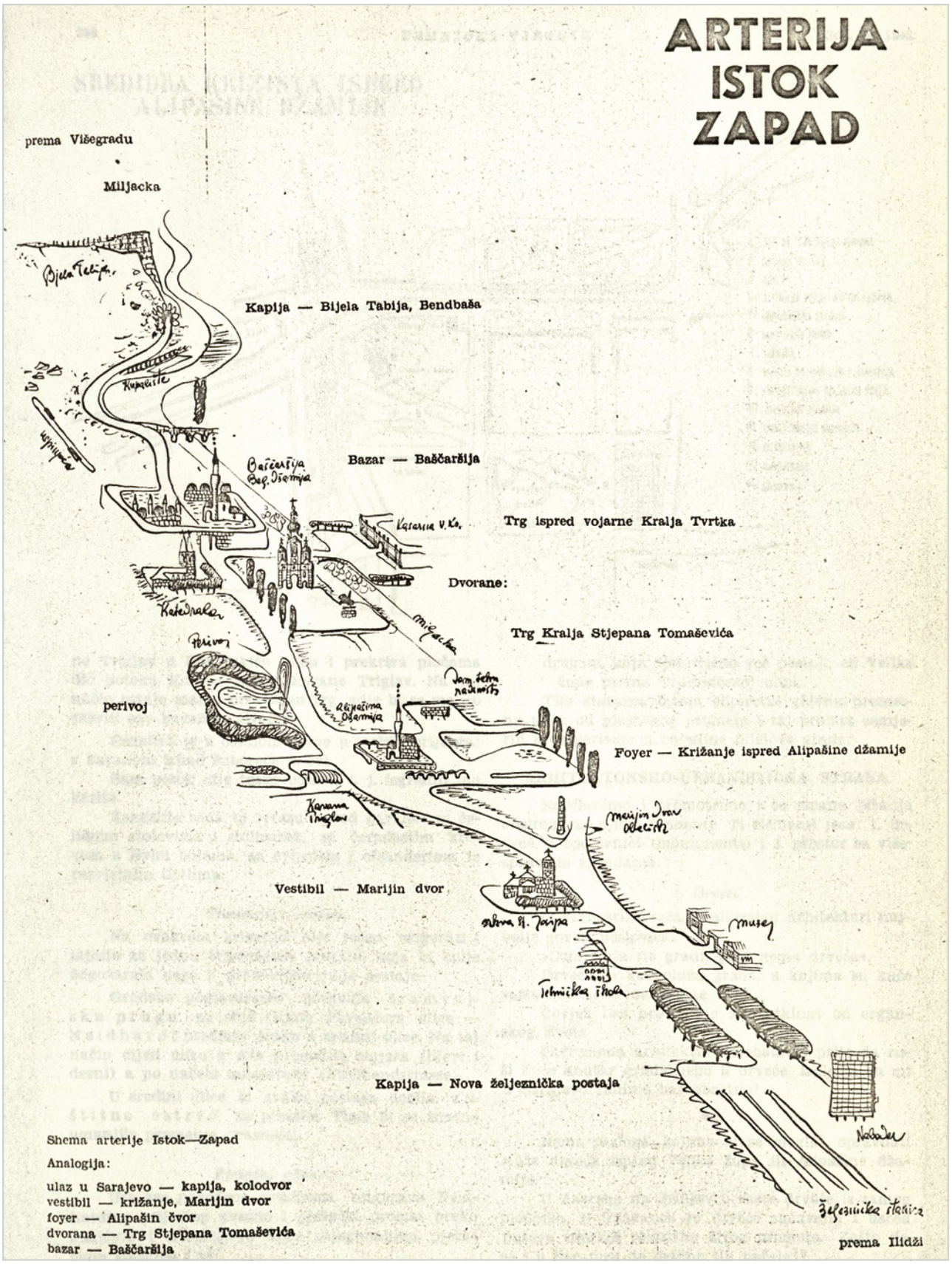
Only a relatively small section of the plan, labeled 'Old and new Sarajevo', related to the existing town of Sarajevo (1). The master plan thus conceptually extended the city boundaries away from Baščaršija, towards the growing Austrian-Hungarian section of the city to the west, and out to the developing mining towns of Bosnia. The mining towns, which were historically independent, were considered new suburbs of Sarajevo, or 'its satellites', as suggested by the project's title.

Even when considering issues related to the existing city, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's efforts focused on the city at large. The drawing titled 'East–west artery' defined the perimeter by existing monuments in a layout that referenced a human body [FIGURE 02]. The entry "gate" was marked by the site dedicated to a new railway station. The "lobby" was associated with the Catholic church at Marijin Dvor (Church of St Joseph, 1940), the "foyer" with the major intersection in front of the Ali Pasha's mosque (1560-61), while other monuments, such as the Orthodox church (Church of Nativity of the Theotokos, 1874) and the Catholic cathedral (Jesus' Hearth, 1889), marked the city center. The central road that coincided with the existing Pavelićeva Street linked the monuments into what appeared to be a natural and organic bodily form, and the old precinct of Baščaršija was enclosed and connected to the rest of the town only by the main road. With major monuments marking the urban context, the proposal's visual presentation looked more like a tourist map than a professionally designed contribution to a developing urban master plan.

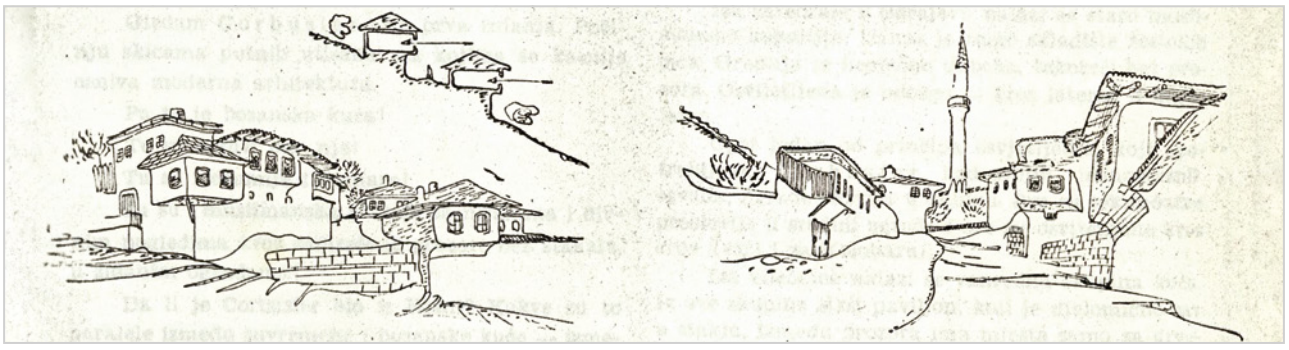
THE OLD PRECINCT AND THE NEW CITY

Grabrijan and Neidhardt presented their discussion of Baščaršija in the section of *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* titled 'Heritage' (Predaja) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, pp. 210-2 25). Despite the introductory statements suggesting the authors' interest in and fascination with the precinct, the review of historic development relied on two secondary sources. The first was credited to the well-known chronicler of Ottoman times, Evlija Čelebija, and presented an extract from his 17th-century travel journal *Sarajevo from 1069–72 (1650–53)*. The second was Grabrijan's free interpretation of the 1916 article *The right on view*, originally written by the Austro-Hungarian architect Josip Pospišil (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 224).

Both texts presented positive views of Sarajevo. Čelebija's account introduced it as "the most beautiful of all" and "one of the greatest Ottoman cities of the time" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 224). The comments were extended by Pospišil's description of the surrounding fabric of the *mahala* (neighborhood). It was the harmonious relationship between houses and gardens, Pospišil argued, that demonstrated in urban terms the high ethical values of the people who designed and built those structures. Referring to the customary laws that upheld the keeping of neighbors' unobstructed views, Pospišil presented the urban fabric of *mahala* as a physical manifestation of the natural and organic unity of planning and cultural practices [FIGURE 03].



02 East-west artery, an urban vision for Sarajevo. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 239.



03 Drawings illustrating the organic unity of terrain and architecture. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 225.

Čelebija's picturesque vision of the city and Pospišil's complimentary views of cultural and urban practices offered an idealized image of the old precinct. Despite Grabrijan having produced his own record of the precinct and its monuments, the authors did not include those in their discussion.

As stated earlier, the discussion of Baščaršija's business section did not focus on the historical development or the importance of specific monuments to the area's overall fabric. Instead, it considered the precinct's relevance to the new urban development. Like their mentor Le Corbusier, Grabrijan and Neidhardt identified the exploration of religious practices as a key to understanding the private and spiritual life of the city. They focused their attention on what they saw as religious norms that had shaped the development of the urban fabric. The assumption that Islamic faith subsumed all other forms of socio-cultural norms governed their analysis; the "artistic physiognomy of Sarajevo," they wrote, was determined by religious beliefs.

> *"Ahead of many other towns, Sarajevo has a special disposition for architecture. And that specifically comes from Islam. Islam forbids figural representation, and through that discourages sculpture and paintings as art forms, ultimately Islamic art is focused on abstraction; i.e., in ornament instead of painting, in architecture instead of sculpture."*
> *(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 227)*

The generalized and stereotypical views of Islamic art and architecture that framed Grabrijan and Neidhardt's discussion of Baščaršija pervaded their perception of the local population. Despite the precinct's historic inclusiveness of diverse religious beliefs, the discussion presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* focused on Muslims, whose values, the authors argued, were in opposition to Western society's.

THE IMPACT OF LE CORBUSIER'S VIEWS

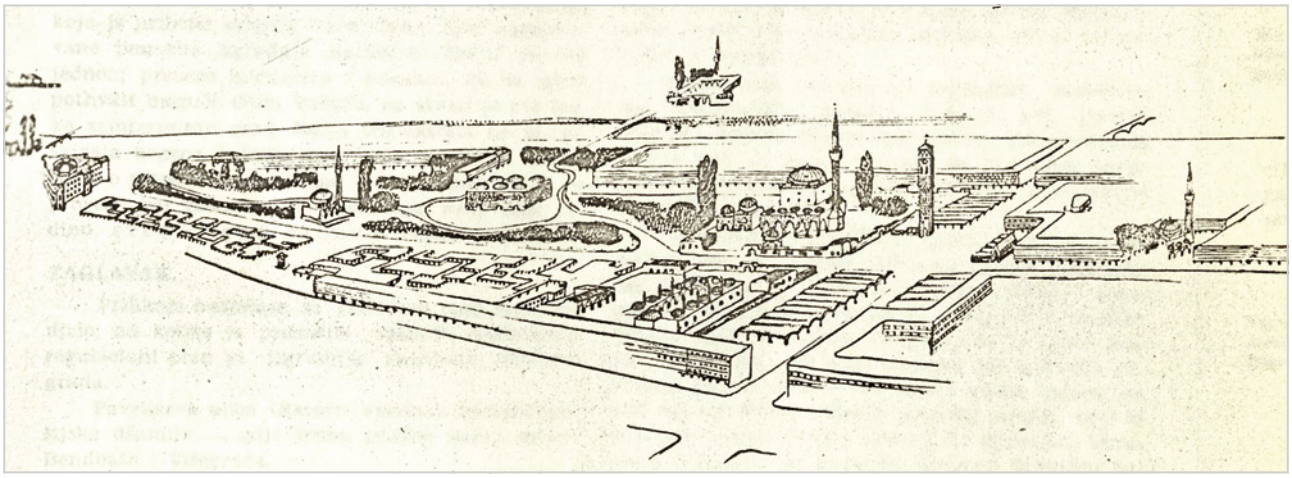
For Neidhardt at least, this interest in the Oriental can be explained by his time spent in Le Corbusier's office. Architectural historian Zeynep Çelik has argued that in projects such as Algiers, Le Corbusier showed a genuine, if biased, interest in local culture (Çelik, 1992). Defining the East as emotional, irrational, ahistorical, and timeless and the West as rational, progressive, and dynamic, Le Corbusier established an oppositional relationship between Orient and Occident. His observations of the East conformed to what Edward Said has referred to as an Orientalist construction of the Other (Said, 1987).

Said has argued that the Orient was a virtually European invention, a system of representation framed by Western political power. He defined 'Orientalism' as a mode of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'. In Europe from the 18th century on, Orientalist thinking underpinned understandings of the East-West relationship. Said's thesis has provided a framework through which the work of many modern architects, including Le Corbusier, has been critiqued.

Unlike Le Corbusier, who, in his attempts to gain knowledge of other places and cultures, relied on secondary sources and French colonial policies, Grabrijan and Neidhardt were much closer to their subject of investigation. Bosnia was an integral part of their home state, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The kingdom's main policies and constitution were defined in relation to the Ottomans' colonial occupation of the Balkans from the 15th to the 19th century. While the Ottomans never reached Grabrijan and Neidhardt's hometowns of Lož and Zagreb, respectively, their legacy was felt widely and formed a strong part of the history of all Southern Slavs. However, in Grabrijan and Neidhardt's exploration of the city's cultural context presented in the *Technical Gazette*, they never stated their relative closeness to their subject, if it ever existed. In an article published in 1940, Grabrijan acknowledged the difficulties they had accessing the interiors of Muslim homes: "Muslim houses are too enclosed to allow free observations and to draw conclusions from them" (Čelić, 1970, p. 67). Unfazed by the lack of access, they identified an alternative approach "via the study of Muslim public buildings: *hans* [inns] and coffee shops" (Čelić, 1970, p. 67). Their sense of exclusion, coupled with their preconceptions about Islam, determined their understanding of the Oriental within the Bosnian context. Their observations of local culture presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* were framed by an inquiry into social norms, particularly religious and sexual norms–the realms that Çelik has argued defined Le Corbusier's Orientalist approach (Çelik, 1992).

BAŠČARŠIJA: "SURGERY OR MEDICATION"

Despite the interest in local context expressed in Grabrijan's writings, *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* revealed that historic precinct was given very limited value in their master plan, as the East-West Artery bypassed the Baščaršija precinct, compounding its isolation. To support the re-zoning, an improved internal street network was proposed. In contrast to Grabrijan's earlier attempts to establish an argument of relevance, the proposal highlighted the artificial nature of the precinct. "In relation to today's life," they wrote, Baščaršija had no value:



04 Design proposal for urban regulation of Baščaršija. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 212.

"[Its built fabric] is like a stage set where nothing is real. The precinct's purpose is unclear and its existence is irrelevant. With no other purpose than to hide the lack of content behind the surface; the ornaments [and arabesque] have only superficial meaning. Their purpose is to cover up the poor quality and the absence of relevance. It is all false and deceptive. It has all lost its purpose. Baščaršija, is [not real] but a 'mirage'."
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 218)

In the final analysis, the precinct's existing fabric had little to offer to their new master plan: "If the purpose of going to Baščaršija is to do historical research," they argued, "then something should be learnt." "But if the idea is to search for new ideas," there was "nothing new to be found…". Reducing Baščaršija to little more than a two-dimensional backdrop or a "scenographic display," the master plan focused on the new city. The discussion of the old precinct's future, labeled "surgery or medication," was concluded with the statement "Baščaršija is dead" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201). In a damning assessment of the built fabric's condition, the authors stated, "Wherever you look into the *avlija* [courtyards]—everything stinks of dirt and rot, and many pests are walking around, even in broad daylight" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 256).

In contrast to this, the authors associated the new city with the terms "efficiency", "circulation", and "standardisation", demonstrating that their belief in a rational and pragmatic approach aligned with the modern. Presenting themselves as responsible social scientists, not simply architects acting upon aesthetic ideas, they argued that the experts would confirm their analysis of the old precinct. Calling upon educated professionals who lived or worked in the precinct to support their views, they wrote:

"If we consult doctors, fireman, insurance experts, or tradespeople and businesspeople who live in Baščaršija, they will all agree about the unbearable conditions that are present there … Today's Baščaršija is like sick lungs, full of cavities. There are empty holes left from the burned down hans, courtyards and ruins of all kinds of baths and residences that should no longer have any place in this bazaar."
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 256)

With limited prospects for the precinct's reintegration into the new city, the authors stated that "any attempt to revitalise Baščaršija and include it in the new city would be contrary to natural development" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 255). Their "diagnosis"–a term they used to present their conclusions–was to surgically remove the offending elements of the old city. Summarising the position of Baščaršija within the master plan, they stated:

"… we realise that medication cannot help here any longer. Trying to heal the existing situation by correcting, repairing, mending and filling in the empty places would only result in a half mended and weak solution. Here, surgical intervention can help, i.e., the demolition of deteriorating and weak structures, followed by zoning. A zone of high-rise buildings surrounds the precinct of Čaršija [Baščaršija] from outside—a zone of low structures making the inner circle, to be followed by a zone of old cultural buildings, all finally unified by a park!"
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257)

The proposal suggested the clearance of all but the most "important buildings built of solid material" [FIGURE 04] (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257). The complex of the Gazi Husref Beg was to be kept, as were the two other mosques, Baščaršija and Careva mosques, and the nearby *medresa* (religious school). Basing their judgment on the quality of the physical fabric, Grabrijan and Neidhardt hesitated in including the Morića Han (an inn), as the structure was "partially built out of timber" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257). Ultimately, they suggested retaining it, but on the condition "all remnants of the past" that surrounded the building were cleared (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257).

05 Map of satellite mining towns included in the proposal. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 274.

With a limited interest in protecting and preserving the existing structures, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's master plan proposed significant clearing of architectural fabric deemed in poor physical condition.

Unlike Grabrijan's earlier writings, which challenged the authorities and called for a review of preservation policies and urban development approaches, the master plan complied with the official line. It, too, proposed the preservation of individual monuments, but not the surrounding fabric, undermining the interdependency of the Baščaršija's built fabric instilled in the principles of the *vakuf* institution. Further, the Baščaršija's proposed change of role–from an economic, cultural, and trade center into a retail zone of "bazaar bijouterie"–confirmed Grabrijan and Neidhardt's lack of belief in reviving the ailing fabric and economy. The plan's overall focus on modernization, efficiency, and rational planning of the city at large demonstrated that their interest in urban planning was in developing new satellite towns–not the old town.

THE NEW SATELLITE MINING TOWNS

Though the proposals presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* emerged from Grabrijan and Neidhardt's interest in urban debates, they often included the actual projects or competitions in which Neidhardt was involved as an architect. When Neidhardt came to Bosnia in 1939, after years of working in Western Europe, he did so to become a company architect in the mining conglomerate Croatian Mines and Steel Production (HRUDAT), a successor of the German-backed iron-and-steel company Yugoslav Steel (Jugočelik). From 1939 to 1942, Neidhardt worked on numerous proposals for the development of mining towns. They included large urban plans for the Middle Bosnian basin, master plans for the towns of Zenica, Vareš-Majdan, Ljubija, Breza, Podbrežje, Ilijaš, Zenica, and Ilijaš, and design proposals for workers' housing [FIGURE 05] (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, pp. 273-322).

Neidhardt saw developing mining towns not in relation to the relatively limited scope of the architectural task but within the broader context of Yugoslav social and political changes. The German-backed iron-and-steel complex

at Zenica was expected to transform the region into a 'Yugoslav Ruhr' and Neidhardt's design proposals for the towns aimed to establish a connection between urban planning and social change.

For Neidhardt, urbanism was based on a connection with the land and the natural environment, and with regional industry. While this model did not recognize the specifics of culture and history as significant, it expected dramatic socio-economic changes would underpin the urban changes. The proposal for the mining towns of the Bosnian basin was thus premised on re-zoning land "to achieve organised and regular blocks of a contemporary city" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201).

CONCLUSION

Sarajevo and Its Satellites was a publication undertaken in the early years of Grabrijan and Neidhardt's collaboration, prior to their celebrated book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*. In *Sarajevo and Its Satellites,* the approach to urban planning and the discussions of the relevance of the old precinct of Baščaršija to the new master plan emphasized Neidhardt's formal and architectural approach, rather than Grabrijan's cultural and theoretical explorations. Ultimately, the master plan proposed in this publication suggested limited engagement with the city's historic fabric, as the architects initially struggled to reconcile their existing visions and training with the specifics of Bosnian Islamic heritage. When contextualized within their era, the debates presented in their publications echo broader historical shifts in urban discourse, which progressed from neglecting historical elements to integrating them in later years. In *Sarajevo and Its Satellites*, the architects' engagement with the context was primarily confined to historical referencing in the mining housing design, albeit serving as a significant precursor to their subsequent work. Yet in their later book, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, Grabrijan and Neidhardt begin to substantially explore the importance of their connection to the context (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957).

Grabrijan and Neidhardt's research on Bosnian architecture culminated in *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity,* published in 1957, some 15 years after *Sarajevo and Its Satellites*. The book gained broad recognition in Titoist Yugoslavia (1945-92), and its socialist policies made it one of the seminal texts on modern Bosnian architecture. Unlike the thesis developed in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites,* which marginalized the relevance of Baščaršija to the new urban plan, the discussion presented in this book identified it as a catalyst in creating a new and modern city. It argued that the Islamic architecture of Sarajevo represented a uniquely Bosnian Oriental architectural and cultural expression. The changes in their urban vision from the first to the second publication indicate the development of their modernist ideas and their growing awareness of the specifics of Bosnia's political dilemmas. This progression underscores Grabrijan and Neidhardt's dedication to consistently reevaluating and refining their conception of Bosnian architecture within the ever-changing political, cultural, and architectural milieu of their time.

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ORIGINS OF MODERNITY: PLEČNIK AND GRABRIJAN

Architecture between the Classical Canon and Structural Honesty

Nataša Koselj

ABSTRACT: The first part of this research is based on the analysis of several articles published by Dušan Grabrijan in the late 1940s and early 1950s, his book Plečnik in njegova šola (Plečnik and His School), and the analysis of Grabrijan's teaching method rooted in Auguste Choisy's book Histoire de l'architecture (Choisy, 1899), published as a study script. The book Plečnik in njegova šola (Grabrijan, 1968) is based on Grabrijan's published and unpublished texts, some of which were originally written during his WWII imprisonment. It attempts to critically contextualize, evaluate, and present Plečnik's work. The book was edited by his wife, Prof. Nada Grabrijan, and published posthumously in 1968.
One of the first three of Plečnik's graduates, Dušan Grabrijan, is the author of the Memorial to Slovenian Modernity in Ljubljana Žale Cemetery (dedicated to Ivan Cankar, Dragotin Kette, and Josip Murn, with Oton Župančič's memorial added later, designed by his son, architect Marko Župančič), built between 1924-25 as a result of a winning student competition in Plečnik's seminar. The memorial was commissioned and funded by Milena Rohrmann. The composition is tripartite, with a reference to Mount Triglav, consisting of three joint columns, of which Ivan Cankar is the tallest and placed in the center. The memorial follows Plečnik's design principles.
The final part of the paper will examine Plečnik's modernity and his classical yet modern understanding of the architectural discipline, his 'flexible classicism' with his inventiveness, playfulness, daring upcycling, experimentation with materials, forms, and structures, all within the frame of highly developed local crafts, not industry. Indeed, the building industry only really developed after WWII in socialist Yugoslavia. Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt were among the first architects in the region to face the new challenges in architecture. They were trying to answer the new questions: How to connect the new role of an architect, industrialization, and new social needs with the mosaic of local cultures, contexts, and communities, and how to apply Plečnik's human scale to the modernist architecture of the Balkans?

KEYWORDS: Memorial to Slovenian Modernity, Jože Plečnik, Dušan Grabrijan, Juraj Neidhardt

"The weather is unstable, my heart is unstable. Preferably I would like to go to the top of Mount Triglav and cry there."

Jože Plečnik, 8th of August 1923[1]

INTRODUCTION: History repeats itself, and unstable times, as expressed in Plečnik's letter one hundred years ago (Grabrijan, 1968), are here again. Plečnik came to teach in Ljubljana from Prague in 1921, two years after the University of Ljubljana was established and three years after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Ljubljana was then part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which changed its name in 1929 to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Plečnik, whose Gutenberg memorial project, his concrete church, and his academic position, all in Vienna, were either criticized or rejected mostly because he was Slovenian, came back to Ljubljana with only one ambition: to share his knowledge, experience, and talent with his home town, his birth country, and local people. Dušan Grabrijan was one of Plečnik's first three graduates and was soon aware of the radical dichotomy between Plečnik's school and the Modern Movement. Besides stressing the importance of the monumental, the

01 Grabrijan's tombstone at Žale Cemetery, designed by his friend and collaborator, architect Niko Bežek in 1952. © Marjan Smerke. Photo from the book Ljubljanske Žale by Milena Piškur (2004, p. 96).

02 Grabrijan's tombstone at Žale Cemetery, current condition. © Nataša Koselj, 2023.

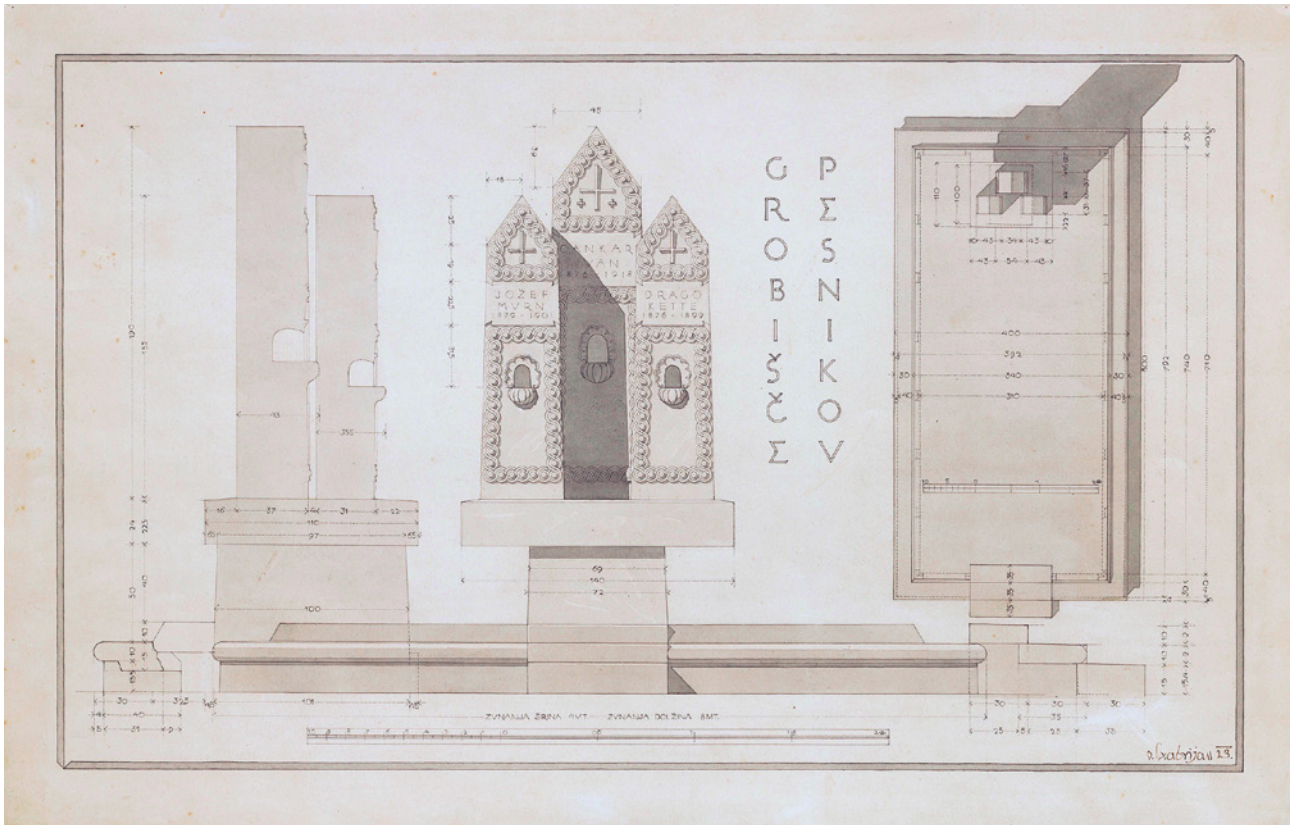
local, and craftmanship, Plečnik was teaching the canon of historical styles, which in those years was strongly rejected by the Bauhaus and CIAM. As there was no local building industry developed in the country at that time, his school was based on the local crafts. Plečnik's floor plans were classical and static, but it was his personal inventiveness, creative interpretation of local traditions, and experimentation with materials and techniques that gave his work a modern *esprit*. The only area where he was really radically modern was in the church floor plan design, where he drew on early Christian influences. Thus, already in the first part of the 20th century, he put the altar on the longer side of the basilica, i.e., he created a horizontal nave instead of a longitudinal one (St. Michael's Church in Črna vas near Ljubljana, 1925-39) with the main goal to reduce the feeling of a hierarchy and enable closer contact between the altar and the people. This approach was only officially recognized in the Second Vatican Council in 1962, making Plečnik a real pioneer of the modern church plan.

PLEČNIK AND HIS SCHOOL

Dušan Grabrijan was the first among Plečnik's students who systematically, analytically, and critically wrote about the master's work, his school, and his love of his homeland. Although Grabrijan was Plečnik's student, he passed away five years before his teacher in 1952 due to surgery complications. Thus, most of his articles and books were published posthumously and were edited by his wife, Prof. Nada Grabrijan (*née* Čeh), and by his close friend and collaborator Prof. Juraj Neidhardt, who also designed a sketch for Grabrijan's tomb in the shape of an open book (this sketch was published in the introduction of their seminal book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* in 1957 (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957). Ultimately, Grabrijan's tombstone, in the shape of an open book at the Žale Cemetery, was realized in 1952 by another of his friends, architect and also Plečnik's student, Niko Bežek [FIGURE 01, FIGURE 02].

Early on in his work, Grabrijan noted that Plečnik's school was based on a monument as he mentioned in numerous articles, such as: *Razvoj naše arhitekture* [Development of our architecture], Tovariš, 1947, pp. 371-372); Šola *za arhitekturo na ljubljanski univerzi: ob tridesetletnici univerze* [The School of Architecture at the Ljubljana University: At the Thirtieth Anniversary of the University], in *Slovenski poročevalec: glasilo Osvobodilne fronte* (1949, p. 3.), and in *Spomeniki in nagrobniki narodnoosvobodilnega boja* [The Monuments and the Tombstones of the National Liberation Fight]. *Likovni svet*, 1951, pp. 9-41) and in Grabrijan's posthumously published book *Plečnik in njegova* šola [Plečnik and His School], (Grabrijan,1968). He also writes about Plečnik's lectures on historical styles and about his student's practical tasks *(klavzurne naloge)* on rhythm, proportion, and composition, based on both the classical and local. The book contains numerous Plečnik quotes that Grabrijan had written down in secret during lectures as well as excepts from Plečnik's letters to his first three students (Dragotin Fatur, France Tomažič, and Dušan Grabrijan). Grabrijan realized that Plečnik was one of the very few architects who managed to express his personal philosophy, the regional and the local through his uniquely classical canon, which was later defined by Edvard Ravnikar as 'flexible classicism.'

In 1925, Grabrijan got a stipend to study at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris for one year. Coming back to Ljubljana, he, together with Frace Tomažič and Dragotin Fatur, was among the first architects who introduced the work of Perret and Le Corbusier to Plečnik's students. Auguste Choisy's book *Histoire de l'architecture* (Choisy, 1899), introduced to Plečnik already in Wagner's school, was studied in Plečnik's seminar. When Grabrijan started to teach history at the Ljubljana School of Architecture in 1947, he put together a textbook following Choisy's method, presenting the axonometry of the building plan, the section, and the façade in the same drawing. This

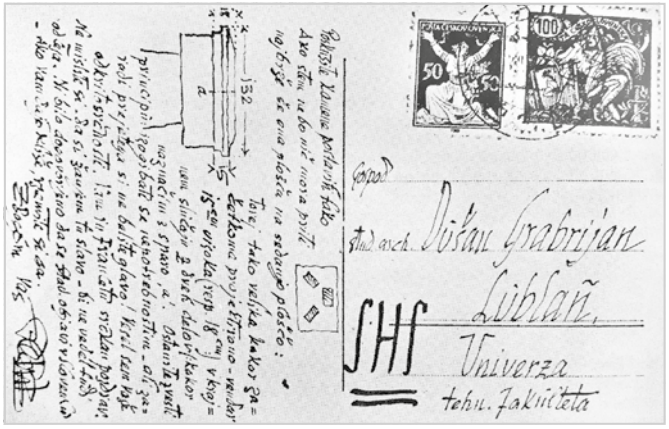


03 Dušan Grabrijan's winning student competition project for the Memorial of Slovenian Modernity at the Žale Cemetery, which he won while attending Plečnik's seminar, Ljubljana, 1923. © Andrej Peunik / MGML, Plečnik's Collection of the Museum and Galleries of the City of Ljubljana.

textbook was still being used at the school more than three decades after his death. He also used Choisy's analytical axonometric approach to present Bosnian and Macedonian traditional architecture and introduced this study method to his pupils at the Secondary Technical School in Sarajevo in the 1930s. Much of this material is presented in the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957). Choisy, a civil engineer, understood the development of architectural forms in close connection to the changes in building techniques. Grabrijan writes in his book *Plečnik in njegova* šola [Plečnik and His School] (Grabrijan, 1968) that Plečnik was often quite depressed, thinking this was because his architectural approach, based on the classical canon, was out of time. Indeed, Plečnik's timeless architecture needed some time to be understood and appreciated. Today, after many different trends in the development of 20th-century architecture, including post-modernism, Plečnik's architecture is evaluated and validated on more complex foundations which Grabrijan emphasized.

MEMORIAL TO SLOVENIAN MODERNITY

1918 saw the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It was also the year when Ivan Cankar, considered one of the three pioneers and the most important figure of Slovenian modernist literature, passed away. His last love, Milena Rohrmann, commissioned and partly financed the Memorial to Slovenian Modernity at the Žale Cemetery. Plečnik opened a design competition in his seminar in 1923, and Dušan Grabrijan won. Besides Ivan Cankar,



04 Plečnik's postcard to Dušan Grabrijan from Prague with the design suggestions regarding Grabrijan's Memorial of Slovenian Modernity. Plečnik writes: Try to place the stones like this (sketch). If this will not work, another slab should be placed above the existing one (sketch). Therefore, as large as previously designed, but 15 cm high (resp. 18 cm), in two parts, if not otherwise, as shown 'a' (sketch). Stay faithful to the principle to avoid unnecessary things— but do not worry about this post. I am glad of your frankness. Kind regards to you and France (Tomažič). Do not think that I reap fame here—I do not even know for what. It was not agreed to publish the Stad. in Slovenec. If they give you a cliché, take it. With God, Yours, Plečnik. © Plečnik and His School (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 126).

who was originally buried in the Rohrmann family tomb in Žale, this is also a memorial to Drago Kette and Josip Murn, whose graveyards were moved from St. Kristof's to Žale Cemetery. Grabrijan started with sketches of three mounds with crosses, continued with three pyramids with crosses, and ended with three columns placed on a joint pedestal. His final competition project is tripartite and reminiscent of Triglav, the most important national symbol drawn from nature, which also became a symbol of the Slovenian Liberation Front (OF) during WWII [FIGURE 03].

The pedestal, a simple rectangle in Grabrijan's original design, was later enhanced with a classical frieze,

05 Front of Dušan Grabrijan's Memorial to Slovenian Modernity in Žale Cemetery, 1925. © Nataša Koselj, 2023.

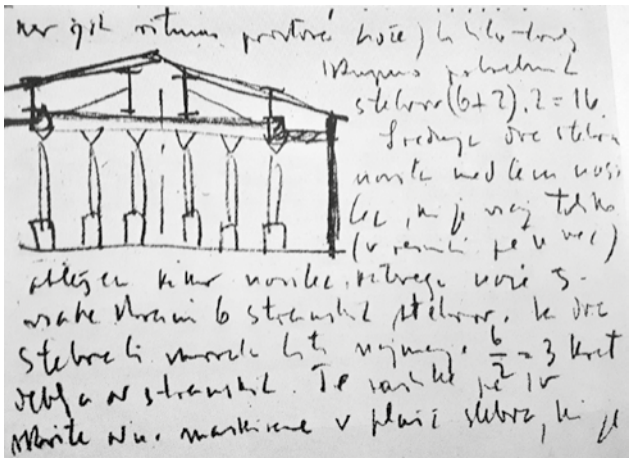
06 Back of Dušan Grabrijan's Memorial to Slovenian Modernity in Žale Cemetery, 1925. © Nataša Koselj, 2023.

as suggested by Plečnik in a postcard that he sent from Prague [FIGURE 04].

Plečnik wrote: "Try to put stones like this [sketch added]. If this will not work, another slab should be placed above the existing one [sketch added]". He adds: "Stay faithful to the the principle to avoid unnecessary things. (...) I am glad of your frankness" (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 126). This suggests that Plečnik felt adding a classical frieze was absolutely necessary in this context. The memorial is made of grey local stone. It emphasizes the importance of Ivan Cankar by placing his name on the highest column in the middle [FIGURE 05], also with a different stone surface used for his column on the back of the monument, stressing its significance [FIGURE 06].

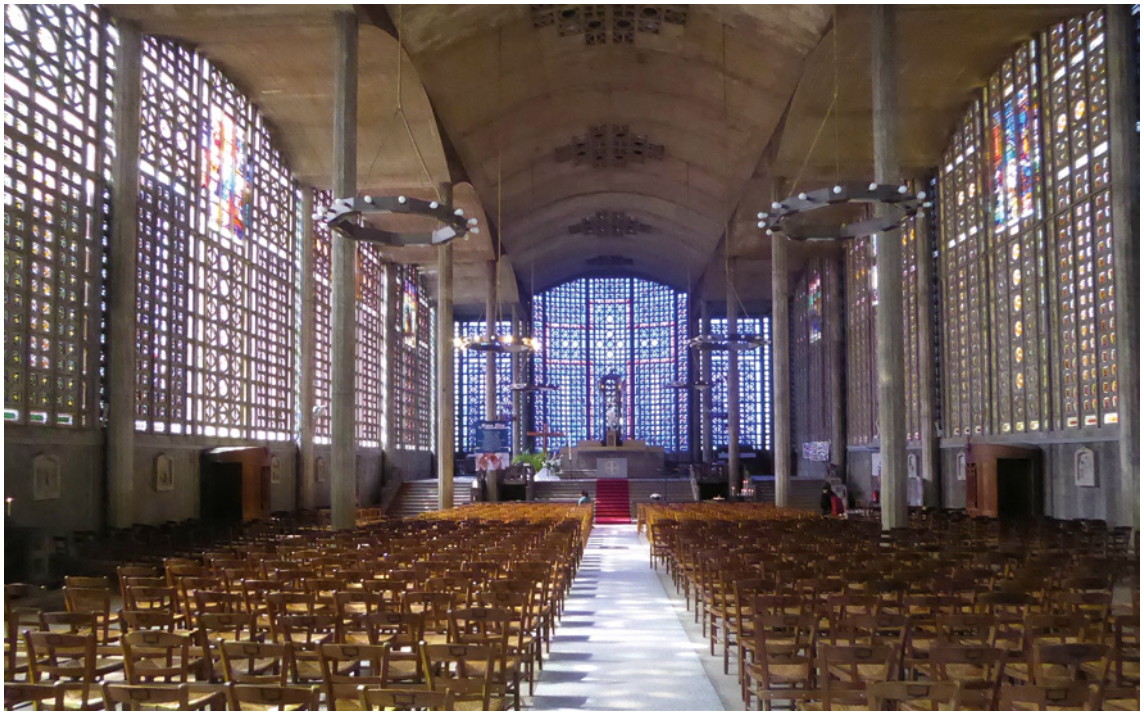
Grabrijan added a classical frieze, as Plečnik suggested, although he obviously thought this was unnecessary. His understanding of what is necessary in relation to Plečnik's design principles was clearly expressed in his critique of Plečnik's St. Francis of Assisi Church in Šiška (1924-31) in the chapter 'Weaknesses and Greatness of Jože Plečnik' (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 154), where he also added his sketch of the supporting columns, some of which were, in his opinion, 'unnecessary' [FIGURE 07].

In the same text, he also writes about the qualities of 'frankness' and 'necessity' in modernist architecture. He



07 Grabrijan's sketch with manuscript regarding his critique of the number of columns in Plečnik's Šiška church. © Plečnik and His School. (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 161).

08 Jože Plečnik's St. Francis Church in Ljubljana-Šiška, 1924-31. © Miran Kambič, 2017.



09 Auguste and Gustave Perret's Church of Notre Dame du Raincy, 1922-23. © Paroisse du Raincy, 2023, c/o Pictoright Amsterdam 2024.

compares Plečnik's church in Šiška (1924-31) [FIGURE 08] with Auguste and Gustave Perret's reinforced concrete Church of Notre Dame du Raincy (1922-23) [FIGURE 09] and writes: "The space is definitely not the same as for example at Šiška church, but considering the whole, there is much, much more frankness".

The Monument to Slovenian Modernity is, therefore, a result of Plečnik's school and his design principles. His school is authentic and monumental at its core. This monument, designed when Grabrijan was still Plečnik's student and realized between 1924 and 1925, is today considered the most recognizable of Grabrijan's built works that remains standing. However, it might be better seen as an expression of Milena Rohrman's eternal love and dedication to Ivan Cankar than a monument to modernity. As the Plečnik quote notes at the beginning of this article, the time was unstable and, therefore, Grabrijan might have thought it would be good to address this instability with a stable, symmetrical, and classical composition in the form of the strongest national symbol–Mount Triglav itself. The addition of Oton Župančič's hexagonal tombstone in 1955, designed by his son, the architect and student of Plečnik and Le Corbusier, Marko Župančič, which breaks the symmetry of Grabrijan's monument, as well as the

10 Grabrijan's Memorial to Slovenian Modernity (1925) together with Marko Župančič's tombstone to his father, the poet Oton Župančič (1955). The composition as a whole is asymmetrical and has a modernistic expression. © Nataša Koselj, 2023.

planting of much greenery around it, means that today the whole composition has a more asymmetrical and therefore more modernist appearance [FIGURE 10].

ORIGINS OF MODERNITY

Grabrijan's lifelong systematic research into the traditional architecture of the Balkans had one main goal: to prove it had similar links to the Modern Movement as the traditional architecture of other countries that had already been studied, presented, and promoted by modernist architects around the world. This is proved in his articles: *Naše orientalne i savremena kuća*. [Our Oriental and Modern House] (Grabrijan, 1950); in *Dediščina narodov federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije v Arhitekturi*. [The Heritage of the Nations of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Architecture] (Grabrijan, 1951); in two posthumously published books *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* [Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity] (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957) and in *Kako je nastajala naša sodobna hiša* [How our Modern House was Created](Grabrijan, 1959). Grabrijan saw this region, situated between the East and West, with a mosaic of different traditions and influences, as an extremely important basin for studying the development of the modern house and modern city. Plečnik's school gave him a very solid basis for his research in this regard, suggesting that the roots of the modern are in the past. Plečnik's modernity and his classical yet modern understanding of the architectural discipline, his 'flexible classicism,' inventiveness, playfulness, daring upcycling, experimentation with materials, forms and structures, all within the frame of highly developed local crafts, provided an important foundation for the rise of regional post-war modernism.

The building industry only really developed after WWII in socialist Yugoslavia. Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt were among the first architects in the region to face a range of new challenges in these years, such as how to connect the new role of an architect, industrialization, and new social needs with the mosaic of local cultures, contexts, and communities, and how to apply Plečnik's human scale in the modernist architecture of the Balkans.

Their seminal book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), published five years after Grabrijan passed away, was edited and designed by Juraj Neidhardt. It consists of Grabrijan's studies, along with the presentation of Neidhardt's architecture and children's drawings from Zoran Didek and Mica Todorović's Sarajevo Art School. The subtle elements presented in the book, besides the architecture, show the parallels of the traditional social structure of the region with various ethnographical, ethnological, anthropological, and archeological features, its diverse geography, trees, plants, and views, along with Le Corbusier's foreword, and make this volume a very important, yet until recently almost forgotten, milestone in the heritage of global architecture. In 1953, a year after Grabrijan passed away, two important events happened that changed the world of architecture: Team X's critique of CIAM at its Aix-en Provence congress and an exhibition at the ICA in London titled 'Parallel of Life and Art,' edited by Alison and Peter Smithson, Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi, and Ronald Jenkins. Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's book has a very similar intention and layout

11 Jože Plečnik's tombstone in Žale Cemetery in Ljubljana. © Nataša Koselj, 2023.

to these two events: a parallel presentation of life as a whole, without separations, which was, according to Sigfried Giedion, the main goal of post-war modernism, and is also in line with the intentions of the CoBrA movement some years earlier (1948-51). This book can today be reread and re-valued as an early regional modernistic attempt at creating a better world with regard to the importance of seeing its architectural, artistic, social, ecological, and human resources as a whole, without separations.

CONCLUSION

As pre-war modernism saw the ideal of progress in the radical division of functions in the machine, in rationalization, hygiene, and technology, the post-war modernist's ideal was presenting life as a whole, without divisions, having in its midst the anthropological side of its social structure. Grabrijan and Neidhardt walked this path from one pole to the other together, hand in hand, as friends. While for Grabrijan, Plečnik was the key starting point with regard to the study of local and regional traditions and human scale, for Neidhardt, the most important influences in terms of Modern Movement architecture were his two teachers and collaborators: Peter Behrens and Le Corbusier. Within this constellation and working in the territory of what is today former Yugoslavia, they managed to construct a unique and very important, two-fold intellectual link between the main European streams and the Balkans.

We can see Dušan Grabrijan's importance in his presentation of Plečnik's work and, as one of his first three students, his first-hand presentation of the characteristics of Plečnik's school. To this, we must add Grabrijan's theoretical and pedagogical work as a professor in the secondary technical school in Sarajevo in the 1930s, and as a professor in the Ljubljana School of Architecture in the post-war period. Most of all, Grabrijan's greatness is in his extensive analytical research on the traditional architecture of the Balkans and his aim of presenting this architecture and ways of life as an important resource for the development of modern house and modern city.

Slovenian modernity, starting in literature with Ivan Cankar as its main representative, has always been strongly linked with the national question and the Slovenian language. Plečnik's architectural language, based on both classical and local traditions, strongly influenced Eastern Europe in general and the Balkans in particular. While he was criticized by his pupils, including Grabrijan, for being too eclectic, at the same time, his critics were aware that Plečnik's architecture contains very important developmental elements of modernism, such as inventiveness, experimentation with material, form and structure, social awareness, human-scale urbanism, his approach to urban greenery, his attitude towards re-use of materials and forms, and, most of all, his radical and pioneering approach to the orientation of the church nave. All these factors position Plečnik as one of the most important pioneers of the Modern Movement, even though he was not a modernist architect [FIGURE 11].

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ENDNOTES

1 Mount Triglav (in Slovenian triglav means 'three heads') is the highest mountain in Slovenia (2.863 m) and is the most important national symbol drawn from nature. Jože Plečnik in his letter to France Tomažič (Grabrijan,1968)

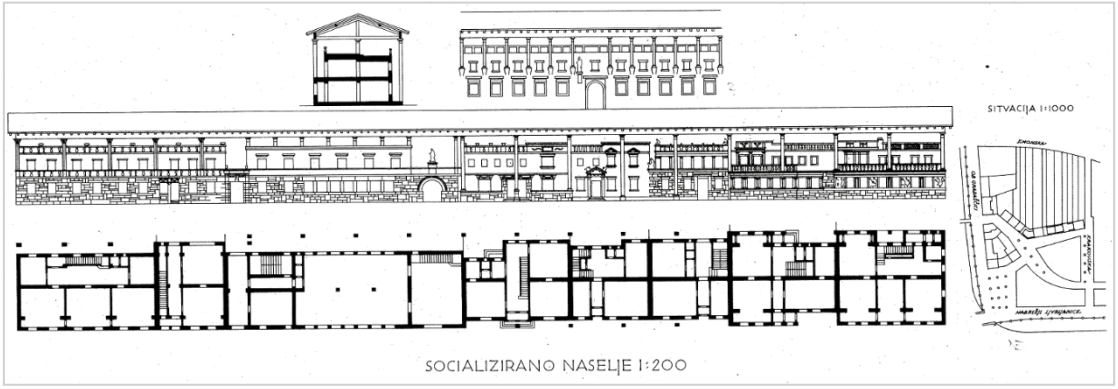
INTERMEDIARY SPACES: THE SMALL-SCALE URBANISM OF JOŽE PLEČNIK

Miloš Kosec

ABSTRACT: The thesis of this article is two-fold. Firstly, Plečnik's wartime and post-war projects deserve more research attention than they have received to date. A certain level of under-appreciation of Plečnik's late work is probably a result of a lower number of realizations and perhaps also of insufficient research of this period compared to Plečnik's career before that.[1] Secondly, the article attempts to prove that in the last fifteen years of Plečnik's life, the urbanistic character of his work was significantly upgraded. The focus lies on the changed urbanistic character of his wartime and post-war realized as well as unrealized projects. In them, the dissolution of the distinction between the interior and exterior of the buildings as well as between public, semi-public, and private programs was intensified, articulating a wide range of intermediary spaces that position many of his later works somewhere between architecture and urbanism. Plečnik's strategy of small-scale urbanism had a substantial influence on his disciples, including modernist architects such as Edvard Ravnikar and Dušan Grabrijan, who developed a distinct interplay between the principles of international style and original solutions based on local traditions.

KEYWORDS: Jože Plečnik, Small-Scale Urbanism, Communal Housing, Ljubljana Architecture School, Intermediary Spaces.

INTRODUCTION: The time of the World War II military occupation of Ljubljana and the eventual forced closure of the Technical Faculty together with its Architectural Department in 1943 turned out surprisingly productive for Plečnik and his selected circle of students and collaborators (Krečič, 1997, pp. 173-174). The intimate world of Plečnik's own house in the suburb of Trnovo, not far from the architectural school, provided a haven from the wartime reality. Completely isolated from the street behind two modest suburban houses that acted as a bulwark, the house and the garden around it still exhibit an introverted character in line with the character of their creator. Plečnik House's tower-like annex and the glasshouse where the impromptu drawing rooms were set up during the war, surrounded by an extensive garden, became an ivory tower and a hothouse of ideas for the architect's projects, the development of which was halted by the war. Eventually, new projects began to emerge–some based on pre-war commissions and Plečnik's ideas on the future development of Ljubljana, while others were created as pure fantasy projects without known commissions or outside impulses.



01 Plan for the "Socialized Estate", 1944, by Jože Plečnik and Gizela Šuklje (collaborator). © Plečnik House Collection, MGML.

CREATIVE ISOLATION IN THE MIDST OF A WAR

One of the better-known »fantasy projects« from this period is perhaps the most literal example of the development of Plečnik's thought in the direction of the dissolution of distinction between the house and the city. "Houses under Municipal Roof" and "Socialized Estate" [FIGURE 01] projects (Hiše pod občinsko streho in Socializirano naselje, 1943-44)[2] represent a simple but effective solution for providing affordable houses in Ljubljana without the risk of developing a monotony of the garden suburb or the anonymity and standardization of the municipal housing block. Drafted by Gizela Šuklje, Plečnik's former disciple and a close collaborator all the way until 1946, and probably also by then-student Anton Bitenc, the never-realized project survives in the form of three redevelopment plans of a part of the old Krakovo suburb near Plečnik's own home. In the immediate vicinity of the former city walls, Krakovo was by the 20th century an unlikely survivor of small-scale gardeners' and craftsmen' cottages surrounded by an increasingly urbanized city around it. Similar in its suburban archaic character to the district where Plečnik himself was living and also to the area of Ljubljana where he was born in a carpenter's family in 1872, Plečnik developed an idea about an all-encompassing "common roof" on columns extending along the length of a street.

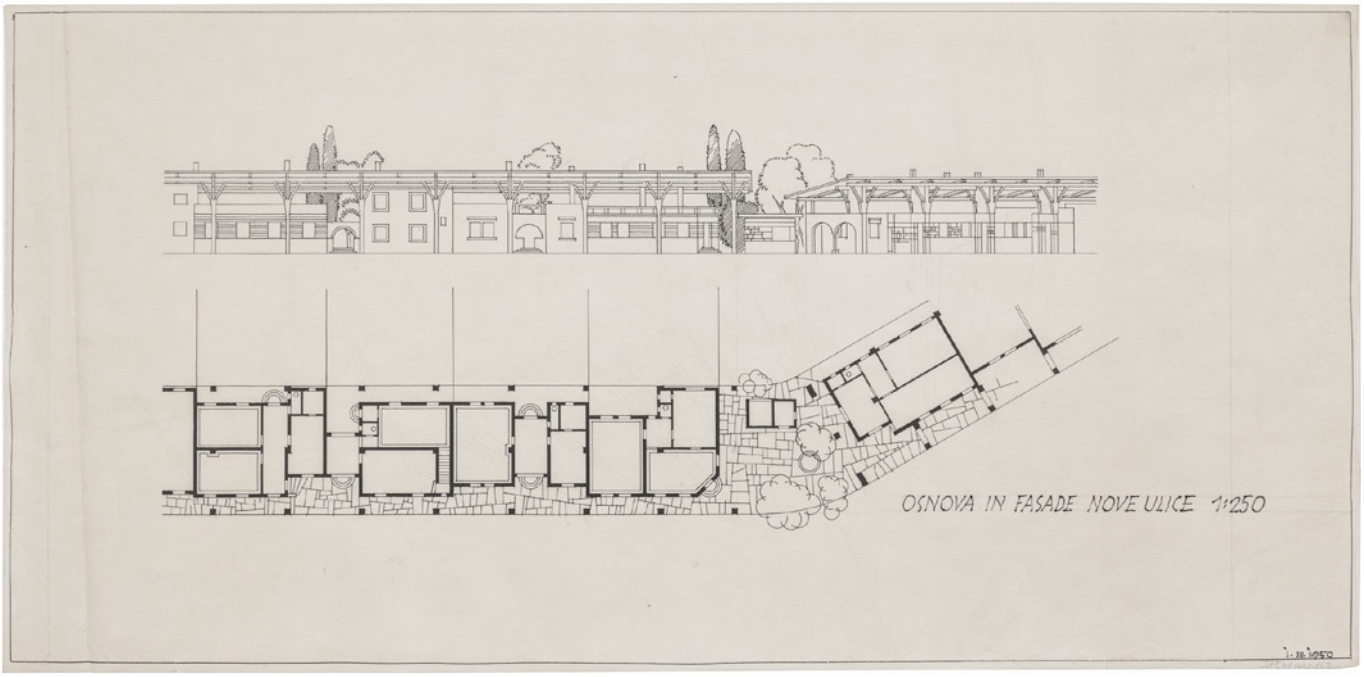
The municipality was to provide for the construction of the monumental roof and the basic amenities such as water and electricity, while each individual house owner would build a terrace house of their own beneath the common roof. The bureaucratic particularities of this idea—whether this would exist as a cooperative or the plots would be sold to individual owners—are not known (and have possibly not been developed); nevertheless, the plan does suggest the direction Plečnik's urban thought was moving towards. The different heights, façades, façade lines, depths, and other marks of individuality of individual terrace houses are important. Even though all of them are fashioned in the recognizable idiosyncraticity of Plečnik's architectural language, their differences suggest the broad architectural and programmatic scope that the common roof could shelter. It is hard to say whether Plečnik imagined himself making plans for each and every one of the terrace houses or whether the municipality would leave the choice of the architect to each individual owner; at the very least, the setup of the complex and variations depicted in the plan strongly suggest that diversity of forms was a desired architectural (and, by extension, probably also programmatic) goal rather than a side effect of the idea, honoring the organic small-scale character of simple family houses in the Krakovo suburb. On the other hand, the unified roof resting on the columns has no precedent in the area; apart from a possible symbolic echo of Mary's protective coat under which all peoples and classes find shelter,[3] it would provide a new, unified, and monumental superstructure above ground that would complement the spatial and visual variation of different houses on the ground.[4] The idea is, therefore, not a repudiation of either the garden city or of the urban housing block but rather an ingenious synthesis of the two most common solutions to mass housing in 20th-century European cities.[5]

"Houses under the Common Roof" already points toward the attention to the spaces in-between: neither on the street nor in the interior, the covered corridors between the outer columns and varying façades of houses, the passageways between the street and the gardens behind, the terraces between the flat roofs of individual houses and the unifying, gently sloping »common roof« show a wealth of differentiated semi-public spaces architecturally mediating between the city and the house, between the community and the individual. In comparison, the obvious lack of attention to actual floor plans of individual units makes perfect sense: Plečnik was interested in how to urbanize suburban areas without letting go of the habitation qualities such as gardens and small scale. On the other hand, he articulated a solution where the neighborhood's new density and urban character would comply with the increased social, spatial, and infrastructural pressures archaic areas such as Krakovo were experiencing in the 20th century.

"Houses under a Common Roof" could be understood as a reworking of the concept of the Central Market complex in Ljubljana, a project Plečnik completed during the war in 1942. Even though the "houses" in this case consist of butchers' and fishmongers' shops, the basic concept is very similar: a colonnade on the side of the old market square and the wall with windows on the side of the river support a unified roof that extends over 300 meters in length and provides a monumental common roof for butcher's shops on the ground level and fishmongers stalls on the subterranean level that opens towards the river. However, due to the standardized program and its character as a public building, the rhythm between unified façades, loggias, and entrances is carefully maintained. This is why the informality and formal diversity of the Krakovo project is understandably missing. The free-floating roof is also a common motif of Plečnik's work elsewhere, realized at the Jožamurka pavilion in Begunje and at Žale Cemetery workshops, for example (Krečič, 1997, p. 176; Prelovšek, 2017, p. 382), as is the concept of a "house within a house" such as the realized "Glorietta" pavilion at the Bežigrad Stadium and the unrealized "Alexander's Propylaia" at Congress Square (Kongresni trg).

The Wartime Municipal Roof project is a development of an earlier school program for "Houses under the

Canopy" from 1937.[6] Drafted by Plečnik's student Zdeněk Sila, the basic elements of the "Municipal Roof" project are already here: diverse individual terraced houses with flat roofs, protected by a monumental common roof (its very gentle slope in line with the name suggests a canopy rather than the gently sloping gabled roof of the later projects). This project lacks a specified location. Despite the varying character of the street and garden façades, this is still merely a concept, waiting for its actual spatially conditioned realization. The last and least well-known project for urban housing under the same roof, however, was completed 13 years afterward. In the archives of Anton Bitenc and Vladimira Bratuž-Laka, Plečnik's students, drawings with a description of a very similar concept were preserved. Dated to 1950, the style of the two drawings [FIGURE 02, FIGURE 03], the typography of the description, and some of the characteristics of the architecture itself suggest that perhaps the last "common roof" project was done on the initiative of the students rather than as a teacher's final reiteration of the old idea. Adaptation of the concept to the new post-war reality can be sensed in the stylized, proto-modernist design of columns and the roof (that is now sloping one way only, enabling higher façades on the street and lower to the garden side) as well as from the telling description of the concept, the only one preserved from any of the mentioned projects:



02 Plan for the "Houses under the Common Roof". © MAO Collection, 1950.

03 Perspective of the "Houses under the Common Roof" with the description of the concept. © MAO Collection, 1950.

"For a working man to erect a home with a garden and a small household, freely and in keeping with his needs—and for such an estate to receive a strong urban and aesthetic form—that was the idea behind the common roof erected by a commune, be it a city, an organisation, or a factory, which provides for water supply and utility infrastructures, lighting, roads etc., and maintains them. It would be a new street with a distinctly plastic face, covered walkways, surrounded by greenery."[7]

The lack of discussion of individual houses and floorplans confirms the basic characteristic of this being primarily an urban planning project—but so do the attention, visual and rhetorical, to the spaces where the new estate interacts with the city around it. In this final reworking of the idea, the intermediary spaces and gaps between the individual units and the outer envelope of the columns and the roof are further widened, creating an extensive semi-public sphere of interaction between public and private, similar to the medieval arcaded square façades of Italy and Central Europe. Like in other Plečnik's built and unbuilt projects in Ljubljana: the Central Market and the neighboring, never-realized New City Hall, it is the in-between, semi-public mediating spaces such as loggias, colonnades, passageways, visual gaps and terraces, that have the potential to "socialize" (as the name of one of the projects from 1943-44 explicitly states) or intertwine the existing city and its inhabitants with the new vision of an individualized yet urbanized 20th century Ljubljana.

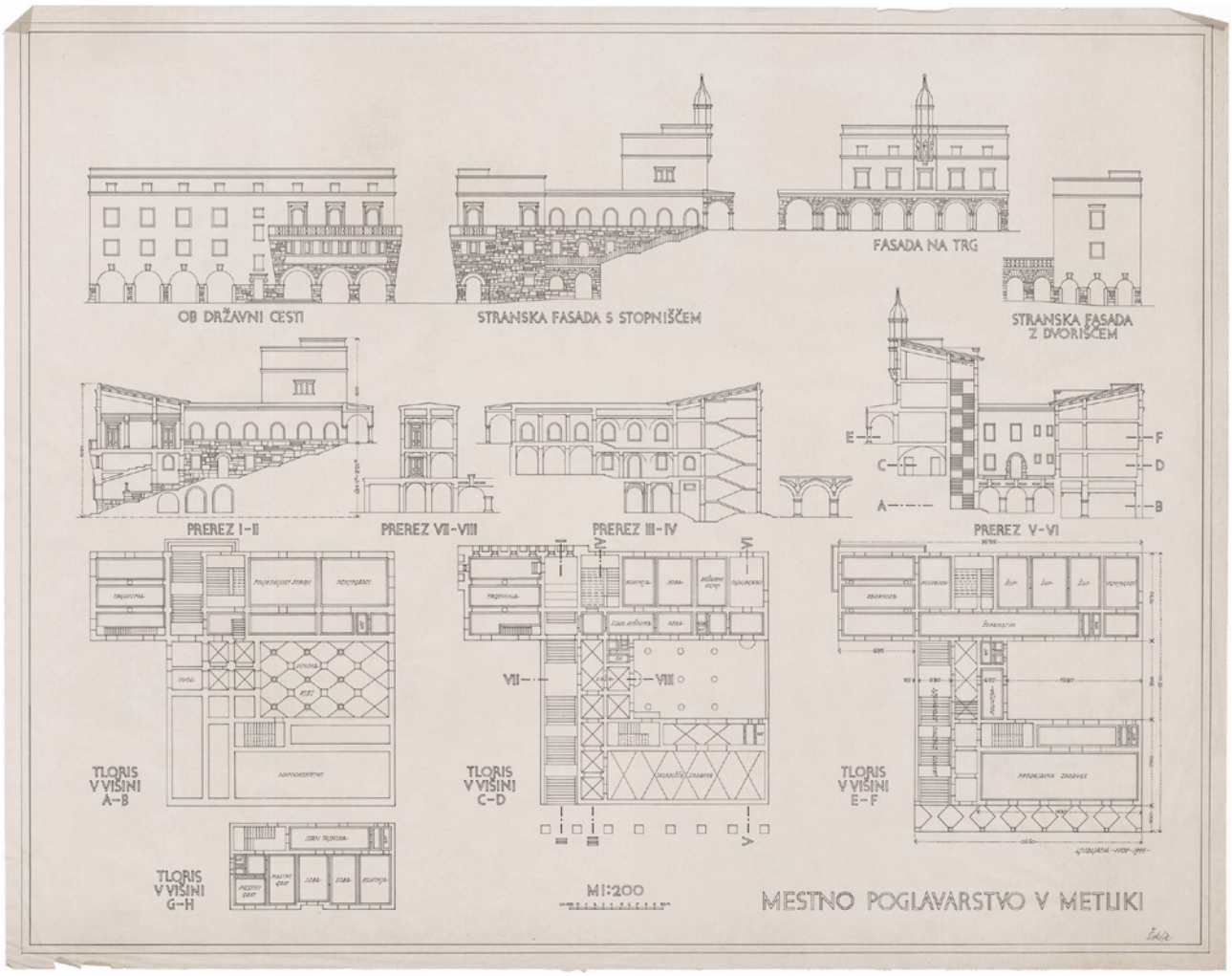
The three "common roof" projects of 1937, 1943-44, and 1950 show Plečnik and his students' continuing interest for the creative synthesis of individual and collective housing in the city of the 20th century. The insistence on the basic concept from 1937 while also adapting it to three very different social, political, and economic contexts (pre-war capitalism that was also defined by a strong network of cooperative organizations in the Slovene part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1937; war, occupation and war economy in 1943-44; and the new socialist reality with a redefinition of economic and social fabric in 1950) also draw attention to durability and flexibility of the concept—not only in the sense of accommodating different personal, aesthetic, and programmatic requirements of individual house owners/occupants but also in the concept's potential appeal for different political conditions and social realities.

METLIKA PROJECTS

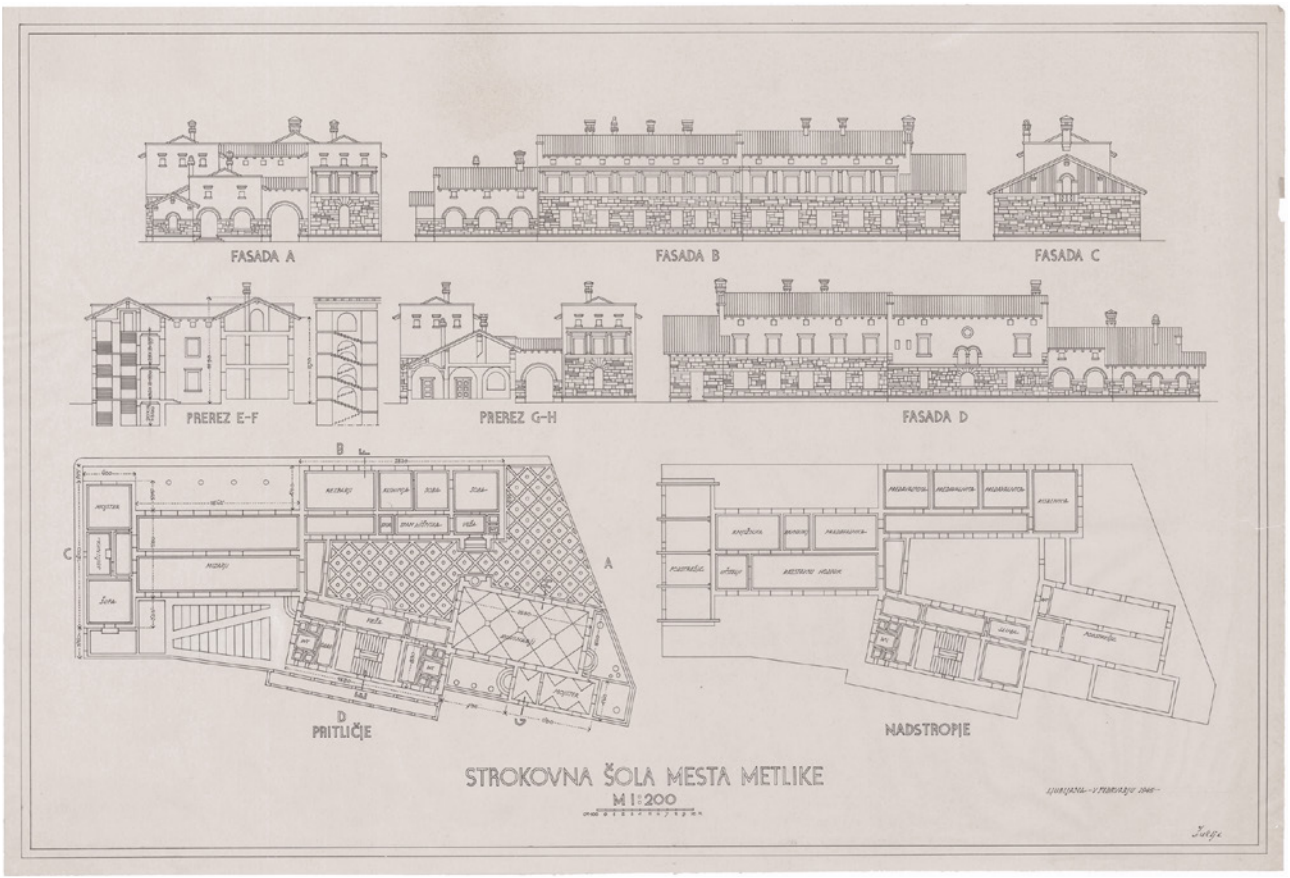
The war years were particularly fruitful for cooperation between Plečnik and Gizela Šuklje. A number of urban revitalization projects for Šuklje's ancestral medieval town of Metlika in the south of Slovenia, although probably never meant for realization, testify to the further development of the "common roof" concept during wartime when construction sites mostly stood still. Rather than focusing on the redesign of squares and streets, in 1944-45, Plečnik and Šuklje prepared plans for a number of public buildings on the edge of the small town core that would provide new functions while also enhancing the town with new public and semi-public spaces (Čelik, Vardjan, and Zupančič, 2013, pp. 70-74). Among the Metlika projects, the plans for the City Hall [FIGURE 04] and Vocational School [FIGURE 05] both from 1945, in particular, outline Plečnik's experiment with mixed-use and intermediate, semi-public spaces.

The City Hall[8] is a small but complex building designed almost exclusively based on the urbanistic considerations of its surroundings. The building links two town squares on different levels. In addition to providing a partially covered staircase linking the two squares with the small internal courtyard of the new building, the covered passageways on the sides of the two squares blur the line between the previous dichotomy of open and closed, public and private spaces with a rich array of semi-public, semi-open spaces. The building hosts multiple functions: the Mayor's office, municipal assembly room, agricultural cooperative and warehouse, wine cellar, shop, fire-fighter station, two flats for the caretaker and municipal secretary, and a suite for a visiting town guest. Here, Plečnik develops the "socialized structure" of the "common roof" concept for a public program rather than private housing; mixed-use and a rich array of intermediary, semi-public, semi-open spaces help to dissolve the clear-cut distinction between closed and open spaces as well as between private and public spaces of the traditional Slovene town. The new building is conceived as a spatial and programmatic catalyst for Metlika, providing basic political, cultural, economic, and security services.

Similarly, the Vocational School[9] on the other edge of the settlement is a complex of varying interconnected pavilions with courtyards linking them rather than a single unified building. Separate workshops for woodcarvers, metallurgists, and carpenters on the ground floor are linked with courtyards and gardens on the ground as well as with the common programs of library and lecture rooms on the first floor. Like in the case of the City Hall, the complex blurs the boundaries between the house and the surrounding town, providing extensions of existing streets, walled gardens, passageways, and semi-public courtyards that constitute a new socialized fabric for the school and the town.



04 Plan for the new Town Hall in Metlika by Jože Plečnik and Gizela Šuklje (collaborator). © MAO Collection, 1945.



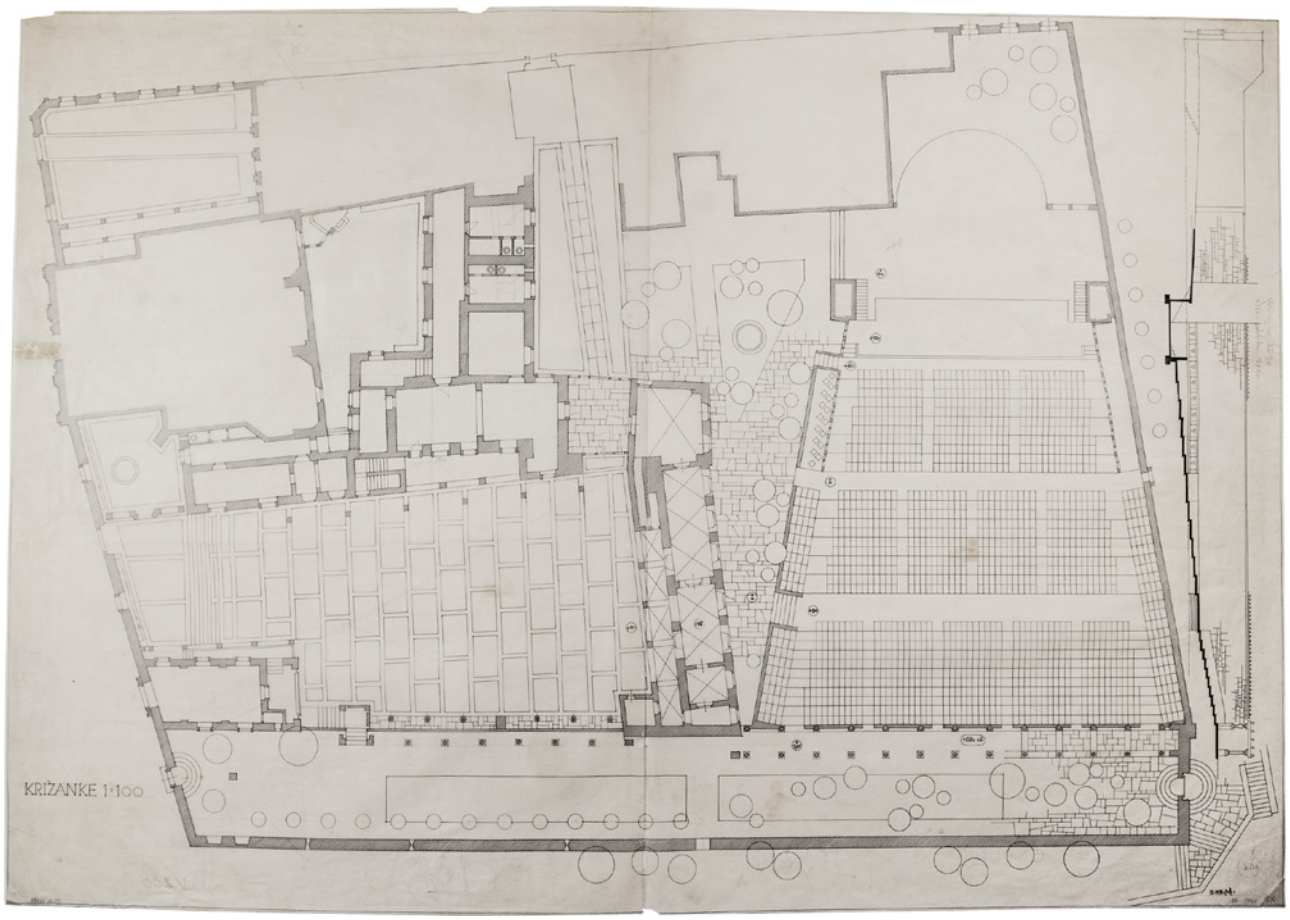
05 Plan for The Vocational School of the City of Metlika by Jože Plečnik and Gizela Šuklje (collaborator). © MAO Collection, 1945.

POST-WAR REVERBERATIONS

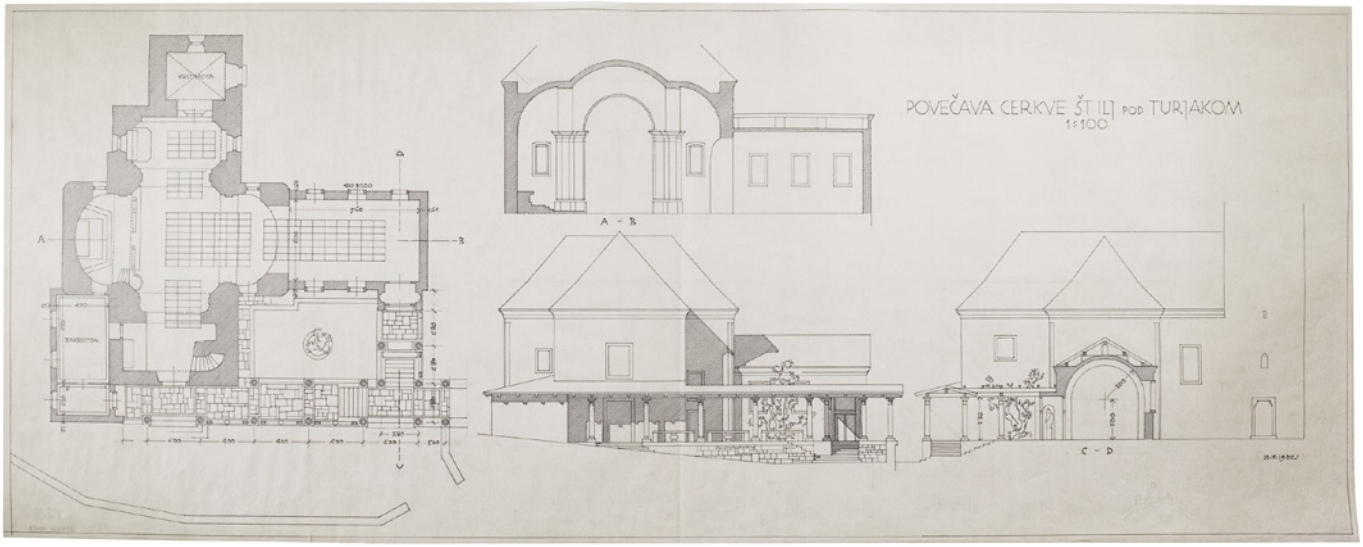
While it is possible to see the Metlika City Hall plan as a provincial echo of the concept of New City Hall in Ljubljana (by this time, Plečnik must have suspected that the latter would never be built, even though detailed plans were prepared), the idea of the Metlika Vocational School will reverberate in Plečnik's most important post-war realization in Ljubljana: the renovation of Križanke Monastery into the new School of Crafts[10] and the seat and main venue of the Ljubljana Music Festival from 1952-1956 [FIGURE 06].

Mixed use of the complex and its opening to the city around it offer pedagogical as well as cultural functions: to be able to learn crafts within an environment rich in tangible heritage (centuries-old fabric of the monastery) and intangible art (open-air festival concerts) is a constituent element of Plečnik's renovation concept. The ancient seat of the Order of Teutonic Knights, an enclosed complex with a church, monastery buildings, and gardens next to the former town walls, is treated as a small city by Plečnik and his assistant Anton Bitenc (who completes the project after his teacher's death): walls are left in place but are perforated so that the complex becomes visually and physically intertwined with the city; newly-paved courtyards are linked to each other, creating a network of small streets and squares connecting semi-autonomous parts of the school with the festival venues and the city; and the newly-built arcades, terraces and gardens provide for a rich new texture of intermediary spaces mediating between the new programs and old context as well as socializing the various function under its roof with the city around it.[11] Almost all of Plečnik's work is limited to the exterior spaces and façades, barely touching the disposition of existing interior spaces. In this sense, Križanke is a house turned inside out: rather than its concert hall or its lecture rooms, its heart is in the passageways and courtyards that double as communication and socialization spaces.

Plečnik's post-war commissions never reached the scale of his pre-war projects. Consisting mostly of small-scale monuments, the experiments of articulating intermediary spaces and mixed-use urban complexes developed during the Second World War could not be put to the test easily. Apart from the Križanke renovation and the renovation of the Kranj City Theatre,[12] one of the few outlets where Plečnik could experiment with intermediary spaces and small-scale urbanism was in the numerous commissions for the reconstruction of churches damaged during the war. Most of these projects were not realized, but surviving plans offer a glimpse into how lessons of Krakovo and Metlika could be adapted to even the most rural contexts, providing for a new urban nucleus of a village or a settlement.



06 Floor plan of the renovation of the Križanke Monastery by Jože Plečnik and Anton Bitenc (Collaborator). © MAO Collection, 1954.



07 Plan for the extension of the St. Ilja church in Šentilj under Turjak by Jože Plečnik and Anton Bitenc (collaborator), 1952. © MAO Collection.

Among these, one noteworthy, unrealized plan is the one for the extension of St. Ilja church in Šentilj under Turjak in the northeast of the country in 1952 [FIGURE 07].[13] Plečnik suggested extending the church with a new nave perpendicular to the old orientation of the church, transforming the main altar into a side altar and one of the side altars into the main altar—a solution based on his pre-war designs for transversely-oriented church spaces such as St Michael on the Marsh near Ljubljana. The resulting two competing naves of the church were to be rounded up with two columned and covered walkways leading to the old and the new entrance to the building while also enclosing an atrium between the walkways and the walls of the naves. In this small-scale exercise of diversification and urbanization of a country church, Plečnik provides the community not only with an enlarged interior but also with a series of intermediary, semi-covered mediating spaces that transform a church hall into a small urban complex, dissolving the clear-cut distinction between open and closed, public and private spaces of villages.

CONCLUSION

In Plečnik's late work, the house as a small-scale urban complex with a wide range of differentiated spatial and programmatic regimes is fully articulated. Due to changed political and, above all, professional circumstances in the field of architecture, these articulations remain predominantly on paper. That does not mean, however, that the intense conceptual work during the war years left no consequences. A distinctly urbanistic approach to architecture, albeit with different formal qualities, would soon also characterize the modernist oeuvre of Plečnik's most celebrated disciple Edvard Ravnikar (1907-1993)[14] and his students. Dušan Grabrijan's analysis of qualities of vernacular housing tradition as a base for developing site-specific housing typologies is at least in part grounded in Plečnik's school and its long-running thread of reinventing tradition for new urban situations. Later, concepts such as "Houses under the Common Roof" inspired the fascination of artists and architects looking for socially regenerative architectural approaches after the disillusionment of the asocial middle-class suburbia and mass housing of modernist estates of the 20th century.[15] In "Houses under the Common Roof" and his post-war projects, Plečnik offered an alternative vision of the role of space as a vehicle for social interaction and transformation. By focusing on the intermediary spaces of communication and generosity of space that breaches the established conventions of use and property, he offered a contemporary rereading of Leon Battista Alberti's notion of a house as a small city and a city as a large house. At the time often overridden by the instrumentalized modernity of the 20th century, Plečnik's late work of dissolving the boundaries of houses and programs, combined with overlapping otherwise strictly delineated zones through a series of intermediary spaces, already addresses very contemporary challenges of social interconnectedness and spatial sustainability of the 21st century.

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ENDNOTES

1 In addition to the last fifteen years of his life, another similar grey spot exists that should be devoted to in the future: the Prague years between 1913 and 1920, again lacking in realisations. I believe it is no coincidence that the times of the two world wars are characterized by the understandable lack of realized architectural projects at the time and a surge of creativity with a changed character of Plečnik's work after it (in the case of World War I the work in Prague, Ljubljana and elsewhere; in case of World War II the post-war work throughout Slovenia). Perhaps Plečnik's two world-war periods should be reconceptualized into his intimate hothouse of rethinking, reorientation and experimentation, exploding into new surges of creativity soon afterwards.

2 Copies of plans are found in Gizela Šuklje's archive in MAO; originals are held in the Plečnik House Collection.

3 In Slovenia, this Catholic symbolism is best known from the gothic carved relief at the famous pilgrimage church of Ptujska Gora. It would also fit well with Plečnik's distinctive combination of a sense of social justice and an archaic, christianity-based paternalism.

4 The architectural motive of enveloping a house with columns is a long-running thread in Plečnik's ouvre, although predominantly reserved for public buildings. The outer unifying collonade echoes precedents such as Palladio's classical envelope of the gothic Basilica in Vicenza, which Plečnik would encounter in his formative Italian journey (1898-99).

5 Plečnik's design for "Houses under the Municipal Roof" has an unexpected parallel in Le Corbusier's Plan Obus for Algiers (1933) where the extensive multistorey concrete curve with the road on top is also a construction frame for individual houses to be built within. Despite the differences in height, length and relation to the urban landscape, both designs articulate an attempt to combine an individual housing solutions within a collective infrastructural framework.

6 The plan is preserved in the Plečnik House Collection in Ljubljana.

7 Text on the side of the visualization for "Houses under the Common Roof", 534:LJU;0041943, 1950. MAO Collection.

8 Plan 534:LJU;0029845, MAO Collection.

9 Plan 534:LJU;0029846, MAO Collection.

10 Gizela Šuklje, Plečnik's collaborator on the "Houses under the Municipal Roof" and Metlika projects, became a teacher at the newly-established School of Crafts in 1946 which found its home in the then still unrenovated monastery.

11 Plan 534:LJU;0042017, dated to 1954, MAO Collection.

12 In Kranj (1949), Plečnik constructed a new screen of arcades in front of the façade of the theater on the main square, thus providing another example of mediteranean-inspired urban intermediary space, not at all traditional for this Alpine town.

13 Plan 534:LJU;0041989, MAO Collection.

14 In Ravnikar's central work, the extensive Revolution Square complex in Ljubljana (1959-1983), Anton Bitenc collaborated with Ravnikar in adapting the ground floors of surrounding older buildings, creating a series of intermediary covered spaces that helped to breach the difference in scale between the old town and Ravnikar's new monumental complex.

15 Slovene architect and artist Marjetica Potrč created the "Ljubljana under a Common Roof" project in the De Appel Foundation for Contemporary Art, Amsterdam in 2004, and the "Under Municipal Roof" project in 2005-2008 where she compared Plečnik's concept with contemporary social housing ideas from Johannesburg (Potrč, n.d.) A number of academic researchers rediscovered Plečnik's project at the same time (Ferretto, 2012; Gallo, 2008). In Italy, a 2011 architectural realization near Parma was even partially inspired by the project (Colonna Architetti, n.d.).

DUŠAN GRABRIJAN'S MACEDONIAN HOUSE

Fieldwork and its Influence towards a complex Modernism

Mirjana Lozanovska, Viktorija Bogdanova

ABSTRACT: Grabrijan sought to explain and affirm a coexistence of the modern and the traditional in architecture, especially in his seminal studies of Bosnian architecture and the Macedonian house. Co-authored with Neidhardt, his publication about Bosnian architecture is well-known and studied. Grabrijan's posthumous publication, The Macedonian House, based on the data collected during his fieldwork in regional towns in Macedonia (1946, 1947, 1949), serves to punctuate the progressive modernizing forces and their focus on reconstruction, urbanization, and speedy industrialization of major centers as well as peripheral areas, in the Socialist Republic of (SRMacedonia), as elsewhere in Yugoslavia. As an archival record, The Macedonian House presents a different focus and a rebalance of the postwar agenda that had eclipsed small towns from architectural interest and had effectively produced the demise of the vernacular traditions in the towns. With an ideology to learn from the architecture of the people, Grabrijan's work wove the vernacular back into a more complex modernism.
Grabrijan first traveled to S.R. Macedonia in the summer of 1946 as part of a Yugoslavia-wide exchange–solidarity assistance for post-war renewal. He then organized two research journeys in 1947 and 1949, taking a group of students for fieldwork training. In his archives containing the documents and fieldwork for the publication about the Macedonian House, a drawing of a map of the Balkans resonates with the map of Le Corbusier's 1911 formative journey to the East, including a coded notation which may refer to folklore, culture, and industry. Grabrijan's enthusiasm for studying the traditional houses in Macedonia takes him to small towns, covering a broad geography of spatial dialects. Drawing from the Grabrijan archives, this paper will explore his fieldwork methods and his modalities of researching the complex conditions from which the "house for everyone" rises above the ground.

KEYWORDS: Macedonian House, Spatiality (spatio-plasticity), Porch - čardak (veranda), House for Everyone, vernacular

INTRODUCTION: Dušan Grabrijan's publication *The Macedonian House: or A Transition from Old Oriental to Contemporary European House* (1955) was published posthumously following his sudden and tragic death. It is hardly known outside of Yugoslavia, and in the era after 1994, the post-Yugoslavian era, possibly not outside of the Republic of Macedonia. The plethora of publications on the architecture of Yugoslavia, many of global significance, further profiled by the impressive and history-making exhibition at the MoMA in 2018, *Towards a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*, have largely explored the substantial works, collective operations, and experimentations that strengthened modernism within the socialist context. Research on other complex themes of architecture in Yugoslavia, including postmodernism and critical regionalism, is still emerging (Blagojević, 2013; Popescu, 2019; Lozanovska, 2015; Lozanovska & Popescu, 2023); and on vernacular architecture is almost non-existent. Grabrijan's work is often noted in contexts and productions related to other major figures rather than as a major figure in his own right.[1] Grabrijan was known as a phenomenal 'notetaker' and both Alić, "Vision of a Nation: From Dušan Grabrijan's Notes on *Plečnik and His School*" (2015) and Kulić in his seminal work on Yugoslavian architecture *Modernism in-Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist*

01 The team taking site notes somewhere in Macedonia, 1947-49. © Grabrijan and team, Grabrijan archives, Folder 4, drawer 5.2: Macedonian House, Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

02 Team in Veles, 1947-49 © Grabrijan and team, Grabrijan archives, Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

Yugoslavia (2012) noted his documentation of the Plečnik lectures. Zupančič (2017), amongst other scholars, has also noted Grabrijan's exacting insight into the interpretation of Plečnik's architecture in addition to the recording of his lectures. Alić and Kulić examine the significance of Grabrijan's work with Neidhardt. Grabrijan and Neidhardt's publication *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (1957) generated a new orientation on Bosnian architecture, adding an explicit cultural dimension to modernist architecture while contributing to the ideological political platform of socialist Yugoslavia. Le Corbusier's foreword in Grabrijan and Neidhardt's book highlights its standing in the architectural canon and Yugoslavia's role in Europe's architectural agenda.

Dušan Grabrijan was born in Lož, Inner Carnolia region in Slovenia in 1899 and died in Ljubljana, 1952. After graduating from *oddelek za arhitekturo, Tehniška Fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani* [Department for Architecture, Technical Faculty, University of Ljubljana], Grabrijan received a scholarship from the French government to study at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, 1925-1926, different to Yugoslav graduates who at the time joined Le Corbusier's office. In his book *Plečnikova* šola *v Ljubljani* Marko Pozzetto (1996) draws on Grabrijan's notes *Plečnik in njegova* šola, to discuss the first students of Plečnik, their immense admiration, and sometimes equal frustration with Plečnik's approach to architectural education. Pozzetto acknowledges Grabrijan's book of records, in which probably all of Plečnik's main statements were immortalized, but also quotes Grabrijan stating, "I wish no-one Plečnik's love, I wish no-one his belief or pessimism, although I feel genius in these things. And if all these other things are necessary for this activity, then that also I reject" (Grabrijan in Pozzetto, 1996, pp. 91-92). A fraught statement indeed, and though Pozzetto interprets it as a rejection of architecture, Grabrijan does not reject architecture but navigates it, firstly between design practice and writing the critical appraisals of architecture, and then as professor at the Technical High School in Sarajevo (1930-45); and after the war as Professor in History of Art and Design Basics at the Department for Architecture, Technical Faculty, University of Ljubljana. Grabrijan sought to distance himself from Plečnik and became a significant figure in the development of architectural discourse and knowledge in the formative periods of Yugoslavian architecture. Distinct from Plečnik, he was an innovative thinker who appropriated modern orientations rather than reject them, and his extensive and impeccable research, as well as writing, led to numerous posthumous publications (Džemal Čelić, 1970; Blaž Rotar, 1990; Bogo Zupančič, 2017).

Despite this central role, there is a comparative marginalization, if not omission, of the publication *The Macedonian House* in both the Yugoslavian publications and discourse contexts of the 1950s-1970s and the newer discussions developed in the English language. *The Macedonian House,* developed from the comprehensive fieldwork and early manuscript drafts, was published in three editions facilitated by Grabrijan's dedicated and grieving wife, Nada Grabrijan (nee Čeh). The *Macedonian House* was first published in 1955 (prior to the publication on Bosnian architecture) by Državna Založba Slovenije in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian; in 1976, it was published in Slovenian by Partizanska Knjiga; then in 1986, it was published in Macedonian with a summary in English.[2] A draft in German translated by Nada Čeh Grabrijan remains unpublished (Rotar, 1990, p. 5). This substantial investment from the author and his closest companion increased our curiosity: what might this work contribute towards an understanding of Grabrijan's role and his contribution to architectural knowledge in Yugoslavia and the wider architectural community?

This paper focuses on the fieldwork and writings that were drawn upon for the development of Grabrijan's

book, *The Macedonian House*, and develops an argument with emphasis on Grabrijan as an architectural contributor in his own right. Drawing on the archives held in the Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, (Museum of Architecture and Design) in Ljubljana, this paper elaborates on Grabrijan's agency and subjectivity, his expertise in observation, documentation, and fieldwork, and on the theme of vernacular architecture, and its role within modernism[3]. (Grabrijan, 1955; Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957; Grabrijan, 1959; Grabrijan, 1961). The paper is structured in two parts: firstly, an exploration of the idea of 'travel' and 'fieldwork' as integral to the development of architectural knowledge with a review of Grabrijan's architectural travel route within Macedonia [FIGURE 01, FIGURE 02]; and secondly, an examination of Grabrijan's findings and reflections.

FIELDWORK AND TRAVEL

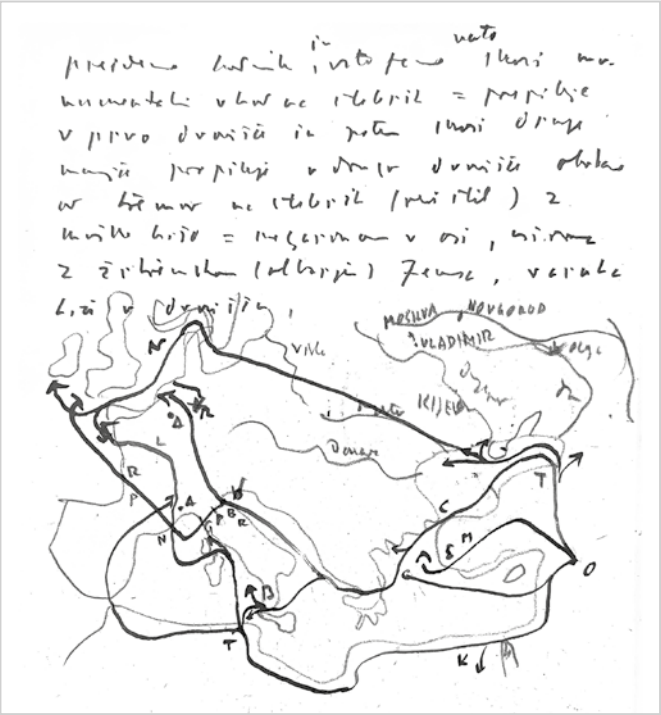
"The battle for the right image of the past is no more and no less than a fight for the right image of one's own time and of oneself. (…) One should depart from one's own country!"
(Grabrijan, 1955[4], p. 6)

Grabrijan first traveled to Macedonia in the summer of 1946 as part of a Yugoslavia-wide exchange–solidarity assistance for post-war renewal–but he then organized two research journeys in 1947 and 1949, taking a group of three architecture students for fieldwork training (Rotar, 1990, p. 43). The trip in the summer of 1949 was financially supported by the Slovene government and minister Kiro Georgievski in Macedonia. Grabrijan notes the reasons to go: "We have heard that their most interesting architectural heritage is located in Bosnia and Macedonia," 'their' referring to the whole of Yugoslavia, then adding, "We have read that it has many points of contact with our contemporary architecture" (Grabrijan, 1955, p. 22). These two key points–architectural heritage and contemporary architecture–evolve to be central to Grabrijan's developing and critical position on architecture.

In the book *The Macedonian House*, Grabrijan draws a map of Macedonia, noting the routes and nodes of his travels (Grabrijan, 1955, p. 24). Grabrijan's focus was to study the traditional houses in Macedonia in small towns, covering a broad geography, while churches, monasteries, mosques, and urban maps are present only in dispersed fragments. He describes the two separate travels and how each repeated a circular path in Macedonia, a planned route built on the belief that the Vardar River was the "spine" of the country [FIGURE 03]. The first path started from Skopje, the Vardar Valley, and circumnavigated to Veles, Kruševo, Bitola towards the west, Ohrid, Struga, Debar through to St. Jovan Bigorski, Galičnik, Tetovo and back to Skopje. The second path, starting again from Skopje, moved towards the East to Kratovo, Kočani, Štip, Strumica, Gevgelija, and again back through the Vardar Valley to Skopje. In both paths, the locations explored were small towns/cities and villages[5] that importantly for Grabrijan, were "not yet Europeanised" or the "oldest parts of the new settlements" (Grabrijan, 1955, p. 22). Grabrijan interviewed various people of different ethnicities within the country, witnessing the complexity of the interwoven influence of the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, along with the evident material traces of architectural heritage. His interest was not the "question of the origin of the Macedonian house" but rather its concrete "functional, structural and formative" the qualities that link it to the modern European house (Grabrijan, 1955, p. 27).

In addition to this map, the archives contain a drawing of a different map of the Balkans, including Western Turkey, Greece, as well as Italy (southern Europe), and noting the Danube River by name (Donau) which is central in the cartographic organization of the map (Grabrijan archives, Box 58, Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana) [FIGURE 04]. Grabrijan sketched routes through this map, which appear to be a redrawing of Le Corbusier's 1911 formative journey to the East through Central Europe, towards Istanbul, Mt. Athos, Athens, and then over to Italy. But on closer observation, Grabrijan's map includes names such as 'Moskva, Novgorod, Vladimir, Kijev,' places referring to Russia at the eastern edge of Europe, with many lines converging on the Black Sea. Does this centring on the Black Sea shift a dominant attention produced by western European canons? Is the Black Sea an interface between Europe and its proximate civilizations, and is this an indication of Grabrijan's more subliminal search for another type of origin?

03 "A map of the People's Republic of Macedonia–survey of our journey," illustrating the two circular routes 1947-49 © Photograph by the authors, 2021, from Grabjian, 1955, p. 20.



04 A sketch from Grabrijan's notebook, the map of Europe with the amorphous and blank Balkan "void." no date. © Photograph by the authors, 2021, Grabrijan archives (Box 58), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

Grabrijan was strongly influenced by Le Corbusier's approach and vision and, like many architects in Yugoslavia (and Europe), regularly refers to Le Corbusier. Le Corbusier's long and meandering route through the inland Balkans contrasts Grabrijan's map where a straight line cuts through Eastern Europe, and except for the Danube, the inland Balkans remain amorphous and blank.[6] This imaginary dialogue between the two maps is related to inscriptions of desire and travel that coincide on similar terrains rather than as a historical claim (the dates of Grabrijan's travel 1947 and 1949 do not align with Le Corbusier's 1911 travel or his publication in 1966; Le Corbusier, 1966). Terrains, however, are not merely geographic but burdened with cultural histories and, as evident in architects' travels off the beaten track, are also a search, often oriented to the East from the perspective of Western Europe or to the vernacular from a perspective of the Western canon. Grabrijan's actual travel map of Macedonia inserts detail into that blankness of the Balkans. For Grabrijan, the journey to Bosnia and Macedonia appears to have been an antithesis to Plečnik's training, which was oriented toward Central Europe, and the journey is precisely a retraining in architecture, investigating the spatial, the functional, and the everyday as central to a new direction in architecture detouring from Plečnik. While these readings are of separate and distinct maps—Le Corbusier's 1911 journey, Grabrijan's archival map of Europe, and Grabrijan's map of his travels in Macedonia—the maps represent geocultural foundations to evolving histories of architectural pedagogy and practice in the region. Indeed, Le Corbusier's and Grabrijan's interweaving of the Balkan narrative presents, in reverse to an authoritarian premise, dualities of the student and the teacher and of the architectural canon and an opening for alternative historiography: who is learning, who is teaching?

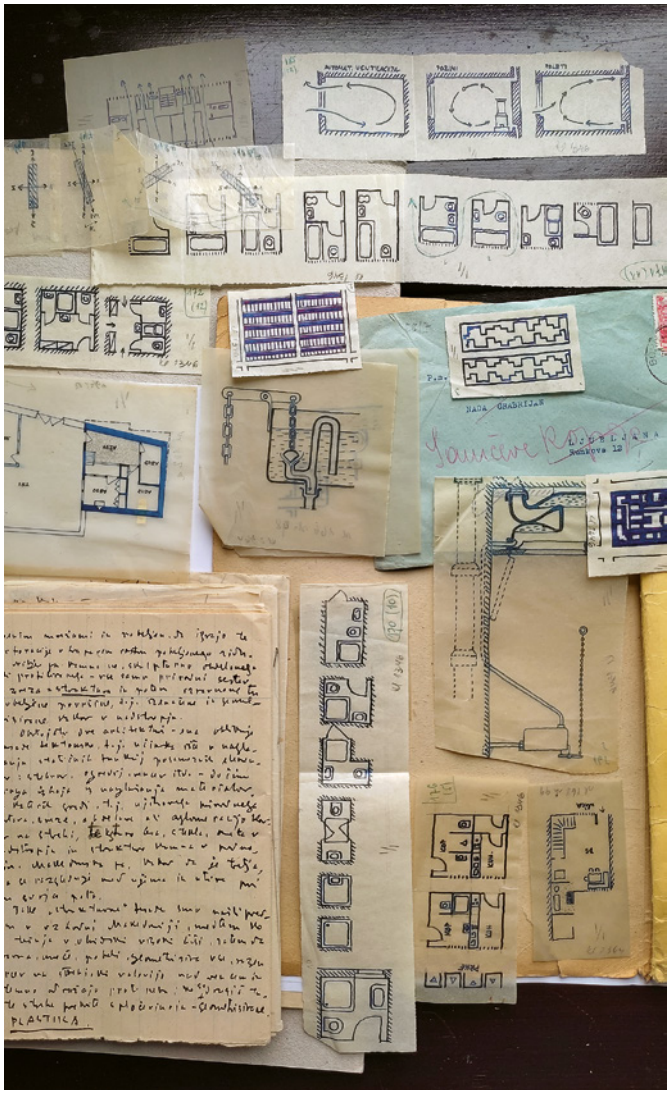
FINDINGS—OBSERVATION, DOCUMENTATION, REFLECTION

Grabrijan and his three students were 'skeptical' about the travel to Macedonia, and while their route evolved from information from local people, their rule was: "Be skeptical until you examine things on your own!" (Grabrijan, 1955, p. 22). Grabrijan's fieldwork and travel documentation are extensive and detailed and build a substantial and evidential base impeccably maintained in the Museum of Architecture and Design archives in Ljubljana. His attention to careful observation is a trained practice of looking again and again at the physical, appreciating the aesthetic style, but recording the architecture as a spatial structure and setting for domestic life, towards a paradigm of spatial functionality. Grabrijan builds what we might call today, a socio-spatial paradigm, as evident from this perspective are the elements documenting social and temporal aspects of the house, and from these developing the diagrams that form a series of spatial patterns.

Drawings, documentation, plans, and photographs illustrate the layered rigor of this type of practice of fieldwork and observation. The data is then analytically processed via a series of themes–the house types, climatic and functional necessity, architectural-spatial elements, the human scale, materials and structure, and organic urbanism–which develops the overarching analytical framework [FIGURE 05]. Additionally, the theme of the house type is further unpacked with identified typologies–low house, high house, hangar house–and we learn these are related to legislative parameters within the history of Ottoman colonized Macedonia, equally as they are determined by structural necessity or contextual and topographic terrain [FIGURE 06].

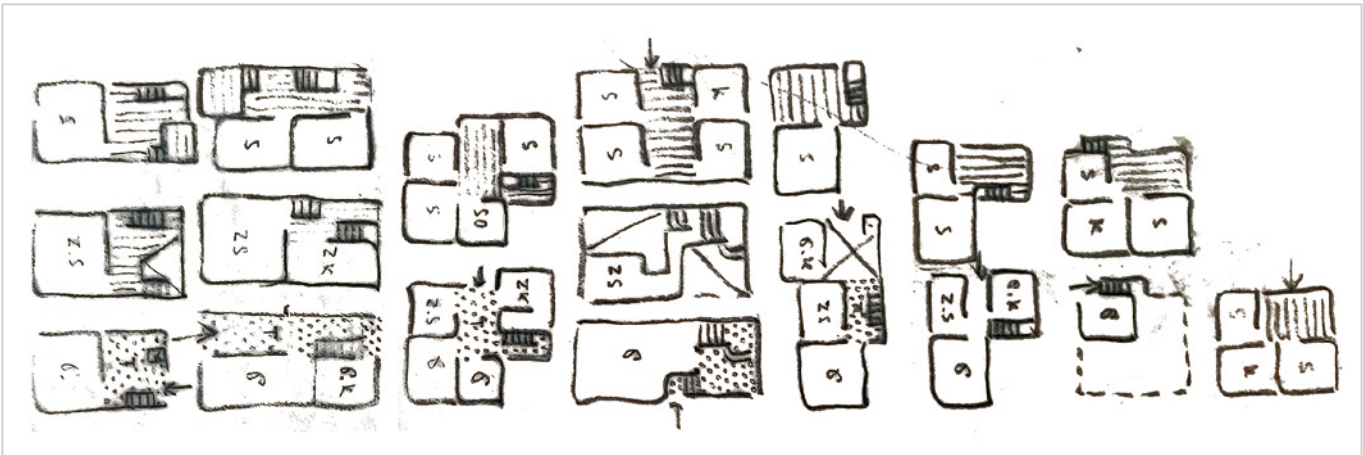
An intensive analytical exchange takes place between the findings of the fieldwork–the meticulous and sensitive observation, the systematic recording and documentation–and a powerful idea about spatio-plasticity, a contemporary agenda, and synthesis. This exchange produced the groupings, the patterns of the architectural elements, the conceptual orders evident in the content page of the book, the way that the data was collated, organized and orchestrated. Spatio-plasticity is a media through which architectural concepts of space and time, structure and movement, site and culture become radically altered.

The extant data and rigor of observation and documentation are nonetheless ultimately directed by a very powerful focus and vision. Grabrijan argues the evidence



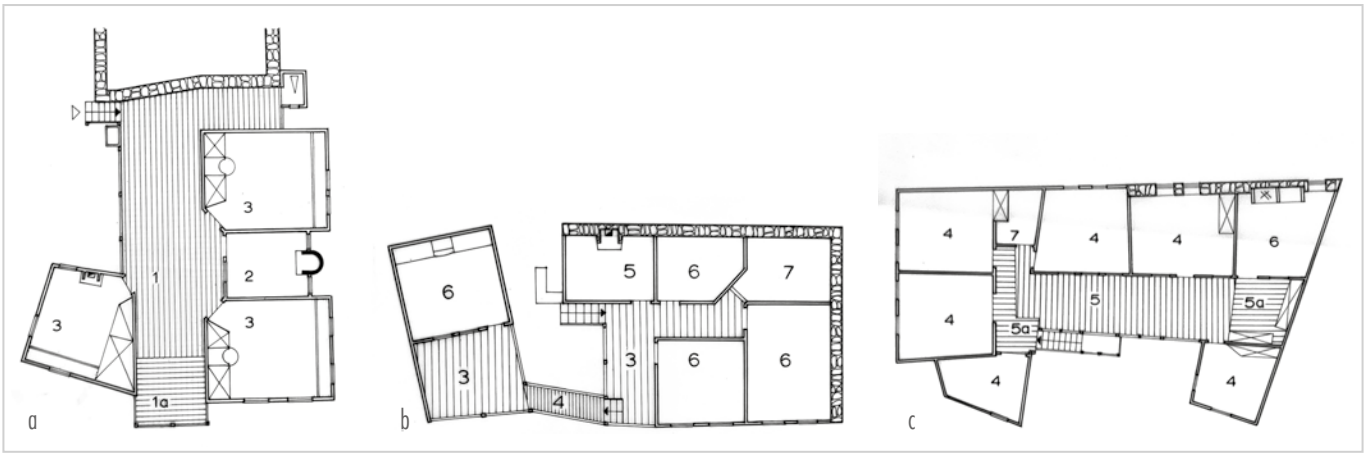
05 Macedonian House: Process drawings by Grabrijan, 1947-1952. © Photograph by the authors, 2021, Grabrijan archives (Box 58), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

07 The spatial journey between the stairs linked to the čardak by an open bridge, and from all these spaces a connection to the outdoor and public realm. Note the openness of the liminal space between the closed private rooms and the exterior, Veles, 1947-1949 © Photograph by the Grabrijan and team, 1947-1949, Grabrijan archives (Folder 4, drawer 5.2: Macedonian House), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.



06 Macedonian House: Typologies, analytical drawings by Grabrijan, 1947-49. © Photograph by the authors, 2021, Grabrijan archives (Box 58), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

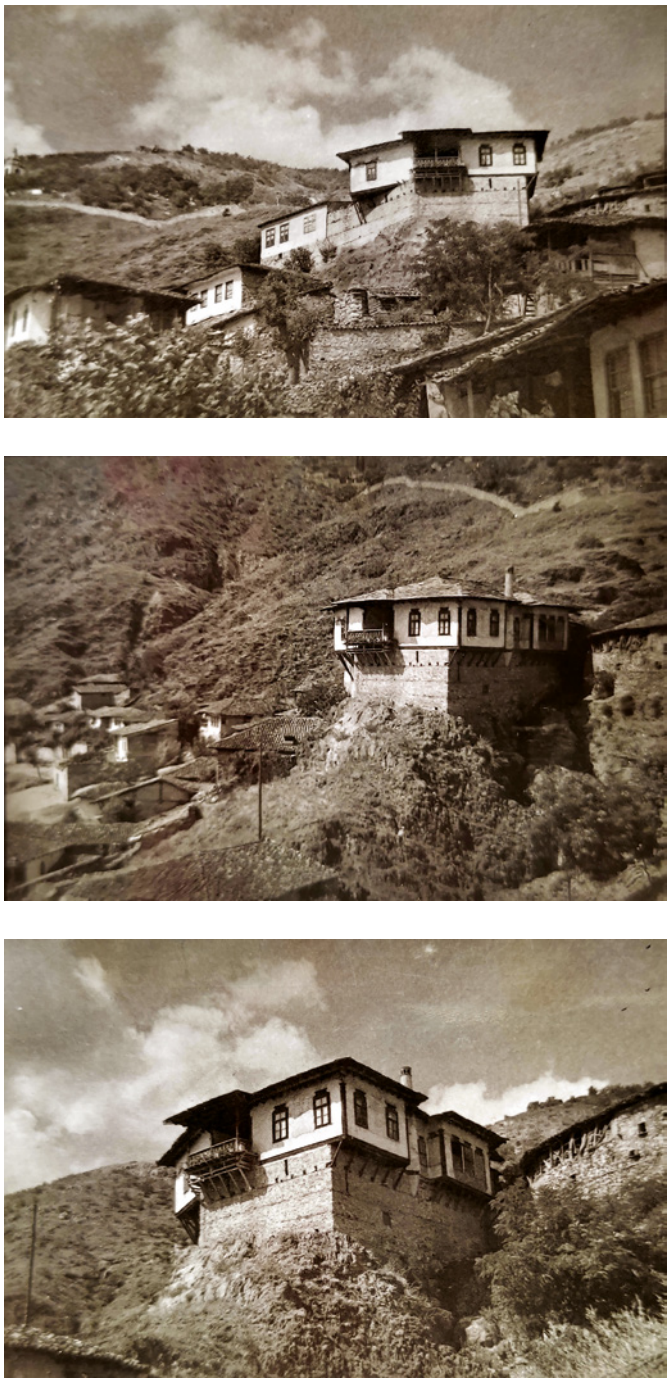
for the Macedonian house as an origin or foundation of the contemporary modern house will not be found in the closed rooms, nor the traditional kitchen, or the materials and method of construction (Grabrijan 1986, p. 61). Rather, it is found in the way the house is organized around a *spatial journey,* with the čardak playing a central role. The čardak is a wide open space, usually elevated and covered by a roof to which the interior private rooms of the house have access. Significantly for Grabrijan's comparison between the oriental and Macedonian house, in the latter, the čardak is oriented to the exterior, including the street [FIGURE 07]. Numerous examples of the spatial location and orientation of the čardak and its spatial variation are illustrated in plan drawings and photographs of the



08 The čardak in relationship to the rooms: 8a house with a moving čardak transforming from lateral to central, Veles; 8b spacious house with a bridge, Veles; 8c house with a lateral čardak, Veles. © Photograph by the authors, 2021, Grabrijan archives (Folder 4, drawer 5.2: Macedonian House), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

different house typologies of the Macedonian house–meandering house (Grabrijan, 1976[7], p. 64), hangar house (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 73), spacious house with a bridge/gallery (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 71), deep house with a double čardak (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 68), house with cross-shaped čardak (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 62), house with an elevated summer room (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 58), high house with a balcony (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 31), worker's house–transition to Ohrid's high house (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 35), house with hipetron and tronj (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 37), fisherman's house (Grabrijan, 1976, p. 77) [FIGURE 08]. The čardak does not achieve spatio-pasticity or the spatial journey as an autonomous element but in combination with other architectural elements [FIGURE 09]. Grabrijan's argument is more literally about the continuity of space and the openness of the house and this includes the open staircase equally as a significant element (Grabrijan, 1986, p. 79).

The distinction of the Macedonian house from what Grabrijan has called the oriental house is exactly the spatial connection between the public outdoor/street and the house interior, understood as a spatial continuity and layering between the inside and outside of the house (Grabrijan, 1986, p. 57). This is not a simplistic distinction, and Grabrijan's consideration of it takes him onto a longer investigation, as evident from a paper he had prepared and presented in 1950 at the annual architects' meeting in Dubrovnik, titled "Our Oriental and Contemporary House" (Zupančič, 2017, p. 167). The čardak and the open stairs play a special role as these spaces are open to both the public exterior and the private spaces of the rooms, noting that the rooms would be closed in winter. This distinction might be said to have a gendered layer and understanding, as the link between the private, domestic interior as the realm of women to the public exterior of the street or the neighborhood, is materialized in the orientation of the spatial journey within the house. This can be a subtle, nuanced distinction Grabrijan explores. Careful observation produced a collection of just enough details, differences, and settings to



09 The "hovering" house, Veles: the position of čardak opens the house on several sides. The plan of the house is visible in Figure 08a. Photographer: Grabrijan and team, Veles, 1947-1949 © Photograph by the Grabrijan and team, 1947-1949, Grabrijan archives (Folder 4, drawer 5.2: Macedonian House), Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

identify a distinction between the oriental house and the Macedonian house for Grabrijan to state:

> *"If we want to move from the oriental to the contemporary house, we have to pass through the Macedonian house"*
> *(Grabrijan, 1986, p. 220).*

HOUSES FOR EVERYONE/ANYONE

The first posthumous publication of the Macedonian House in 1955 is followed by a posthumous publication *Kako je nastajala naša sodobna hiša* or *How has our contemporary house come into being*? (Grabrijan, 1959). By incorporating discussions on Le Corbusier's and Loos worker's houses, as well as early houses, this book collects Grabrijan's preparations that broaden the discussion on the Macedonian House towards both a universal and a regional (Slovenian) idea about the contemporary house. Nonetheless, many of the findings and identifications in the Macedonian House are integral to this book. A large part of the chapter on 'Space' is dedicated to a subchapter named "Macedonian Intermezzo." Grabrijan's fieldwork and interest appear to be oriented toward eastern Europe rather than central western Europe, in contradistinction to Plečnik. His search for an 'origin' of the architecture of the region, while inspired by Plečnik, also deviates and develops a significant and alternative framing for the architecture in Yugoslavia. This orientation resonates with Le Corbusier's approach but makes explicit that these ideas draw from and refer to those vernacular houses in Macedonia and elsewhere and thereby contextualize the origins as cultural as well as spatial phenomena, and as a consequence of regional and historical architecture traditions.

A key concept in which Grabrijan understood the contemporaneous architectural quality of the traditional Macedonian house was 'spatio-plasticity' through which he identified a historical and cultural transition from the architectural organization of the oriental house, noting that it does not have the equivalent connection between public and outdoor space with private and interior space. Grabrijan's initial task and agenda was to identify the evolution of the contemporary house. Yet the trajectory and double circular travel route of fieldwork immerse him for years in the study of traditional architecture in Macedonia. Comprehensive and rigorous documentation, the development of architectural methods and templates for analyzing traditional architecture, and the detailed recording of the Macedonian house establish vernacular studies within the postwar architectural discourse in Yugoslavia, an alternative trajectory to the dominant progressive modernist narrative. Grabrijan's thesis that the architectural scholar or practitioner must pass through the Macedonian house in order to understand the architecture of the contemporary house situates studies of traditional architecture as integral to the modern agenda.

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ENDNOTES

1 We have reviewed publications in Slovenian, Serbo-Croation and translations of publications in Italian. In publications in English that have evolved since the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1994, Grabrijan has been linked to Neidhardt. Nonetheless, to this date there has been little anlaysis of Grabrijan as a significant figure in his own right.

2 It is this latter edition that I (Mirjana Lozanovska) purchased in 1989 when I ventured on architectural travels in Macedonia as part of a doctoral study on the architecture of emigration and immigration that draws the village into connection to the diasporic city.

3 We found only minimal discussions of this book on the Macedonian House and vernacular architecture in the references on Grabrijan, funneling our focus on an analysis and interpretation of the book itself.

4 Please note that this refers to a posthumous publication. Grabrijan would have written this during or after the trip in 1949.

5 Grabrijan does not refer to "villages"; the toponyms are towns, except for the villages Galičnik and Lazaropole.

6 Le Corbusier traveled to the east in 1911, but the Voyage d'Orient was not published until 1966, long after Grabrijan had died.

7 In the first, Macedonian version from 1955, there are no drawings of plans. We extracted the pages numbers from the Slovene version from 1976.

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HARMONIZING THE OLD AND THE NEW

Urban ensemble as decoded and conceived in the texts by Dušan Grabrijan and Bogdan Bogdanović

Aleksa Korolija

ABSTRACT: This paper seeks to uncover terms of comparability between Bogdan Bogdanović's and Dušan Grabrijan's texts, building on a thorough translation and interpretation of the written work published by Bogdanović in Mali Urbanizam and by Grabrijan on Sarajevo between 1936 and 1942. From 1956 to 1958, at the beginning of a successful career as an architect of memorials and monuments, Bogdan Bogdanović produced a monthly column called 'Mali Urbanizam' (Small-scale urbanism) in Borba, the Yugoslav publication that bestowed the coveted yearly prize for architecture. This body of articles includes topics concerning urban design, architecture, art, and how reinterpretations and reflections of historical cities and heritage may suggest spatial features adaptable in the post-war reconstruction of Yugoslavia. It is no coincidence that his first article was dedicated to Jože Plečnik, whom Bogdanović considered a pioneer in small-scale urbanism.

Through a comparative analysis of texts by Grabrijan and Bogdanović, this paper identifies the topic of historic urban ensembles both as precedent and as an area for modern design intervention, given the layered and multifold cultural built heritage that preceded the unification of Yugoslavia. The term 'ensemble' is here used to encompass the formal and historical peculiarities of Yugoslav cities, including the juxtaposition of eclectic buildings and Ottoman urban fabric, a townscape where buildings adapted to an almost untamed landscape, unlike the clashing of old and new in recent socialist urban expansions. Both Grabrijan and Bogdanović used newspaper articles as a medium to initiate an alphabetization process on the intrinsic values of urban heritage. Their efforts were embraced by a small group of students and fellow architects in an attempt to define a 'national style' that would capture all these complexities.

KEYWORDS: Dušan Grabrijan, Bogdan Bogdanović, Yugoslav Heritage, Ensemble, Architecture and Urban Planning

INTRODUCTION: NOTES ON A TENTATIVE COMPARISON

Drawing comparisons between Dušan Grabrijan's research and theoretical writings on Sarajevo and Bogdan Bogdanović's 'Mali Urbanizam' weekly column about Belgrade can prove to be a challenging task. The reason being that Grabrijan and Bogdanović's works were written almost two decades apart, under different political regimes[1], and with no clear historical evidence connecting them. Moreover, biographical details[2] add to the uncertainty of any direct connection or mutual influence between the two. It is worth noting that Grabrijan passed away in 1952, while Bogdanović started his career as a memorial builder in 1951 after winning the competition for the Monument to Jewish Victims of Fascism and Fighters in Belgrade's Sephardic Cemetery, having graduated in 1950. Moreover, the comparison may be questionable since Grabrijan, before the war, considered Le Corbusier's ideas on urbanism modern and applicable in Bosnia. In contrast, a few years later, Bogdanović wrote that Le Corbusier's utopian urban designs relied too heavily on engineering and technology, leading to isolation from the city's historical roots and a sense of community and aggregation (Bogdanović, 1952).

Although there are notable differences between the authors, there are also some similarities to be found upon closer inspection of their texts. This comparison ventures into re-reading texts and theoretical work rather than focusing on authorial figures and explores the possibility of finding a common interpretative key. Specifically, concerning urban design projects for historical cities in Yugoslavia, Grabrijan and Bogdanović shared similar ideas. However, they focused on different formal examples

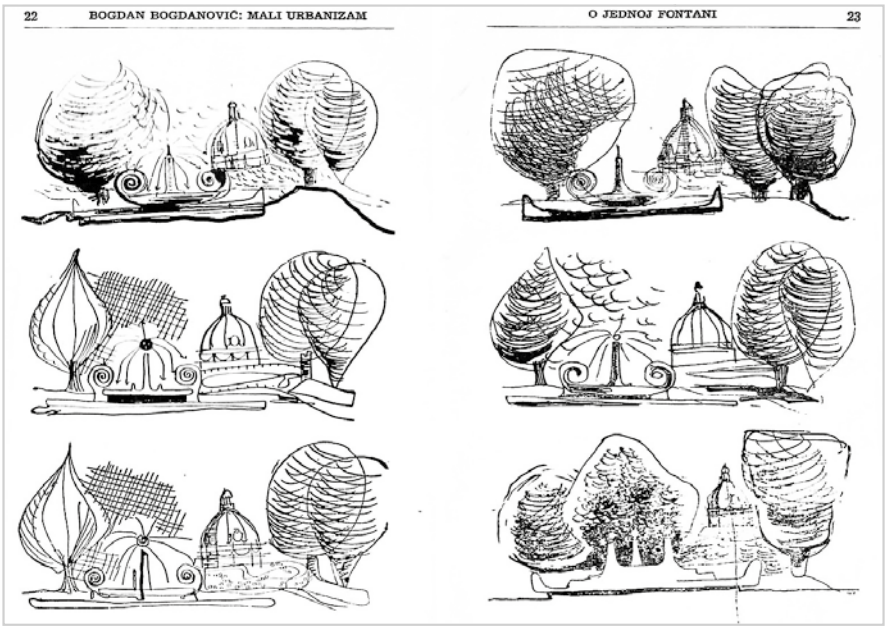
to address design issues and suggest solutions applicable in other urban contexts. For example, Grabrijan looked to the non-authorial nature of Ottoman buildings and urban aggregations as a source for modern architecture. Meanwhile, Bogdanović explored "architecture of older origin, the one that does not fit into the books and is not studied at schools or in the academia; it is the one under no protection from any conservation institute" (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 6). In their written works, both architects employed a comparable reading key consisting of observation, sketches, and real-life examples. This illustrative approach facilitated a better understanding of a technical and specialized subject such as urban design, making it intelligible to a broader audience[3].

Grabrijan and Bogdanović developed a critical approach for practitioners and students by analyzing life-fed experiences and accessible urban contexts. Their approach focused on the formal and spatial elements that connect buildings to their sites, rethinking the historic city by unlocking hidden potentials and placing contemporary architects in continuity with the long process of city building. Throughout the 1940s, Dušan Grabrijan collaborated with Juraj Neidhardt in providing concrete examples of how reinterpretation processes generated modern designs by incorporating local building history and re-using some of their architectural features. Hence, the published texts and projects in *Tehnički vjesnik*[4] (*Technical Gazette*), which preceded Grabrijan and Neidhartdt's 1952 book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, represent a valuable document to unpack methods related to a specific design process. These writings were also valuable for their students (Banović et al., 1970), practically demonstrating how newly designed buildings within urban contexts and even in new settlements were to be harmonized with both built and unbuilt surroundings. By calling upon analogy and synthesis between old Ottoman houses and urban spaces, Grabrijan and Neidhardt established a modern approach to source from historic architecture and overcome the fascination with vernacular architecture as merely a style.

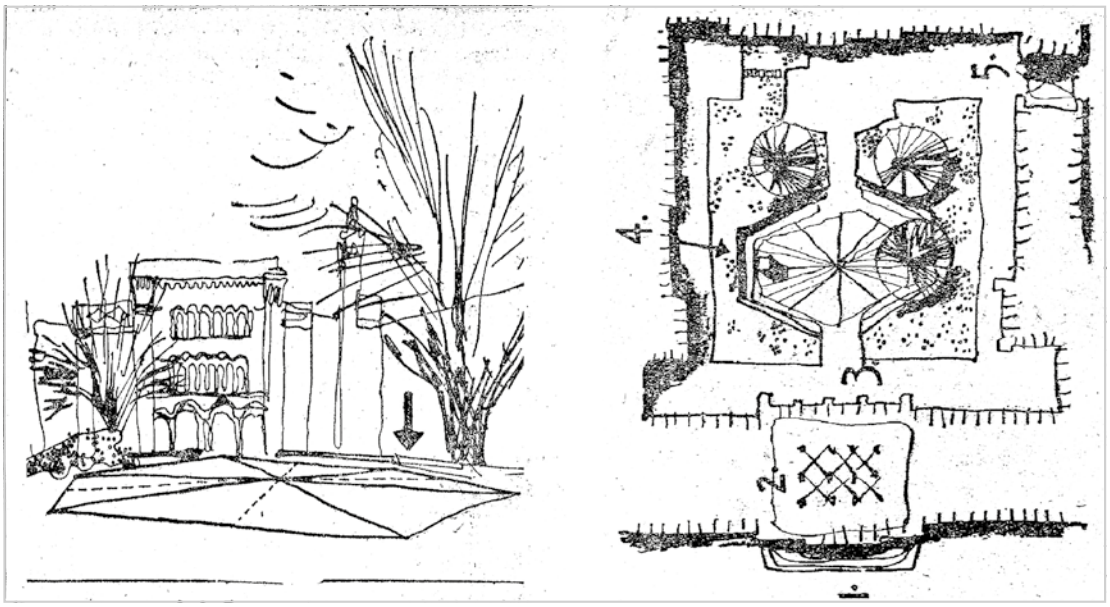
Apart from written and illustrated texts used to share their ideas, both Bogdanović and Grabrijan shared a profound appreciation for the Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik, whose work influenced their respective careers and which might represent the missing nexus between the two. Grabrijan had the chance to study and work alongside Plečnik on the project for Žale cemetery and later at Ljubljana University as an educator. Bogdanović, on the other hand, regarded Plečnik as an elective master, an actual authority of his craft (Komac & Guillèn, 2009). He dedicated the opening article of 'Mali Urbanizam' to Plečnik, referring to him as the "Great Master of Small Urbanism" (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 16). Plečnik's meticulous attention to detail and his ability to capture the essence of a city through his designs left also an enduring impression on Bogdanović that described the urban renovation of Ljubljana as an "unforgettable architectonic minuet" (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 18). Grabrijan also recognized Plečnik's renovation of Ljubljana[5] as a testament to his design ability to transform the cityscape through scattered small-scale interventions without significant alterations, revealing the latent qualities of places. Bogdanović observed how the dialectic between the various scales of architectural design contributed to defining the final "face" of the city [FIGURE 01, FIGURE 02]. Regarding the Prague Castle (Hradčany) project, he noted how the attention to detail equated to the quality of the engineering work and how small but widespread interventions managed to strengthen pre-existing conditions. Bogdanović noted that in place of geometrical abstraction, the disposition of minute architectural elements enhanced existing vantage points, thereby providing visitors with new, unexpected perspectives (Bogdanović, 1958). Plečnik's urban designs reflected a non-conservative but creative (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 27) attitude, as he drew inspiration from the past not just for style but also for the latent order of the context. Rather than merely preserving the past, Plečnik amplified and enhanced the urban palimpsest by working with existing conditions.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF YUGOSLAV PEOPLES[6]

Grabrijan and Bogdanović agreed that functional design within layered urban structures in historic cities had negative effects. They criticized the uniformity and banality that resulted from this approach. In the 19th century, the Ottoman heritage of Belgrade underwent significant changes (Maksimović, 1978), leading to the destruction and reconstruction of the city [FIGURE 02]. During the socialist period, many Yugoslavian cities faced a stark contrast between old and new, just like Belgrade and New Belgrade facing each other across the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers after World War II. Interestingly, Grabrijan and Bogdanović expressed concerns that modernization—and the subsequent uniformity—often involved copying foreign architecture, perpetuating past mistakes. The widespread use of concrete, glass, and flat roofs negatively impacted the varied Yugoslav landscapes, failing to align buildings with seaside, alpine, and plain as the historical typologies did. Grabrijan accurately captured this discrepancy when stumbling upon Ottoman architecture in Sarajevo. He observed:



01 Bogdanović's sketches are attached to the article 'About a Fountain' published in 'Mali Urbanizam' (1958). Through a tentative sequence of sketches, the architect is trying to properly locate and shape a fountain, establishing a visual dialog with the dome of the Serbian Parliament building. © Bogdan Bogdanović, 1958, pp. 22-23.



02 Detail from Bogdanović's article 'A nice old Courtyard' published in the 'Mali Urbanizam' column, in which the idea is put forth to integrate the Courtyard of Belgrade's University Rectorate Building (1858) into a bigger system of pedestrian areas in Belgrade. © Bogdan Bogdanović, 1958, scan from newspaper, no page.

"Why is there so much enthusiasm for everything foreign? When I was forced to look around, I slowly discovered the gap between my models and the reality of what surrounded me. That's when I started interacting with the place and discovered heritage."
(Grabrijan, 1952, p. 4)

Bogdanović discussed the problem of disconnecting modern architecture from the local context and equally criticized foreign models in the article 'Architecture in the landscape' (Arhitektura u pejzažu) (Bogdanović, 1958). He criticized the "shabby" and "trivial" modern architecture influenced mainly by international trends circulating through journals. According to him, the emphasis on abstract geometry restricted architects and urban designers to simply copying old designs from the 1920s and 1930s. As a result, they have been unable to appreciate the aesthetic appeal of picturesque urban spaces, which combined various architectural styles from different historical periods to create a cohesive spatial arrangement (Bogdanović, 1958 a, b).

The urgency of finding a modern 'national style'—triggered by the socio-political changes of the break with the USSR since 1948—a national approach towards landscape and built environment was actually a problem that interested a broader auditorium of architects. The topic of urban heritage in planning emerged in the theoretical discourse after the First Yugoslav Architects' Conference in Dubrovnik in 1950. At the Conference, a recurring topic was the concept that the cities of socialist Yugoslavia all included historical core bearing evidence

to the combination of many cultures varying in terms of religion, society, and architecture. Accordingly, the legacy was multifold, and each legacy needed to be examined and interpreted independently because of its distinct and unique characteristics. Grabrijan stated that Balkan-Ottoman architecture, due to its peripheral location and landscape features, was an excellent example of model reinterpretation derived from grand buildings located in the main cities. The peripheral conditions coupled with a belated modernization that both Grabrijan and Bogdanović considered a fortunate situation entailed humanistic values still present among the citizens of Yugoslav cities. Grabrijan and Neidhardt stated that:

> *"[…] the spirit of people who live in this part of the world, who, in contrast to western people being mostly constructors and rationalists, still carry in themselves strong emotional tendencies together with very close and intimate relations to nature which the town-dweller in the west has already lost."*
> *(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957 p. 330)*

In the ethnically mixed Yugoslav society, various cultural influences were identified as 'peripheral' conditions. These influences were identified as the Dalmatian-Mediterranean tradition (present in Croatia and Montenegro), the Ottoman tradition (present in Serbia, Bosnia, and Macedonia), and the central European-Baroque tradition (present in Slovenia and Croatia). The diverse cultural heritage was distinctly evident in urban and rural areas, each displaying unique characteristics. In urban regions, public buildings showcased eclecticism and architectural styles influenced by previous imperial capitals that once ruled the region before its unification. In contrast, vernacular architecture in rural areas demonstrated practical and structural features meant to adapt to the local climate and geography. In recognition of the diverse heritage, it became the responsibility of urban designers to merge new developments with existing ones by enhancing modernist ideas with humanistic principles.

In the article by Vladislav Ribnikar (1950), *Problemi stambenih zgrada* [Problems of residential buildings], presented at the 1950 Conference, the author advised architects in search of a modern socialist style not to copy the existing conditions but rather preserve its character through the new project; Ribnikar wrote:

> *"The problem is not to find a "national style"; down this line, we will never achieve our new style, a socialist-style. The issue is not how to revive, restore, or imitate what the past left us as a legacy. Above all, the problem is not to demolish this heritage in a crude and unartistic way. In our country many heritages have acquired their own physiognomy, their "atmosphere" throughout history. We have coastal towns, Macedonian villages, Bosnian towns, Slovenian cities, villages in Šumadija, etc. We have mountain, plain, and coastal types of houses and their corresponding settlements, which have preserved their character. […] Harmonizing our modern types of buildings with old ones; not insult the past, that is national in architecture."*
> *(Ribnikar, 1950, p. 22).*

On the same occasion, Macedonian planner Ljube Pota (1950) expressed his belief that socialist planning neglected the importance of the Ottoman road network within cities. He argued that, despite their lack of functionality in modern times, Ottoman roads were integral to the cultural and social history of the area. With a clear political bias, he compared them to the city expansions in the 19th and 20th centuries, which he considered driven solely by capitalist interests, leading to social imbalances in Yugoslav cities. Pota proposed a practical solution to distinguish newly socialist neighborhoods from traditional Ottoman cores by creating green buffers with sports and leisure facilities. The new settlements would benefit from these zones, while the traditional presence of walled gardens in Ottoman cities would have been restored and transformed into public parks.

MALI URBANIZAM: SPOTTING A GENRE?

Although Ljube Pota's proposal for developing Macedonian cities with Ottoman heritage might have sounded innovative, it was based on the planning procedures of socialist Yugoslavia. At the core of Yugoslavian urbanism, this method prioritized quantitative aspects and functionality through data and statistics before beginning the design process (Ilić, 1949). This approach was a well-established practice in Yugoslav planning offices and led to a certain bureaucratization of architects' jobs.

In contrast, through 'Mali Urbanizam' Bogdanović elaborated a learning method—he dubbed it the 'Jonnie Walker method'[7] (Bogdanović, 2007)—for observing the existing city from a formal, social, and symbolic point of view and proposed it as an actual task to his students. By reading 'Mali Urbanizam', one gets the impression that Bogdanović aimed to carve out a specific topic for urban designs in Yugoslavia by reviving the approach used by the most renowned architects throughout history[8]. In the opening of the collected articles of 'Mali Urbanizam' published in 1958, Bogdanović published the image of Bramante's Belvedere courtyard to demonstrate that "from

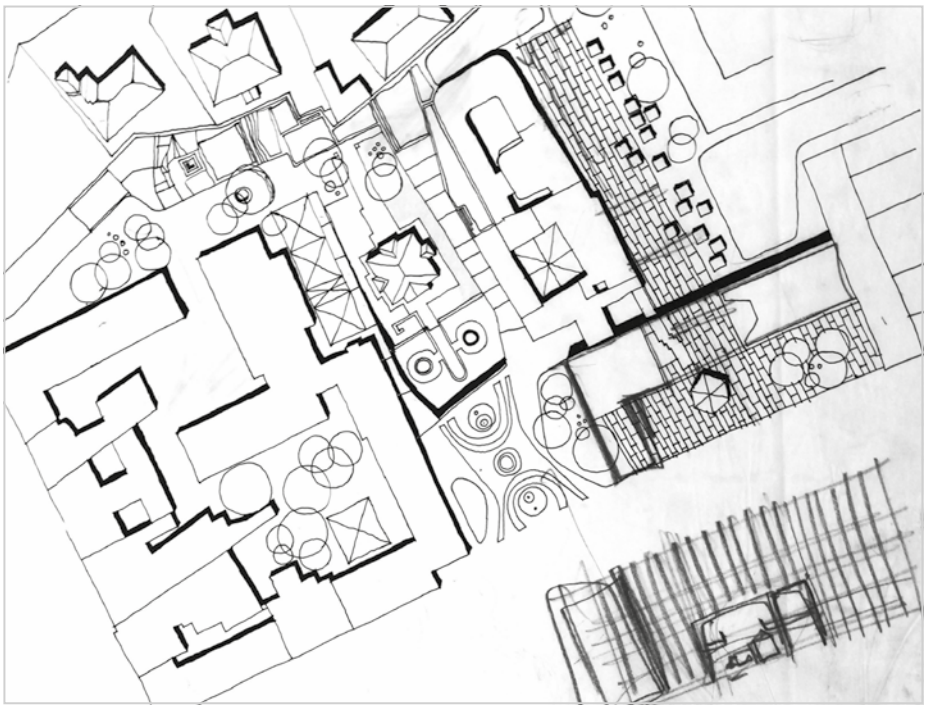
time to time in the history of architecture even the greatest masters enjoyed dealing with minute urban tasks; they enjoyed in developing it entirely, delve into its details." (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 4).

Bogdanović's texts had a 19th-century sense of flânerie (Kulić, 2017), focusing on the topics and language used. He intentionally and ironically adopted the adjective "mali" (small) to describe areas that socialist urban planning did not include in post-war projects. This was a nod to a minor type of architecture and a city scale that could be better grasped through a pedestrian stroll. Bogdanović's articles, published between 1956 and 1959[9], included annotations, photographs, and drawings that immersed readers in descriptions of historic buildings' courtyards, surviving traces of the Ottoman city, small parks, and international references to successful examples of what he considered small urbanism. The critique of modern architecture and urbanism was mainly directed towards new residential neighborhoods, which he believed lacked identity and social and spatial variety, unlike historical cities. He wrote:

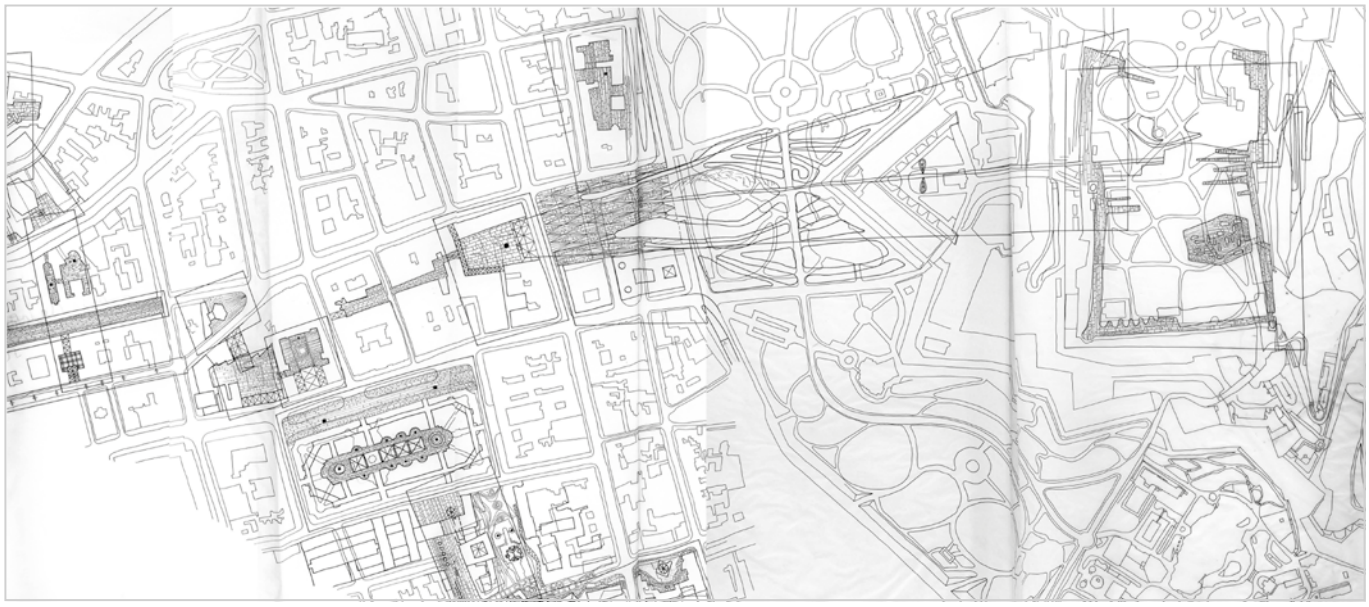
"Neighborhoods of standardized apartment blocks called 'kolonije' dominate the way we live here. These residential units are intended for families of the same type, a uniform lifestyle, and families doing the same job. I wonder whether combining families of different sizes and working in different professions wouldn't be more interesting? Isn't it more fair from a social and human point of view? [...] A neighborhood (thus not a "colony") is a kind of primordial urban cell. Doesn't such a cell require as much diversity as possible? [...] A neighborhood is not just a technical phenomenon, as our urban planners consider it. The neighborhood is a living community." (Bogdanović, 1955, p. 25)

The column published in Borba sparked the formation of a homonym team *Mali Urbanizam* that included Svetislav Ličina, Zoran Žunković, and Bogdanović himself. Working together, the team developed urban projects to revitalize neglected areas and open spaces within Belgrade's historic core, harmonizing new architecture into the existing built environment. The project at Student Square extended the pedestrian area to join the few surviving buildings from the Ottoman period: the Sheik Mustafa Turbe, the Museum of Vuk and Dositej located in the best preserved Ottoman house with a garden in Belgrade, the Božić Family House and the house of sculptor Arambašić [FIGURE 03].

These projects effectively redirected attention towards the historic city, mostly overlooked in favor of developing New Belgrade on the opposite riverbank. One proposal for Belgrade's central area was to connect the Kalemegdan fortress and the park to the 19th-century urban fabric [FIGURE 04]. The objective of turning theoretical stances into fruition resulted in blurring the boundaries between architecture and urbanism, as noted by Bogdanović in reference to the revered old masters, including Plečnik[10]. Grabrijan's theoretical positions and the projects created by the *Mali Urbanizam* group share a similar approach when dealing with urban issues on a large scale. They



03 Detail from the project elaborated by the Mali Urbanizam team (Bogdanović, Ličina, and Žunković) to connect the eastern side of Student Square (Studentski Trg) in Belgrade with Jevremova Street, 1956-1958. © AzW Collection N05-017 Bogdan Bogdanovi Mali Urbanizam ("Der Kleine Urbanismus) 1956-1958.

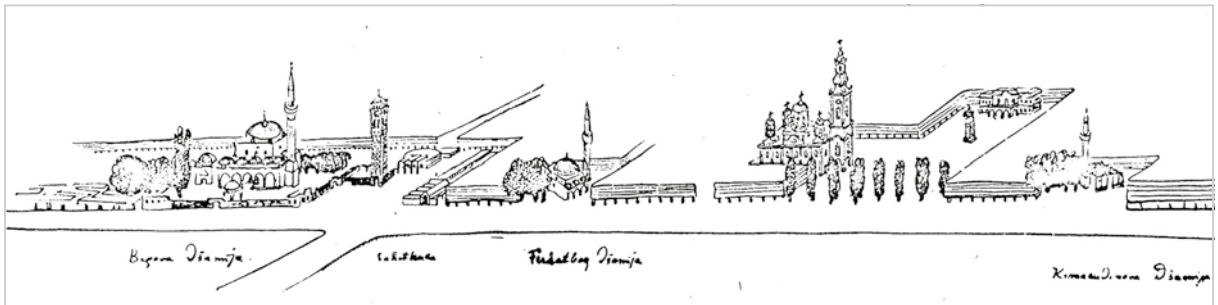


04 In this design, a network of pedestrian routes crossed the interior courtyards of public and residential buildings, as well as the road in front of the park, with a pedestrian cable-stayed bridge leading to the fortress., 1956-1958. © AzW Collection, N05-017 Bogdan Bogdanovi Mali Urbanizam ("Der kleine Urbanismus") 1956-1958.

use architecture to solve big-scale problems, and drawing from the analogy of historical examples gives them a contemporary meaning[11]. Grabrijan and Nejdhardt, for instance, explicitly employed the house and room analogy to elucidate the Sarajevo east-west axis project. They did not just describe it in terms of size and importance but also gave it architectural and spatial characteristics reminiscent of Bosnian Ottoman houses, de facto humanizing the scale of intervention. Specifically, they identified the ensemble as the combination of existing buildings and monuments–religious and laic, Muslim and Christian indistinctly–and, by analogy to an architectural scale, merged a sequence of space starting from the train station as the gate, passing Marijin Dvor thoroughfare as the foyer, and extending into the main squares with Catholic and Orthodox churches as halls. Since Grabrijan's arrival in 1930 and throughout the 1940s, Ottoman Sarajevo could still be perceived as a unicum, an integral part of the patchy mosaic of ethno-religious quartiers that constituted the urban fabric; as such, they did not tolerate piecemeal demolitions or partial reconstructions. Grabrijan's descriptions of the Ottoman urban fabric incorporated landscape elements as vital parts of the buildings, such as the River Miljacka, old Turkish cemeteries, and even isolated trees inside mosques' gardens; they all contributed to tying together "elements of different scales into a single ensemble" (Grabrijan 1942, p. 237) [FIGURE 05]. According to Grabrijan, the harmonious effect of unity was achieved through the seamless integration of residential structures on the region's natural topography. He referred to the residential neighborhoods of old Sarajevo as a plastic composition dubbed as an "architectural sculpture" (Grabrijan 1942, p. 227).

In clarifying the meaning of the adjective 'mali' (small), Bogdanović alluded to the small scale of intervention and the area to re-design, thus indicating a more holistic approach. He emphasized that the urban project might bring together different parts–buildings, monuments, and even furniture–of the city into a cohesive whole and that cities are the result of a synthesis rather than simply the addition of elements at different times. By hinting at authorless residential neighborhoods, he referred to:

> "architettura minore *as Italians call it. […] It is a kind of choral architecture, a collection of forms and things, not very significant in themselves if we take each thing and observe it separately, - but which are nevertheless grouped into charming wholes."*
> *(Bogdanović, 1958, p. 6)*



05 The Fragment of the proposal for the East-West axis in Sarajevo by Grabrijan and Neidhardt presents a design wherein the meandering urban fabric harmoniously integrates elements of diverse scales and architectural character, 1942. © From Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti, 1942, p.242.

06 Jaroslav Cerni Housing, no date. © AzW Collection, N05- 003 Wohnsiedlung des Instituts fur Hydrotechnik "Jaroslav erni" Bogdan Bogdanovi , 1952-1953.

When considering the relationship between historic buildings and residential neighborhoods as a whole, Grabrijan and Bogdanović may have shared similar perspectives. They believed that multiple buildings could come together to serve a practical and community-driven purpose for city residents, depending on how they are strategically located and arranged. This idea is known as an ensemble (Haslam, 2018). Bogdanović's article (1958) entitled 'The Old and the New' (Staro i Novo) delves into the notion of ensemble against the modern tendency of isolating monumental buildings through selective clearings in the urban fabric. For instance, Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin proposed meandering buildings to leave little evidence of Paris's urban fabric, selectively maintaining few monumental structures. On the contrary, Bogdanović believed that every element of the urban environment, from the buildings to the green spaces and urban furniture, should work together to create a sense of unity rather than emphasizing the contrast between old and new that is often seen in modern urban planning by questioning the isolation old buildings and their 'setting' on a pedestal as museum objects that would have denied them the right to be understood and observed as living beings (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 60).

Bogdanović's theoretical beliefs were put into practice with the design and construction of a functional working-class community prior to the publication of Mali Urbanizam. Therefore, his theoretical framework developed retrospectively, informed by the practical experience of bringing his ideas to life. Lesser known, the eight houses built between 1952 and 1953 near Belgrade's Avala Hill for Jaroslav Černi Hydrology Institute employees [FIGURE 06] represent an exemplary demonstration of how Bogdanović translated the social and formal unity he recognized within historical ensembles into contemporary times.

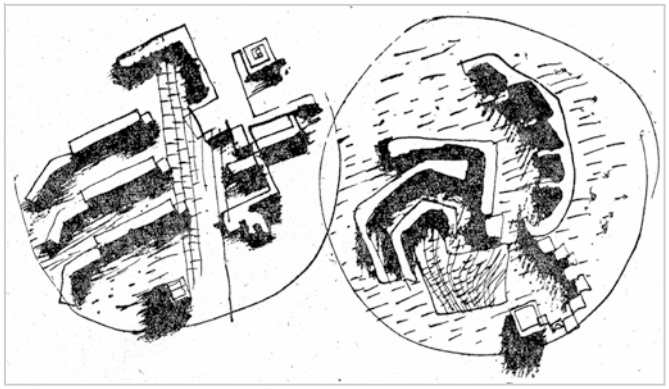
In the Jaroslav Černi neighborhood, the architect proposed clusters of single-family homes surrounding a central green area instead of multifamily housing units for the working class. Originally divided into three separate communities, the 24 houses were arranged in groups of eight and built on sloping terrain offset from the main road. Through the stone walls, chimneys, pitched roofs, and decorated plaster façades, as well as the shared courtyard in front, the neighborhood boasted an almost archetypical appearance, blending elements from different cultures in Yugoslavia. Instead of reviving or imitating historic cities, Bogdanović deployed analogy to re-create varied spatial sequences and levels, encompassing public, semipublic, and private spaces, including houses and gardens; he studied the differences between a geometric and a free arrangement. The sketches are published in 'Mali Urbanizam' column with the title 'About free and geometric urban arrangements' [FIGURE 07]. He described it this way:

"Such an arrangement is rooted in the Mediterranean culture. [...] We could compare it with rowhouses along the steep streets of a medieval town set on the slopes of a large mountain. Some contemporary arrangements remind us of the villages of the Alps; something similar can also be found in the Balkan Ottoman cities. The courtyard is a figure that belongs to southern peoples. In Italy, in Dalmatia and the Greek islands, and even in North Africa, we find similar kinds of arrangements made of small buildings around enclosed and well-defined tiny squares. [...] I would call it a social form. The houses are allies and gathered in the true sense of the word."
(Bogdanović, 1957, p. 9).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Placing Grabrijan and Bogdanović in the historical context of post-war Yugoslavia poses certain challenges, as their career paths and backgrounds differ significantly. Grabrijan aimed to uphold the principles of the Modern Movement in Ottoman architecture while adapting them to the unique features of socialist Bosnia. Bogdanović's focus on historical cities as palimpsests, not just of Ottoman or European origin, challenged conventional modernism and created new formal expressions that had to convey symbolic and archetypal dimensions.

In Belgrade and Sarajevo, despite evident differences, the architects developed a similar methodical approach to investigate the character of Balkan historical cores and to squeeze out design principles that could be generalized to similar urban contexts that demand reconstruction or repair. The concept of ensemble was a major focus of exploration for the architects Grabrijan and Bogdanović, as well as Neidhardt's projects. This idea has revealed the potential for design to unite various existing structures, landscapes, and sculptures into a cohesive and harmonious spatial whole. Architects must now consider the importance of overall site planning, beyond mere functionality, to creatively bring together diverse elements that impact the quality of a space. The formal and spatial analogies between architecture and urban projects serve as a common thread linking Plečnik, Grabrijan, and Bogdanovic's work. While some sporadic examples of successful ensembles follow these principles, Sarajevo and Belgrade offer unique and valuable case studies that can help establish a theoretical framework for addressing the challenge of building and repairing in existing urban environments in Yugoslavia.



07 The left scheme shows a typical disposition of residential and public buildings in connection with the road. Whereas the scheme to the right shows the same scheme modified according to the principle of ensembles, in this alternative the buildings are clustered around a central space encompassing a variety of building typologies and are visually interdependent. © Bogdanović, 1958b.

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ENDNOTES

1 Grabrijan at the time under NDH (Indipendent State of Croatia) and nazi occupation; Bogdanović in liberated and socialist Yugoslavia.

2 Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952) was a Slovenian architect and teacher. Born in Lož, he received his degree in 1924 at the Technical School at the University in Lubiana as part of the first generation of architects mentored by Jože Plečnik. After his diploma, he spent one year (1925-1926) at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Until 1929, he was employed at the Construction Directorate in Lubiana; later, in 1930, he moved to Sarajevo, where he worked at the Construction Directorate until 1945. At the end of the 1930s, he finally devoted himself to teaching and research. In 1946, he worked at the Ministry of Mining and Industry in Lubiana, and in 1947, he became an assistant professor at the Department of Architecture of the Technical Faculty of the University of Lubiana; in 1951, he became an associate professor at the same university, teaching the history of architecture and fundamentals of architectural design. Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) was a Serbian architect, professor at the University of Belgrade, and Mayor of Belgrade from 1982 to 1986. Born in Belgrade, he was the son of Milan Bogdanović, a renowned literary critic. Enrolled in 1940 at the Faculty of Architecture at the University in Belgrade, he got the degree in 1950 under the mentorship of Nikola Dobrović. After winning the 1951 competition for the Monument for the Jewish victims of fascism and fighters, Bogdanović established himself as the architect of memorials and monuments in socialist Yugoslavia.

3 In the article 'About free and geometric arrangements' (O slobodnim i geometrijaskim disposicijama) (1958), Bogdanović explains that Mali Urbanizam's attempt is to simplify technical terminology; he even suggests that the book might be called "Urbanism in 100 lessons."

4 Tehnicki Vjesnik was a publication for the Association of Croatian Engineers. In 1942, a volume titled *Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti* was published. It was revised and partially rewritten and later published in 1970 under the title *Grabrijan i Sarajevo* in the monographic number of Sarajevo's Museum journal.

5 For an exhaustive analysis of built and unbuilt urban projects by Plečnik see Stabenow (1996).

6 In 1952, Grabrijan published an article with the same title in the Croatian journal *Arhitektura* claiming that historical buildings in Yugoslavia were peripheral interpretations of cultural centers like Istanbul, Vienna, and Venice. He emphasized that the main monuments were built out of collective need rather than for representation. This allowed architects to focus on adapting to natural and social conditions, leading to a better understanding of mutual influences between oriental and Western building traditions.

7 Name ironically given after the figure of 'the striding man' used by the homonym scotch brand.

8 See Bogdanović (2007). When Bogdanović started teaching at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, he initiated a new subject called Urbanology, Urban Theory, and History instead of Urbanism.

9 In 1958 he published a selection of articles in a monography named Mali Urbanizam after the column; the publication of the column continued until 1959.

10 Marko Pozzetto (1996) highlights Plečnik's intervention in Prague Castle (Hradčany), a heterogeneous yet unified historic setting. Pozzetto emphasizes the significance of visual connections, paired with pedestrian accessibility, which are indicative of the architectural scale rather than urban planning. This approach underscores the importance of the human scale in design.

11 See the text O Plečnikovih Propilejah in the posthumous book by Grabrijan *Jože Plečnik in njegova sola* (1968). Grabrijan describes the spatial analogy between Plečnik's proposal for the Congress Square in Lubiana and the monumental axis stretching between Triumphal Arch and Louvre's Courtyard in Paris.

JURAJ NEIDHARDT'S EARLY WORK

Archiepiscopal Boys´ Seminary in Zagreb (1925-1929)

Darja Radović Mahečić

ABSTRACT: The article covers the early work of Juraj Neidhardt (Zagreb, 1901-Sarajevo, 1979) and the architectural themes he introduced. Aside from the large-scale urban projects Neidhardt worked on at the time, the Archiepiscopal Boys´ Seminary–integrated into its landscape and determined by its ambience–remains his only built design in the interwar period. And that was before his departure for Europe to work in the studios of Peter Behrens in Berlin and Le Corbusier in Paris.
In 1925, the Construction Committee defined a detailed program for the metropolitan seminary; Neidhardt made sketches on his initiative under the guidance of Jože Plečnik and, in close cooperation with the Building Committee, designed and supervised the construction until 1928. Neidhardt established himself as a significant large-scale creator very early on. As part of the seminary, he designed an ensemble that can only be experienced by gradual observation and movement. The tension of the compositional axis is achieved by the dominant tower of the observatory (the only echo of Mendelsohn in Croatian architecture) on one side and the chapel on the other. The meander composition he applied–the spatial principle of overflowing space into space–will become one of the leading principles in urban planning.
As a testimony of the ambivalence of the architecture of the 1920s–large buildings in a bold monumental stripped classical form, showing traces of expressionism–the seminary is often overlooked by urban architectural knowledge. Its survival was put to the test when the earthquake that hit Zagreb in 2020, left it with the red mark (extensive damage), making this an opportunity, through the method of cross-reading and analysis, to take another closer look to understand the dynamics of change and innovation in terms of urban development and individual architectural practice.

KEYWORDS: Juraj Neidhardt, Zagreb, Modern Architecture, Urban Planning, Expressionism

INTRODUCTION: Juraj Neidhardt (Zagreb, 1901-Sarajevo, 1979) was foremost an architect of ideas and a large-scale urban planner, professor, publicist, and propagator of the principles of modern architecture, who also created over 200 projects. Born in Zagreb, he built a successful career in Sarajevo, mostly during socialist Yugoslavia after the Second World War. He was a full professor at the Technical Faculty in Sarajevo, a corresponding member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU), an honorary fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and a winner of numerous awards. In the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*[1] published in 1957 (which attracted international attention and for which Le Corbusier wrote the foreword), Grabrijan and Neidhardt positively presented the postulates of traditional Turkish architecture in Bosnia and drew a connection with the contemporary efforts of modern architecture (Seissel, 1979).

Along with Zvonimir Kavurić and Ernest Weissmann, Neidhardt is one of three Croatian architects who worked with Le Corbusier in Paris in the interwar period. Corbusier's influence, like a permanent epithet, will be associated with Neidhardt's work; from the fact that he was a „paid collaborator" while he worked for him (unlike many young associates who worked there as volunteers) through the interpretation that he was an „ideological follower but not a slave to his ideas" in his independent work to the foreword to the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* with which Le Corbusier himself confirmed mutual preference and recognition (Radović Mahečić, 2007a).

Eager to experience new challenges, young Neidhardt spent most of the interwar years abroad. He worked with Peter Behrens in Berlin (1930-1932) and Le Corbusier in Paris (1933-1935), where he received excellent reviews for his work in the French professional press (Pingusson, 1935; Zevros, 1935; P.V., 1937). Nevertheless, he remained tied to Zagreb through competition projects and stayed there again twice. The first time from 1925 to 1928, when he designed and built his most significant large-scale urban project, the Archiepiscopal Boys´ Seminary. The second time, after he actively participated in the creation of the „new spirit of architecture"[2] and proved his outstanding qualities as a gifted architect abroad, he showed his complete work at a solo exhibition at Technical University in Zagreb in 1937 (with excellent reviews), but his pioneering seminary remained his only built project.

ZAGREB—THE POWER OF URBAN SPACE

The history of urban Zagreb began in the middle of the 19th century when the modern city center was created: the representative framework for institutions of national culture, the so-called Green Horseshoe, modeled on Vienna's Ring (Blau & Platzer, 1999). Vibrant construction activity at the end of the 19th century, further stimulated by the reconstruction after the great earthquake of 1880, led not only to the city's transformation but also to changes in the domestic architectural scene: the establishment of professional associations, craft, and secondary schools of construction. The transition from the 19th to the 20th century was crucial for the urban and architectural development of modern Zagreb.

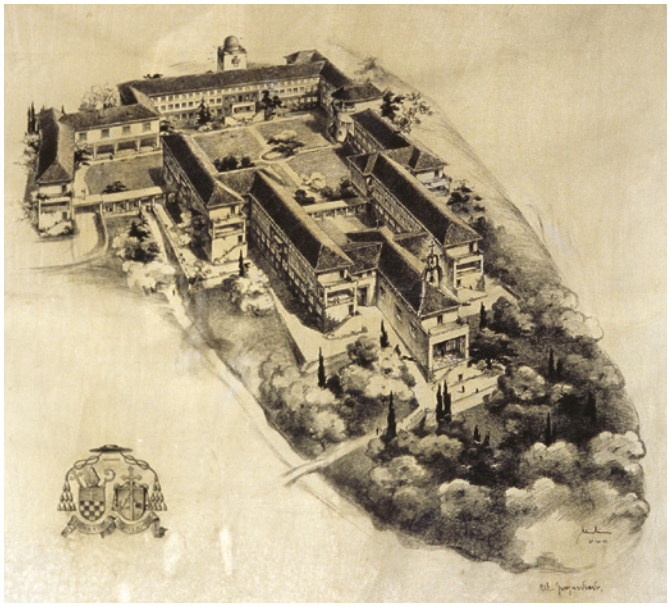
Juraj Neidhardt attended the Department of Architecture at the Royal Craft School in his native Zagreb, which ranked as an important center of decorative art and education on a middle-European scale. Thanks to the school, stylistic changes in Zagreb, from historicism and Art Nouveau via Expressionism and Art Deco to functionalism, were connected by a characteristic „...inclination toward the classical and calm, stereometrical and geometrical forms" (Čorak, 1990).

Although shortly after World War I in the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, technical universities were founded in Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Belgrade, Neidhardt followed the long-standing local tradition and studied in Vienna (1921-1924).[3] In 1924, he graduated in the class of Peter Behrens at the Academy of Fine Arts and was awarded the Austrian Engineers' Association Lindenthal Prize for his student project of a metropolitan airport (a task to which he would return during his stay with Le Corbusier in Paris in the 1930s)[4]. He started gaining work experience in the architectural studios of Ernest Lichtblau, Professor Behrens, and Polak in Vienna and in the construction company „Sikora" in Skopje.[5] Returning to Zagreb in 1925, Neidhardt continued working in the prolific architectural studios of architects Rudolf Lubynski and Lav Kalda and construction ingenieur Antun Resz. Still, his foremost goal was to achieve an objective form of expression in his own work.

SEMINARY—CONSTRUCTION HISTORY AND TIMELINE

The idea of building a metropolitan seminary first surfaced in the Zagreb Archdiocese in 1875, but it had taken years to get the finances, location, and design for the costly project right. In 1916, prominent architect Josip Vancaš designed the seminary, but at a different location. Although a detailed cost estimate was prepared, World War I prevented the construction.

After the war, archbishop Antun Bauer took up the task and, in 1922, opened the accredited Archiepiscopal Secondary School at an adapted venue, which enrolled more students every year. In November 1925, the new General Committee for building the Archiepiscopal Boys´ Seminary defined a detailed construction program. Whether the seminary was to be built as a single building or as a building cluster (or whether each bishopric contributing to its realization should obtain its own building) dominated the debates. At the suggestion of architect Vancaš, the entry project was to be entrusted to another well-known architect–Dionis Sunko. However, in December 1925, it was announced that „architect Juraj Neidhardt has already made some sketches on his own initiative," which drew the attention of the Construction Committee, and in April 1926, then twenty-five-year-old Neidhardt was commissioned to design a seminary (Barac, 1929) [FIGURE 01].



01 Juraj Neidhardt, perspective of the 1926 entry project adorns the staircase of the observatory. © Darja Radović Mahečić, 2005.

In February 1927, a narrower Building Committee was selected[6] , and they studied the blueprints that were designed by Neidhardt "under the valuable guidance of Professor Jože Plečnik from Ljubljana." As a part-time employee of the city administration (in close cooperation with the Building Committee), Neidhardt not only designed the final project but also supervised the construction until 1928, when he fell ill. The keystone was laid in June 1927, and most students were able to enter the completed buildings as early as October 1928. The entire institution– „an entire small town for 600 boys" [7]–was functional and opened to the public in June 1929. Due to Neidhardt's illness, the chapel was finished later, and it is precisely here that Plečnik's „poetics" is most recognizable, given his direct influence as an artistic consultant.[8]

Although the spatial organization of the seminary was later compared to that of a monastery (especially the Benedictine monastery in Melk) (Juračić, 1987), its urban concept, functional and economic, is primarily aligned with a building cluster system and a contemporary education strategy at the time. The saying, "a healthy mind in a healthy body," ruled this period and was manifested through a series of school buildings and children's holiday camps. The investor himself said at the time:

> *"What modern technology knows and can do, was used according to need and possibility so that the stay of cadets is useful and comfortable here… Light and air, sun and greenery. What their body needs, what their noble soul desires; what enlightens the mind, what strengthens the will; what ennobles the heart, what toughens the character—everything is there"*
> *(Barac, 1929, p. 60).*

The demanding program was fully elaborated and meticulously laid out by Neidhardt, and its rapid construction was responsible for the authenticity and unity of the ensemble [FIGURE 02].

"BUILDING IDEA" FOR THE SEMINARY

The Archiepiscopal Boys' Seminary is located on the Šalata Hill, northeast of Zagreb's center, formerly an archiepiscopal vineyard with a large vista. Apart from the buildings of the "Institute of Pathology and Anatomy" and "Faculty of Medicine" (which dominated the west side of Šalata Hill since the beginning of the 20th century), the seminary was surrounded by meadows, orchards, and vineyards on about 13 acres of land. "The entire composition was determined by the climatic conditions and the configuration of the soil," [9] read the project description. The axially composed ensemble of huge pavilion buildings was adapted to the hilly terrain that extends over 5,5 acres. Towards the surrounding roads, the complex is enclosed by a high brick and iron fence, and with this, it additionally presented the idea of an interpolated organism, a world unto himself.

The tension of the compositional axis of the complex is achieved by the dominant tower of the observatory in the north and the chapel, which is like a spike pointed towards

02 Archiepiscopal Boys´ Seminary under construction, around 1929 © Photographer unknown, Muzej grada Zagreba [Zagreb City Museum], no. MGZ-photo-2198.

03 Detail of the staircase connecting the eastern student pavilion with the refectory to the north. © Photographer unknown, published in Barac, 1929.

the city in the south. At the height of the first floor, on both sides of the chapel, congregation halls are connected with the student pavilions. They enclose the most intimate of courtyards. In these powerful pavilion wings with accented eaves, the classrooms and halls for daily living are located on the ground floor, and student dormitories are on the upper floors. Covered passages and pedestrian bridges connect pavilions with the gymnasium in the north, with a refectory, library, laboratories, and the observatory "*as a pinnacle of human knowledge.*" [10] [FIGURE 03]

To the west of the gymnasium is the "Entertainment Pavilion" with a sports hall on the ground floor and a representative hall with a stage for 600 seats above. For greater privacy, the professor's pavilion is located closest to the road on the west side and rounds off the well-defined ensemble.

The project avoids any emphasis on the main entrance, each pavilion acting as a unit in itself, and individualization of certain parts of the seminary was consistently implemented. The chapel is located at the lowest elevation point. Still, it is easily accessible both from the student pavilions and from the road by the general public, with an outward orientation towards the city and the horizon. The optical perception is important; a non-interrupted view is achieved by the gradual revelation of a series of spaces, closed and open, which flow into each other.

The dramatic expressiveness of the assembly is underlined by large dimensions, bold lines, steep ramps and stairs, rhythmical rows of windows, and a recurring circle motif. It appears in the form of small glasses on solid wooden doors, is slightly larger on the diagonally arranged windows of the staircase, and transforms into recessed dramatic hemispheres on the underside of the staircase's legs.

Neidhardt established himself as a significant large-scale urban creator very early in his career. As part of the Archibishop's Seminary, he developed the idea into a vast, large complex of open volumes as part of a thoroughly designed agglomeration that can only be experienced by gradual observation and movement. He applied a meandering path of movement to an apparently symmetrical arrangement of pavilion buildings. This spatial principle of overflowing space into space (unlike closed squares of earlier times) will become one of the leading principles in urban planning and a topic that will be repeated in Neidhardt's work. When writing about Neidhardt's work on the occasion of his solo exhibition in 1937, architect Dušan Grabrijan repeatedly emphasized that the seminary's „building idea, "a notion that Neidhardt insisted on, is refined and clear (Grabrijan, 1937a).

EMPHASIS ON NEW PRINCIPLES IN ARCHITECTURE

As a testimony of the ambivalence of the architecture of the 1920s–large buildings in a bold monumental stripped classical form, marked by uniquely composed symbolism, showing traces of expressionism–the seminary was the first large-scale demonstration of the viability and vitality of new initiatives and objectives (Radović Mahečić, 2007b).

It was built following the footsteps of the rationalist-classical German architectural movement, to which Behrens was close, and in the city of Zagreb, where the inclination towards rationality was nurtured. Like Behrens at the time, Neidhardt was interested in large and picturesque effects and broad strokes in architecture as an expression of modernity. Thus, as a drift from established architectural tradition and based on proto-functionalist criteria, the seminary was considered an early and solitary example of a new architecture, rational for the modern age.

04 Observation tower. © Darja Radović Mahečić, 2023.

05 Staircase in the gymnasium building. © Darja Radović Mahečić, 2005.

The seminary is also important in the context of the expressionist section of Croatian architecture. Plečnik drew attention to expressionism in his work as early as in 1920 in his function as an advisor. The expressionist impulse was directly transferred to Zagreb by Professor Drago Ibler from Hans Poelzig's atelier in Berlin in 1922. As the Head of the School of Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts (1926-1942) and a key figure in interwar Croatian architecture, Ibler certainly influenced a wider circle of young architects with his expressionist sensibility (especially Stjepan Planić, Neidhardt's acquaintance from high school). Still, in the context of the modest but existing expressionist section in Croatian architecture, Neidhardt's seminary (as opposed to Ibler's unbuilt projects) has a much more prominent place (Damjanović, 2015) [FIGURE 04].

Certain impulses are present here as refined and fresh, such as the staircase with hemispheres under the stairs or the observatory tower with a coded rhythm of massive circle windows. Noteworthy here is the north side of the observatory tower, often referred to as "the only echo of Mendelsohn in Croatian architecture." (Čorak, 1981) [FIGURE 05].

From the mid-1920s onwards, Zagreb became a major construction site. While Neidhardt was finishing the seminary, Peter Behrens came to Zagreb to design the renovation of the Feller-Stern building on the Jelačić square, transforming it from Art Nouveau into a German *Neue Sachlichkeit* modernist composition (1927/28). By introducing smooth façades and shapes akin to the Bauhaus, Behrens certainly paved the way for changes and acceptance of the modern movement in local architecture.

PARALLEL REALITY, AFTER THE SEMINARY

After the construction of the seminary and with the desire to further develop as an architect, Neidhardt went abroad. At the same time, a whole series of architectural competitions were taking place throughout Yugoslavia, which opened up opportunities for local architects like

never before. Neidhardt participated in some of those competitions, especially in those for Zagreb. In his proposal for the Foundation Block, the most significant large-scale urban development project in central Zagreb in the interwar period, he proposed the idea of overflowing a smaller square, bounded by an oval building, into the larger Jelačić square (1929) (Bjažić Klarin, 2010). Solving the urban planning problems of the city of Zagreb, he proposed the idea of the „Green Artery", which would connect the north and the south of the city, and the urbanization of the Sava Plain (Trnje) according to the principles of modern urbanism (Neidhardt, 1937). After returning to Zagreb in 1935, „full of energy and desire to promote modern principles in architecture" (Planić, 1939), he continued to work on a series of competition projects, such as the Zagreb Fair (1936), Headquarters of the Croatian Rowing Club (with his brother Franjo, 2nd prize, 1936), Crafts School (1936), Yugoslav Pavilion for the Paris Exhibition 1937 (award, 1936), etc. He particularly stood out with his proposal for the regulation of Jelačić Square with its unique northern façade. From everything presented, it was clear that the scope of architectural creativity has expanded and that the architecture of an individual building is becoming a detail of urban planning (Grabrijan, 1937b).

As an architect, Neidhardt wanted to be uncompromising and, therefore, failed to find a suitable job in Zagreb where he would demonstrate his abilities in the local environment (Planić, 1939, p. 63). He decided to exhibit his previous projects in the most important architectural centers of Yugoslavia at the time, in Ljubljana, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and, of course, Zagreb: in January 1937 at the Technical Faculty (where the seminary still was his only built project). After that, he searched for work, first in Belgrade and then in 1939 in Sarajevo.

CONCLUSION

The seminary was usually mentioned in the context of Neidhardt's successful work as a young architect, so the original photographs of the seminary were published in the *40th Anniversary Memorial book* of his Technical School in 1932/33 (Širola et al., 1933), in *Građevinski vjesnik* (Construction Herald newspaper) on the occasion of his solo exhibition in 1937, and in the catalog of the exhibition "Half a century of Croatian art" in 1938 (Krizman et al., 1938). He received well-deserved attention in the 1981 monograph on architect Drago Ibler, where the seminary was highlighted in the expressionist section. In the thematic issue „Zagreb-retro" of the journal *Arhitektura* in 1987, the Seminary was included among the „forgotten buildings" of the 1920s that *„resist unequivocal classification*, "and whose importance lies in *„ambiguity, associativeness, historical reference, non-identified relation to the basic conceptual and stylistic dilemma of their era.* " (Juračić, 1987).

In the surveys of architecture of the interwar period that followed and publications with an emphasis on the 1930s, the stylistic position of the seminary was established on a trajectory that leaves neoclassicism and goes in a new direction; as an example of architecture that starts with changes, and whose momentum around 1930 will take place throughout Europe.[11]

Thanks to Neidhardt, Croatian architecture was largely directly connected to the centers of European events of the 1920s and 1930s, as evidenced by many of his later projects. In his architecture, as well as solving urban problems, Neidhardt strove to achieve a synthesis of functional elements and new ideas, whereby he paid special attention to the relationship of the building and entire urban units to the city environment or landscape.

After 1945, in socialist Yugoslavia, the number of seminarians dropped drastically and part of the seminary was used as a military hospital. A one-story connecting wing was added, which, although architecturally correct, broke the direct connection between the smaller southern and larger northern courtyard.

Since the transition of the 1990s, the fragmentation of the once unique spatial concept, now with different functions, has continued. The American School was located in one part, pharmaceutical companies were located in the other due to the proximity of the clinics, the playgrounds became parking lots, and a large part of the land belonging to it was sold to build a residential area for the upper class. The areas north, west, and east of the seminary gradually became examples of family-house neighborhoods from as early as the end of the 1920s.

For almost 100 years, the gymnasium building has been continuously working at full capacity and is unchanged. Many of the cabinets have been preserved with their original interiors, including furniture, appliances, and accessories (mostly made in Germany in the 1920s), until the earthquake in 2020 [FIGURE 06].

After the earthquake that hit Zagreb on March 22, 2020, the seminary was ranked as „damaged and unusable" until thorough renovation. The challenges that lie ahead concern both structural renovation and finding a way to preserve the complex, whose spaces are divided and aligned with each other as a functional unit (Šlosel, 2023).

06 Renovation after the 2020 earthquake in 2023. © Darja Radović Mahečić, 2023.

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ENDNOTES

1 GRABRIJAN, D.—NEIDHARDT, J. (1957), *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* [Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity], Sarajevo: Državna založba Slovenije.

2 PREMERL, T. (1989), p. 129.

3 An additional reason for giving priority to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna could have been direct enrolment. Namely, for admission to the Faculty of Engineering in Zagreb, a Gymnasium - high school graduation was required, and with a completed Technical High School, one had to take distinction exams.

4 ZEVROS, Ch. (1935), p. 75, and in the continuation of the same article: Juraj Neidhardt, Urbanisme de Zagreb, Aeroport "AEO", pp. 83-85.

5 Bogumil Sykora was Neidhardt's classmate in Royal Craft School in Zagreb, in 1920 renamed the State Technical School. See: ŠIROLA, Bo., Širola, Br., & Prestini V. (Eds.). (1933), pp. 74-76.

6 The expert Building Committee included the most distinguished local architects August Pisačić, Martin Pilar and Janko Holjac.

7 - (1937), Nadbiskupsko dječačko sjemenište u Zagrebu / Archiepiscopal Boys' Seminary in Zagreb, In Građevinski vjesnik 1, p. 3.

8 The chapel was completed by architect Vincenz Rauscher by 1934.

9 See: Endnote 7.

10 State archive in Zagreb, Zagreb City Council, Civil engineering department, Voćarska road 106.

11 PREMERL, T. (1989), pp. 56-57; RADOVIĆ MAHEČIĆ, D. (2007), pp. 71-76.; LASLO, A. (2011). Architectural guide Zagreb 1898-2010, Zagreb: Arhitekst & DAZ, p. 160.

HOW RADICAL EXACTLY?

Re-examining Neidhardt's 1937-41 Plans for Novi Sad

Aleksandar Bede, Dragana Konstantinović, Slobodan Jović

ABSTRACT: The international competition for the new regulation plan of Novi Sad was held in 1937, in which Juraj Neidhardt's design was awarded compensation instead of a prize. However, upon further consideration, the city administration decided to adopt a new version of Neidhardt's plan in the following years. In addition to this plan, he won the administration's trust to design a series of lower-level plans for the city in 1938-1941. Therefore, Neidhardt became the most prominent figure in the urban planning process triggered by the 1937 competition. However, his final regulation plan for the city from 1941 was rejected in the first post-war revision in 1945, failing to lead to any fruition. Nevertheless, the researchers later characterized the radical modernist approach of this plan as the inspiration for the subsequent general plans of Novi Sad, namely due to introducing the idea of cutting new axes through the urban tissue. There is room today, however, to re-evaluate these claims about the radicalness of Neidhardt's plan since its solutions were deemed insufficient in bringing radical quality to the urban space of Novi Sad. Furthermore, in the 1938-1941 period, he designed a series of perspective drawings for the new regulation of the streets in the oldest urban core of the city, which brought a decisively modernist approach to treating the urban heritage: keeping only a selection of the most iconic monuments while replacing the rest of it with new modernist structures. These designs can contribute to reinstate the knowledge about Neidhardt's approach to treating historical heritage, considering his later intricate studies of Bosnian and Macedonian architectural landscapes.

KEYWORDS: Novi Sad, Urban planning, Juraj Neidhardt, Modernism, Modernization.

INTRODUCTION: This paper aims to analyze Neidhardt's work on the regulation of Novi Sad and examine the extent to which the ideas behind his plans were radically innovative in local urban planning practice. The paper examines the historical background that led to Neidhardt's arrival in Novi Sad, the potential spatial conflicts his plans' implementation could have generated, and his legacy in the urban planning practices of the city. The research contributes to the modern urban history of Novi Sad, where Neidhardt's influence is fragmentarily comprehended, as well as to understanding the genesis, diversity, and novelty of Neidhardt's professional stands in the early stage of his career. The research methodology is based on desk research with a historical approach to primary and secondary sources, including content analysis of both. Also, a thorough urban and architectural analysis is conducted on available maps, sketches, drawings, and texts.

CONTEXT OF NOVI SAD AND ITS 1937 REGULATION PLAN COMPETITION

In the interwar period (1918-1941), the city of Novi Sad, today's second largest city in Serbia, had become the capital of Dunavska Banovina,[1] one of the newly created administrative regions of the then-existing Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Until then, the urban development of Novi Sad, a city with a relatively young history, had never been realized as an all-encompassing planned process. Apart from the initially unplanned and spontaneous growth, influenced by the natural morphology of the terrain and the trade routes that passed through the city, as well as by land policies and speculative capital, any planned development had only been partial or remarkably incomplete. The First World War interrupted the first grander planning initiatives at the very end of the Austro-Hungarian era, although they did provide the starting point for the following considerations and plans for reshaping the city,

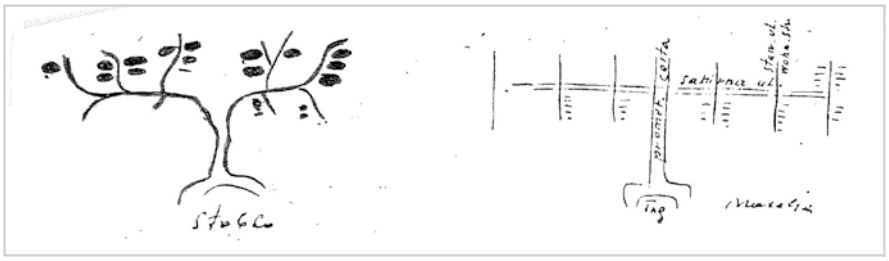
if only in part. Such was the expansion of the city center towards the Danube and the newly constructed bridge to the Petrovaradin Fortress, with the new boulevard and the governmental Banovina Palace as the most dominant features of this development. Despite the draft for a new general city plan with defined land use in 1930 (Pušić, 1987, p. 122), the need for a more innovative planned regulation of the entire city became ever more apparent to the city administration in this decade. This was due to a significant increase in urban population, as well as an array of other municipal problems, such as a lack of housing and urban infrastructure. The local daily press wrote enthusiastically about the city's rapid development—built at "American speed"—but also warned that the new modern residential buildings were surrounded by muddy streets without sewage and pavement (Anon, 1937).

The decisive step towards solving these issues was undertaken in 1937 when an open urban planning competition for the new Regulation Plan of Novi Sad was announced. This competition was one of the most significant breakthroughs of modernist ideas in the Serbian urban planning of the interwar period (Blagojević, 2007, p. 30). Locally, the competition was significant, not least because it helped envision an expanded urban area of Novi Sad, which, for the first time in its planning history, included both banks of the Danube. The city now encompassed the previously separate historical settlements of Novi Sad (on the left bank), Petrovaradin and Sremska Kamenica (on the right).

The competition attracted many urban planners who followed CIAM's ideology, including Le Corbusier students such as Milorad Pantović and Juraj Neidhardt. While, on the one hand, it is important to note that the announcement of the competition itself indicated the readiness of the administration to make a turnaround in urban planning, it is very indicative that in the end, the results of the competition showed the restraint of the local structures towards new and bold ideas and proposals (Blagojević, 2007, p. 31).

The first prize of the competition was not awarded, but the second prize went to the Belgrade-based architect Branko Maksimović. The shared third prize was awarded to Mihajlo Radovanović from Belgrade and a design by Nenad Pecić from Novi Sad and György Korompay from Budapest (Mitrović, 2021, p. 34). In this competition, Neidhardt was not awarded a prize but second-ranking financial compensation. In brief, the highest-ranking plan by Maksimović was unequivocally influenced by CIAM but somewhat more moderate in the physical transformation of the urban matrix of Novi Sad [FIGURE 01]. The CIAM influence consists primarily of the implementation of zoning principles (residential, industrial/commercial, leisure, and transport). However, this is primarily readable from Maksimović's accompanying manifesto of the plan

01 Central area of the highest-ranking (second prize) entry in the 1937 competition for the Regulation Plan of Novi Sad by Branko Maksimović. © Legat Branka Maksimovića, 2024. Maksimović, 1937, p. 10.



02 Neidhardt's concept of tree branches that grow out from the old part of the city into new microcosm developments. Sketches from his letter to Dušan Grabrijan in which he explains his 1937 competition entry for Novi Sad. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p. 89.

(Maksimović, 1937). Morphologically, the most notable proposals include new residential expansions of Novi Sad (north and north-west) and Petrovaradin (east and south), together with a new harbor and the new industrial zone north of the river and the canal.

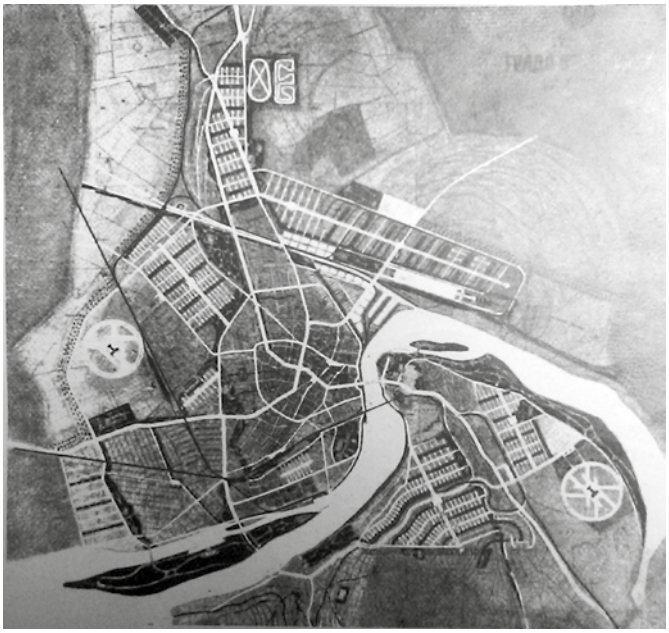
NEIDHARDT'S 1937 COMPETITION ENTRY FOR NOVI SAD

When it comes to Neidhardt's 1937 competition entry, the clear expression of his modernist thought shows in his letter to Dušan Grabrijan, in which he elaborates on his design for the Novi Sad plan. Excerpts from that letter can be found in (Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p 89-90), and all of Neidhardt's ideas for his 1937 competition entry discussed below are paraphrased from that source.

Neidhardt's concept for Novi Sad operates with two strategies for the city and suburban areas. The city is anticipated as a *macrocosm*, as an operational whole, with efficient traffic solutions and space distribution on a macro-scale. On the other hand, the network of new dwelling neighborhoods –*microcosms* surrounding the city center—are organized organically, like tree branches originating from the city center [FIGURE 02]. The *satellites,* suburban areas, are small-scale towns, complete organisms that operate independently. Mitrović argues that, in its essence, this is a city plan of Le Corbusier's urban conception, in which the functional layout rests on the strict application of zoning (Mitrović, 2016, p. 28). Indeed, the most interesting innovation in Neidhardt's 1937 proposal for Novi Sad seems to be the series of new suburbs, the expansion of residential areas, and even a new industrial zone. Further on, he dwells upon the idea of a garden city and "city-village" applied to Novi Sad, but he calls these concepts "an illusion" since they don't actually provide enough free space. He thus calls for a new concept for garden city: "gardens" (probably meaning parks) instead of backyards, and terraced housing instead of "houses in blocks." This concept is clearly visible in his plan for Novi Sad, in which rows of residential streets are intertwined with belts of greenery [FIGURE 03].

Apart from these conceptual innovations, the biggest change in the urban space of Novi Sad that Neidhardt implied with his plan would come from his selection of narrow historic streets in the old center for new major arteries. Thus, he placed those streets on top of the street network hierarchy, marked in the plan by thickening these street lines and widening them, including the old main square. This implies that all architectural and urban heritage would have to be replaced with new structures to broaden the streets for their function as arteries. Namely, one of the imperatives of the competition was to tackle the 'international' traffic in the city, by which they meant the road from Belgrade to Subotica and further to Hungary, on which the city of Novi Sad lies. This inter-urban connection passed directly through the old core and main square of Novi Sad and the historic 18th-century lower town of the Petrovaradin Fortress on the opposite bank of the Danube. Since the 1920s, a new bridge and a new boulevard leading to it have been constructed, but the definite route of the bulk of the traffic from this direction in relation to the old core of Novi Sad had not yet been defined: the direction of the boulevard implied that it could bypass the main square of Novi Sad.

Neidhardt, however, proposed to re-route the boulevard directly towards the historic main square, thus creating an urban artery and the 'international road' in the middle of the densest concentration of historical heritage in Novi Sad and Petrovaradin, bypassing them. Neidhardt stresses that Novi Sad's urban development already contains the nucleus of the "circular" (traffic)



03 Juraj Neidhardt's entry in the 1937 competition for the Regulation Plan of Novi Sad. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Blagojević, 2007, p. 33.

04 The 1941 Regulation Plan of Novi Sad by Juraj Neidhart. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024.

system and that the traffic load of the city center needs to be de-loaded (Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p. 90). He does indeed introduce a modest ring street around the urban core, perhaps as an echo of earlier suggestions that predate World War One. One might wonder why Neidhardt had not used the ring road idea as the basis for his 'international road' routing. Neidhardt also envisions a second ring road, connecting to a new bridge over the Danube some 3 km upstream from the existing one. Therefore, Neidhardt's proposal would have introduced a radical change into the urban landscape of Novi Sad, but 'radical' in the sense of brutal rather than innovative when it comes to urban planning methodology. At that point in history, far more brutal-radical changes to street matrixes have been seen in urban makeovers in Europe and beyond, with Haussmann's Paris coming to mind first.

AFTERMATH OF THE COMPETITION AND NEIDHARDT'S PLANNING ELABORATIONS

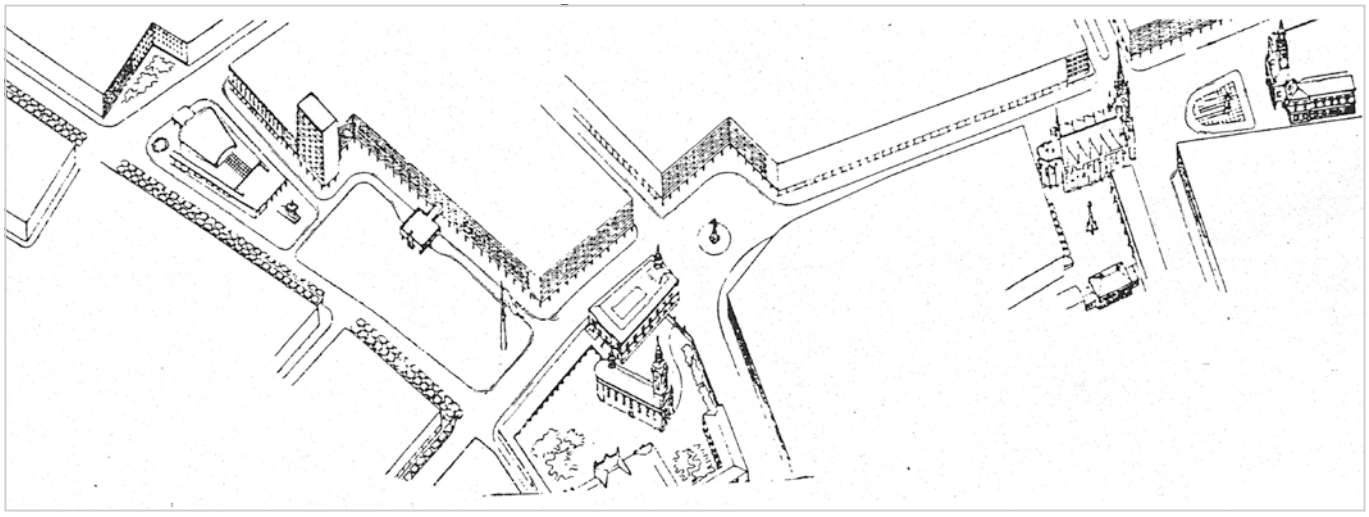
The exact timeline after the 1937 competition is not entirely clear, as primary sources are scarce. Based on some sources, the city's administration was seemingly reluctant to immediately embrace the modernist future proposed by the competition entry; thus, even if they invited firstly Maksimović and then Neidhardt to further develop their plans, there was probably some covert obstruction by the city administration that caused some delay by not providing Maksimović nor Neidhardt with necessary input data for the drafting of the Regulation Plan in a timely manner (Stančić, 2014, p. 119-120). According to others, at this stage, the city invited Neidhardt alongside the architects awarded in the competition for a second round; this was in 1938, and Neidhardt won (Mitrović, 2016, p. 27). In any case, Neidhardt finally emerged with the commission from the city to draw up the Regulation Plan of Novi Sad in 1939-1940. In addition, Neidhardt was entrusted to design several urban plans in Novi Sad, such as regulations of Šumadija Square and Fish Market Square in the city center, General Urban Plan, Levelling Plan, proposal for the civil airport, housing models, and regulation for some other urban fragments (Mitrović, 2016, p. 27).

Neidhardt's work in Novi Sad synthesizes his previous planning concepts and ideas. Considering also the valuable planning approaches of other competitors, his Regulation Plan envisions an even more radical strategy for the overall modernization of the city [FIGURE 04]. He positions Novi Sad as a center of an expanded metropolitan area, with two airports, a port, and new housing towards the Danube. His planning aims to regulate urban and suburban connections, proposes efficient zoning, and directs the suburban sprawl, demonstrating a strong interest in large-scale planning and regional development. Neidhardt will develop these ideas further with Dušan Grabrijan in their urban study for the regulation of Sarajevo published in 1942 in the journal *Tehnički Vjesnik*, under the name "Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti" [Sarajevo and its satellites] (Alić, 2010, p. 96). Compared to his more organic approach presented in

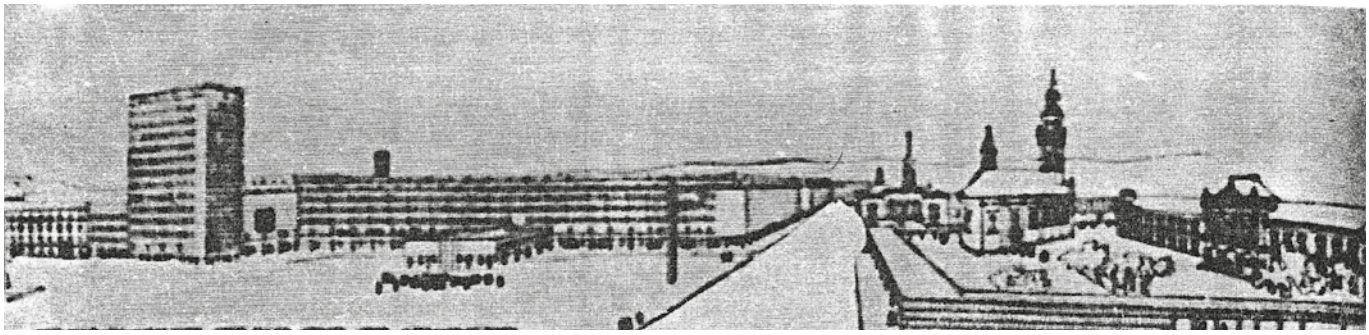
the competition entry, the traffic network of the Regulation Plan follows strict geometric principles, positioning two axes—*cardo* and *decumanus*—as connecting lines with the metropolitan area. This network is superimposed on the existing urban fabric, showcasing the modern urban principles necessary to open the city and prepare it for future growth.

In a short-term exhibition held in the Commerce, Industry, and Trade Chamber in Novi Sad at the beginning of 1939 (Anon, 1939-2), Neidhardt presented his Novi Sad planning and design *oeuvre* and explained his approach to modernizing the city in a public lecture. The lecture focused on the *green city concept* he envisioned for Novi Sad, synthesizing his previous planning practice with experiences of working in Le Corbusier's office on the study for *La Ville Radieuse* (Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p. 91). Urban development of Novi Sad on these grounds would become possible if the new buildings, especially housing, were arranged in open urban blocks and with new height regulations. His green city concept seemed to be flexible enough to be applied with no urban sacrifices since it was based on building gradually and considering the existing environment (Mitrović, 2016, p. 27). As a distinctive feature of the plan, he introduced a housing model that would provide flexibility and adaptivity to the city for its growth. The housing model was envisioned with large front gardens owned by the city, offered to tenants for rent (Anon, 1939-1). These gardens offered a twofold solution—the rent was to be directed toward financing the works on communal infrastructure, and, on the other hand, they reserved the space for future urban expansion since the wide street profile provided space for new, unforeseen models of urban development. Architect Daka Popović discussed another potential for introducing this or a similar, modernized traditional housing model (Popović, 1940). Popović addressed two distinctive grounds in the urban development of the city—the city center, built in line with Balkan settlement urbanization (winding narrow streets), and the periphery, built by Austro-Hungarian regulation principles with the orthogonal street matrix. According to him, the new regulation plan aimed to reconcile these two approaches, which meant introducing the wide, straight streets and boulevards into the city center and communal infrastructure to the periphery. However, to provide grounds for such a radical change, the social and cultural background needed to be set, including preparing the peasants, whom he calls urban gardeners, to become citizens. According to Popović, urban gardeners were crucial in mediating urban way of life among the villagers, thus enabling their eventual assimilation into the city. Their gardens were a new form of urban space, which also serves this socio-economic and cultural transformation of the new urban life (Popović, 1940).

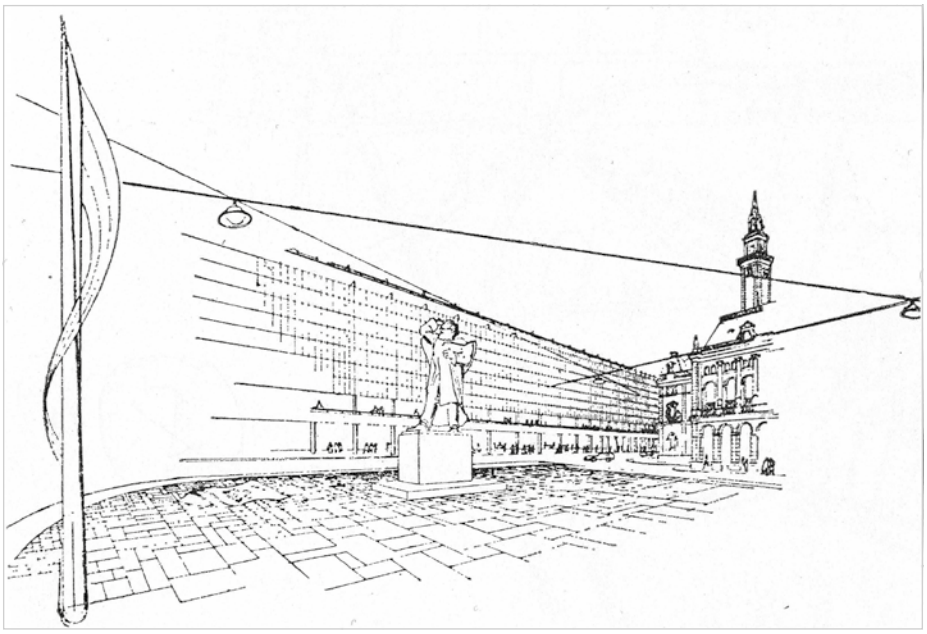
One of the most interesting legacies of Neidhardt's plans for Novi Sad is a series of perspective drawings of the central urban space and its fragments as shown in figures 05-08. The most obvious feature of these drawings is his determination to create an uncompromisingly modernist identity of the city center [FIGURE 05], with new buildings lined up along the old main street that connects the old main square and the new squares he proposed, like the Fish Market Square [FIGURE 06]. Only a selection of old structures, such as church complexes, city halls, and old high schools, were left standing in this vision, while he included none of the old vernacular residential and commercial buildings in these drawings. This approach aligns with the modernist stance on isolating a selection of the most significant historical structures and declaring them as 'monuments' while surrounding them with new structures, which is visible in Neidhardt's perspective drawing of the Main Square [FIGURE 07]. However, the approach Neidhardt demonstrated in dealing with the



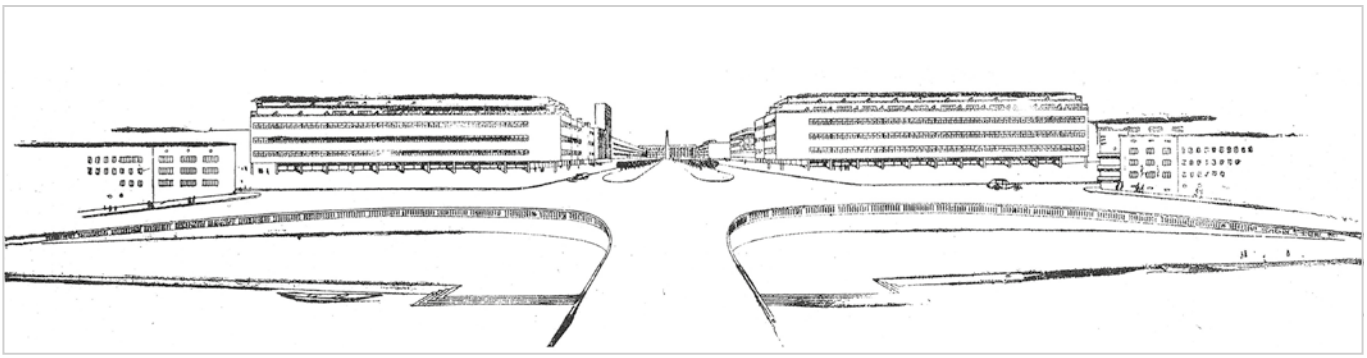
05 Neidhardt's proposal for central squares of Novi Sad, 1938. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p. 91.



06 Fish Market Square proposal by Neidhardt, 1939. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Karlić-Kapetanović, 1990, p. 92.



07 Neidhardt's proposal for the Central Square of Novi Sad, 1938. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Arhitektura journal no. 156-157, Zagreb, 1976, p, 16 (according to Vladimir Mitrović).



08 Perspective view on the city center of Novi Sad from the Petrovaradin bridge. © Tatjana Neidhardt, 2024. Dan newspaper, Novi Sad, 25.06.1940, p. 4 (according to Vladimir Mitrović).

historical heritage of Novi Sad in the late 1930s stands in contrast to his post-war reputation as a modernist architect specifically interested in vernacular heritage and the principles that can be extracted from it (as shown in his studies on Bosnian and Macedonian heritage). Perhaps this shows a professional development from initially crude internationalist modernism towards a more mature approach interested in the context. On the other hand, he repeated the approach of keeping only a selection of historical monuments in Sarajevo after World War 2. In any case, his attitude towards heritage and planning legacy was fiercely criticized by local researchers as "the fruit of urban planning delusions of that time" (Mitrović, 2016, p. 27). When it comes to Petrovaradin Fortress, the symbol of the city, Neidhardt does not offer similar graphic elaboration of his plans for it and its lower town, through which he envisioned the arterial 'international road'. He only depicts the opposite view: the vista from the Petrovaradin bridge towards the new boulevard and the center of Novi Sad [FIGURE 08]. Finally, all of these drawings confirm his stance towards widening the city's oldest streets and replacing its historical buildings, as implied in his initial competition entry from 1937 and the subsequent Regulation Plan.

Neidhardt completed the plan in 1940 or 1941, and it was unofficially adopted by the city in 1941. But

the outbreak of World War 2 halted its implementation (Mitrović, 2016, p. 28). After the war, immediately in 1945, new socialist state authorities considered but then rejected Neidhardt's pre-war Regulation Plan of Novi Sad. We do not know whether the reasons for this rejection came from the then-perceived radicalism or an inadequacy of the plan. In any case, attempts were made to adapt the plan to new objectives, which was done by Dimitrije Marinković from the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia in 1947. The city authorities of Novi Sad rejected this proposal, and the decision was made to start anew and draft a completely new plan. This plan was finalized by Marinković in 1950, and the city assembly adopted it as the first General Plan of Novi Sad (also known as GUP 1950).

CONCLUSIONS

The international competition for the Regulation Plan for Novi Sad in 1937 ensured the contemporary direction of urban planning and provided a new, modernist vision for Novi Sad. Neidhardt's work contributed significantly to directing Novi Sad's urban planning. His competition entry, the subsequent elaboration of the Regulation Plan, and his design solutions for various urban fragments announced a new paradigm of city planning and the direction of a modernist future for the city. In the early stage of his career, with fresh experience working in the office of Le Corbusier, Neidhardt's search for a professional approach matured in his work in Novi Sad. Strongly influenced by his teacher, Neidhardt was determined to modernize Yugoslav cities and provide their citizens with space, light, and air. In these efforts, the modernization process was rather radical in dealing with the existing urban environment, which was an obstacle to its fulfillment. Thus, his visions for the historical city center reduce the existing urban fabric to the level of a monument, "the pearl of the past," the concept he will apply even more radically in his reconstruction plans for Baščaršija in Sarajevo in years to come.

His approach to housing follows the same paradigm but introduces innovative solutions for the particularity of Novi Sad and the region—a personal interpretation of the modern paradigm and "localization" of the general. This will become more evident in his approach to Ottoman heritage and search for the fusion of modern and traditional in Bosnian architecture. In Novi Sad and Vojvodina, the region's vast space, low density, and character are interpreted in the housing model as a path toward a new green city model. In reviewing Neidhardt's planning contributions, Premerl stresses that this plan is one of the boldest and the most revolutionary complex comprehension and modeling of the cities, solved in general scale and detail. Furthermore, in this particular plan, the urban thought of the interwar architects was synthesized as a thoughtful form of a time and one generation (Premerl, 1989, p. 108).

Novi Sad developed radically in the decades after WW2, modernizing every aspect of its urban condition. This process was founded on a pioneering vision of the architects and planners who saw the necessity for the radical and often uncompromising breakthrough toward new urbanity. This vision, which led to the development of tools and milestones in mastering the modern planning of Novi Sad, was perhaps ignited by what Neidhardt had introduced in the city a few decades prior.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank art historian Vladimir Mitrović for sharing his archive material and research on the topic.

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ENDNOTES

1 Translated into English as either Danube Banovina or Danube Banate.

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LANDSCAPES OF HOUSING

Juraj Neidhardt's Contextual Approach to Modern Neighborhood Design

Nevena Novaković

ABSTRACT: The concepts of residential space and housing, created by Yugoslav modernist Juraj Neidhardt through the collaboration with architect Dušan Grabrijan, have yet to be investigated systematically, especially from the urban design point of view. As rooted in joint ethnographic research of local Bosnian dwelling culture and vernacular architecture, Neidhardt developed a specific approach to modern neighborhood design compared to the prevalent scientific-planning approach in post-war modernism. From the perspective of urban design, Neidhardt examined the possibilities of conceptualizing more humane dwellings in the context of rapid housing construction in post-war Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, looking through the lens of traditional dwelling culture in which architecture is a mediator between man and landscape. The article will distill, describe, and interpret Neidhardt's ideas of a modern neighborhood that arise from elaborated descriptions of the Bosnian vernacular architecture articulated in close collaboration with Dušan Grabrijan. Neighborhood concepts have significantly different densities and forms, as designed and redesigned through four decades. Nevertheless, the fundamental design principles common to all neighborhood concepts are recognized, focusing on the dichotomy of architecture and landscape in terms of form and meaning. The research was based on analyzing the author's books and published texts and designs in several Yugoslavian architectural journals.

KEYWORDS: Juraj Neidhardt, Landscape, Housing Form, Neighborhood Design, Dušan Grabrijan

"One is born, lives and dies in the apartment! And yet, each race, nationality, and region solved the same problem diametrically differently, depending on the landscape, climate, material, way of life and world view. Today's technology allows us to give the man of our planet a cosmopolitan type of contemporary house, regardless of place and time. It is, without a doubt, a social and sociological obligation for us. Nevertheless, we wonder if that is all, if it is enough, or if we need to look for ways to make man happy, to return to him those autochthonous values, atmospheres which have been organically linked to his existence for centuries. That cannot be explained by technical vocabulary alone."
(Neidhardt, 1967, p. 35)

INTRODUCTION: Two Yugoslav modernist architects, Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979) and Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952), were connected through long friendship, work collaboration, and passion for the same city. The partnership eventually resulted in the intellectually layered and graphically seductive book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* in 1957, with Le Corbusier's foreword (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957). Grabrijan primarily studied vernacular heritage and the theory of modern architecture, while Neidhardt was oriented towards design. After a period of formative practice in the architectural studio of Peter Behrens in Berlin (1930-1932) and Le Corbusier in Paris (1933-1935), Neidhardt returned to his native Zagreb. Later, following Grabrijan's invitation, he moved to Sarajevo in 1938. Based on their joint research of vernacular architecture in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Neidhardt developed a contextual design approach in which architecture is embedded in geographical and cultural conditions.

The paper brings forward Juraj Neidhardt's housing concepts from the broad scope of his architectural ideas. The modest scope of previous research on Neidhardt's residential architecture is predominantly focused on architectural

scale and dichotomy of modernist idiom and appropriated vernacular elements, as the author's contribution to the issue of "old and new" and regional modernism (Turkušić, 2011; Ugljen Ademović & Turkušić, 2012; Džumhur & Idrizbegović-Zgonić, 2023). In this paper, Neidhardt's housing concepts were examined from the urban design position and through the methodological framework of the landscape concept. Grounded in morphological analysis of cultural geography, the landscape perspective enables an understanding of the housing form and dwelling experience concerning the wider environment. The significance of the landscape perspective lies in the effort to uncover new layers of value in Neidhardt's work and the modernist legacy in general, which go beyond architecture as solely a built form and dissolve the labeling of open space of modernist housing ensembles as impersonal green carpets.

This research involves an analysis of the books and an extensive collection of articles published by Grabrijan and Neidhardt, focusing on their ethnographic study and Neidhardt's designs. It examines how architecture serves as a mediator between humans and their environment in Neidhardt's housing forms. The study seeks to understand the design principles that bring together the domestic realm with the broader environment in the experience of dwelling. Utilizing the landscape perspective and morphological criteria, the research proposes three distinct concepts of housing form that Neidhardt developed throughout his career, along with the design principles that are common across all these concepts. The paper asserts that the author aimed to humanize and enhance the modernist idea of housing through a contextual design approach and the integration of architecture into the geographical and cultural conditions of dwelling.

LANDSCAPE PERSPECTIVE ON HOUSING DESIGN

The landscape perspective in modernist housing research has emerged over the past ten years, albeit on a small scale and primarily at a national level (Blanchon, 2016; Díez Medina & Monclus, 2017; Braee et al., 2020; Van Haeren, 2021; Braee, 2022). Several recent international research collections have presented a broader cross-section of this perspective (van der Huvel, 2020; Hafnner, 2021; Breea, 2021). Although the concept of landscape carries multiple meanings and various theoretical interpretations, which have been systematized within the field of cultural geography (Wylie, 2007; Kühne, 2019; Howard et al., 2019), a common thread among the aforementioned research is a shift away from viewing modernist housing architecture solely in terms of architectural form, technology, and the aesthetics of the built structure. According to urban design historian and theoretician Jeanne Hafnner, the focus is shifted towards architecture's aspiration to connect the interior of the home with the exterior world—a world that is as much social, political, and economic as it is physical (2021, p. 1). Hafnner asserts that socially conscious planners and architects, from the late 1800s through the 1970s, aimed not merely to construct new forms of housing but to create novel environments that would, in turn, transform the lives of inhabitants.

In this new research perspective, the landscape is not viewed as representational or an abstract container that accepts the architecture of residential buildings and their composition but as an active element shaping human settlement. The landscape viewpoint is rooted in the morphological approach originating from geographer Carl O. Sauer (1969) and its more recent retrieval interpretations (Ingold, 1993). According to a morphological account, spatial theorist Paolo Furia points out that landscape has several main characteristics (Furia, 2022). It is formed by the existence of both natural and human-made elements and their relative positions. The landscape is perceived through a dialectical interaction with its residents, who are viewed as active contributors to its form (Furia, 2022, p. 553). Furthermore, every place can be seen as a living organism implemented in the broader environment. Furia further explains this integral characteristic:

> *"Landscape is a whole: as a form which keeps together different kinds of elements in a concrete and visible order. In this sense, a landscape cannot be explained by its reduction to its elementary components, as a classic analytical thought would do. On the contrary, elements can be properly understood only by considering the part they play within the greater environment to which they belong."*
> *(Furia, 2022, p. 549).*

Finally, as an outcome of its integrality, author emphasizes, that the landscape speaks about itself in its different parts through internal cross-references. Moreover, its singularity and uniqueness come from the deep co-integration of its elements (Furia, 2022, p. 552). Following this landscape turn in modernist housing research, this paper presents the morphological qualitative study of Neidhardt's housing concepts by reading and interpreting housing forms based on the relation of architecture to geographical conditions and the materiality of dwelling practices.

LANDSCAPES OF BOSNIAN VERNACULAR HOUSES

Neidhardt dedicated his creativity to a single country and city, which became the main subjects of his architectural thinking and inspiration. Upon his arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1938, where Dušan Grabrijan had resided

since 1929, the authors expanded Grabrijan's previous research on the "oriental house in Bosnia" (Grabrijan, 1983). The vernacular architecture and urban configurations of Sarajevo and several other Bosnian towns, which originated from the period of Ottoman rule (15th-19th century), were meticulously documented through drawings and notes. Although Grabrijan and Neidhardt extensively described the form, materials, technology, and furnishings of the Sarajevo vernacular house, they also recognized the logic of its organization into larger spatial scales, rooted in cultural attitudes towards privacy, sociability, and nature. Their method of field study and visual representation of the Sarajevo house and urban structure fundamentally aligns with the approach of landscape morphology. Their studies highlighted numerous aspects of the relationship between architecture and the environment.

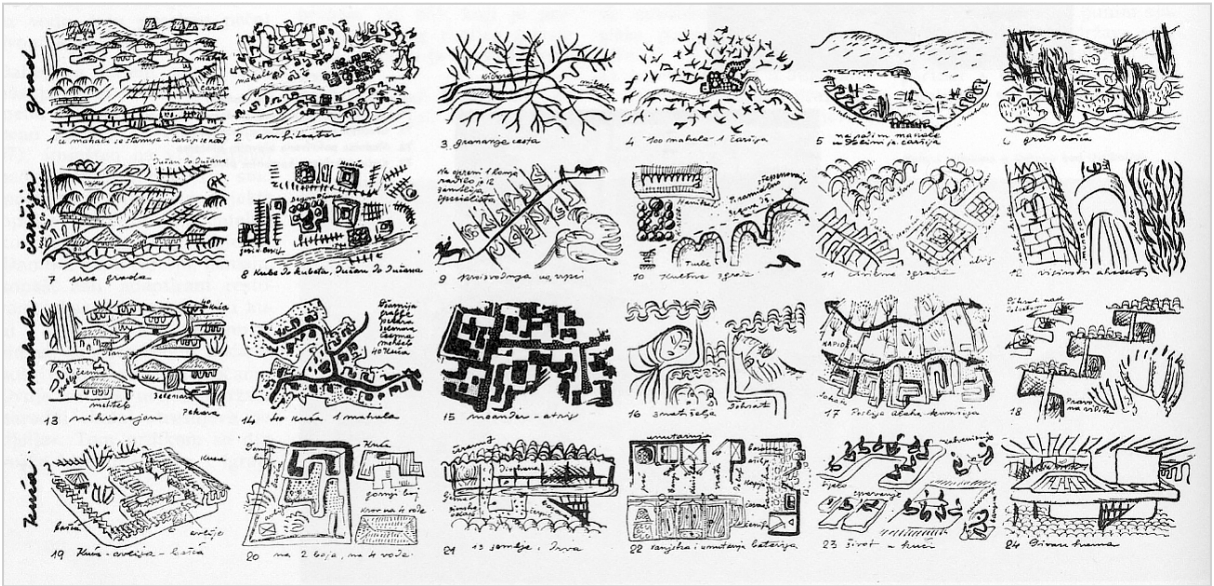
In the research synthesis presented in *Architecture of Bosnia* (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), the description of dwelling space narrows from the scale of the city down to the house interior. One of Neidhardt's drawings succinctly illustrates this integral perspective, suggesting that the house and yard, the traditional form of an urban neighborhood in Sarajevo known as *mahala*[1], and the city itself cannot be understood as separate entities [FIGURE 01]. The integral perspective on dwelling space, as presented by Grabrijan and Neidhardt through the text and drawings of landscapes at various scales, demonstrates the traditionally established relationship of architecture to topography, green structures, and open space.

Their research reveals that the structure and arrangement of the traditional household facilitate the ongoing daily activities both indoors and outdoors, which include cooking, dining, leisure, and the cultivation of vegetables, fruits, and livestock. These activities are also organized based on the seasons, the roles within the family structure, and the public and private aspects of life. Consequently, the design of the house takes on a meander form. The supplementary structures of the household act as a spatial expansion of the home, encompassing the inner courtyards, gardens, and orchards.

From the authors' research, we understand that in contrast to the inward-facing and closed-off nature of the household towards the street, views are created from the upper floors of the house towards the environment. Given that the neighborhoods are situated along the hill slopes, houses are arranged in a manner that each one secures an unobstructed view of the valley. Grabrijan and Neidhardt regard this principle as pivotal, and they termed it "the right to an open view" (*pravo na pogled*) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 257). They eloquently state:

> *"The oriental house is not as much in pursuit of sunlight, as it is of views, wherever they may reach. In this aspect, it diverges from the European house. While the ground floor indeed shuts into courtyards and winter apartments, the upper floor opens up to the world. This very aspiration has significantly influenced the formation of the house, mahala, and city."*
> *(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 148).*

This principle can be morphologically interpreted as a tool for establishing a relationship between the privacy of the house's interior and the surroundings by managing the spatial relationship of the house with the topography and neighboring houses. The essence of the principle is not only perceptual but also deeply social, as respect for neighbors is preserved through spatial relationships that facilitate the realization of the right to view.



01 Grid depicting the main characteristics of vernacular Sarajevo: the house, the neighborhood (mahala), the trade and crafts district (aršija), and the city. Drawing by Juraj Neidhardt. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 56-57. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2023.

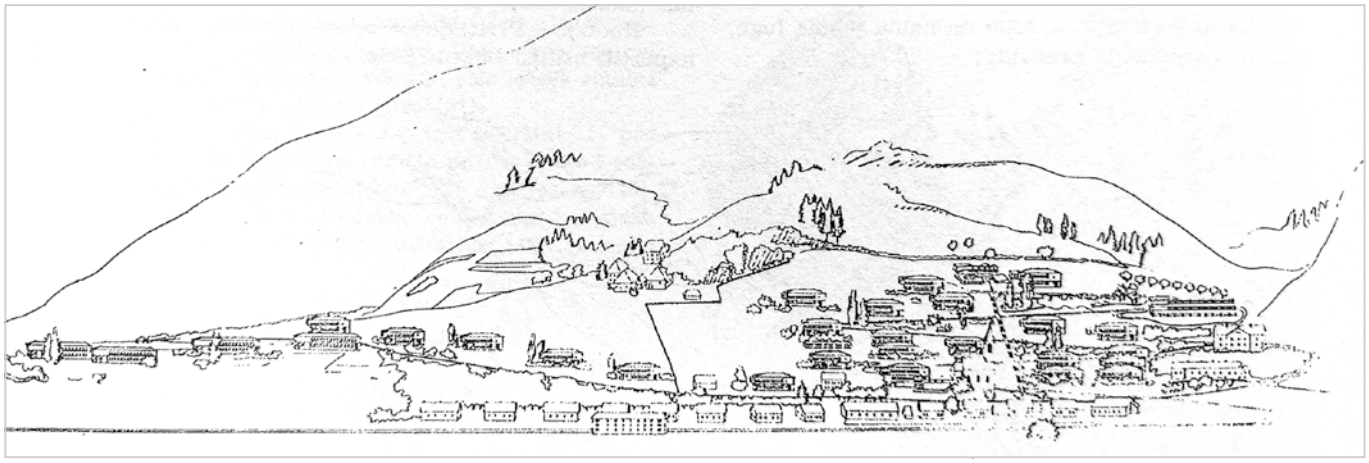
Finally, the authors perceive architecture as a topographic layer that maintains the integrity of the landform and embraces natural features. According to the description of Sarajevo as an "amphitheater city," the trajectories of streets, house forms, and their positions are tailored to the topography. The houses are of low height, with households scattered among open spaces and vegetation, giving the constructed structure a sense of being integrated into the landscape. The horizontality and layering of the landscape are periodically disrupted by mosque minarets and tall poplar trees, which act as visual guides (p. 302).

GARDEN NEIGHBORHOOD

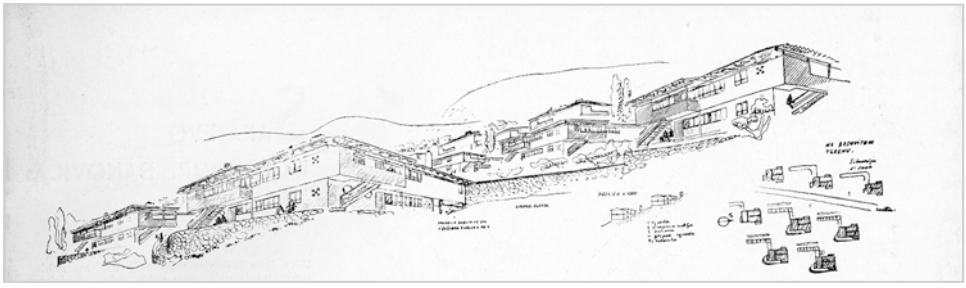
Upon his arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Neidhardt rapidly emerged as a key designer for Jugočelik, a steel production company that capitalized on the abundant reserves of brown coal and iron ore in the Middle Bosnian Mining Basin. Over a span of six years (1938-44), he crafted the layout for workers' settlements in the Bosnian towns of Zenica, Vareš, Breza, Ilijaš, Ričica, and Ljubija, all of which were hubs for Jugočelik's mining and steel production operations. The neighborhoods were built immediately following the Second World War, a time marked by limited resources and a nascent construction industry in Yugoslavia. In these formative years of housing economy, the design and construction of residential architecture heavily depended on existing housing models and traditional craftsmanship.[2] The post-war housing crisis was exacerbated by the migration of the rural population to cities in search of employment in the growing industrial sector. Neidhardt took an interest in the topic of workers' housing, not only from the standpoint of rationalization and prefabrication, which he had dealt with before the war[3] , but also as a cultural issue of adapting the lifestyle of former peasants to the new realities of life in industrial cities and the collectivization of the newly socialist Yugoslavia (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 282).

The term *garden neighborhood* is first mentioned in a collection of essays titled *Sarajevo and his Satellites* from 1942, which two authors jointly published (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 204). The concept is a reference to Neidhardt's general housing form of workers' neighborhoods–a composition of small-scale collective houses at equal distances and rows that follow the configuration of the terrain, permeated with greenery. While the term implies the significance of open areas abundant with gardens, the authors also emphasize the importance of the relationship of architecture to topography. In Vareš, we can see an ensemble positioned on the terrain slopes and arranged in such a way that each house has an open view towards the valley [FIGURE 02]. The authors referenced the theory of Adolf Loos, which states that tall buildings are positioned on flat terrain, buildings of medium height on gentle slopes, and smaller houses on steeper slopes. Thus, instead of an "orthogonal city - without perspective," they propose a garden city that would result from the art of house placement in topography and the pleasure derived from the view and greenery (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 200).

Neidhardt developed the collective housing typology for workers, which is based on the number of apartments and their arrangement within a single architectural volume. The most commonly used and architecturally sophisticated type is the "house-dwelling" type, which consists of six apartments, also referred to as a "sextuplet" (Neidhardt, 1954; Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957). It is a simple cubic form spanning two floors of the modernist idiom, which incorporates elements of the traditional Sarajevo house (a single-flight external staircase, a veranda, a cantilevered upper floor, and a sloping roof). A notable feature of this design is that each apartment has its own entrance from the outdoor space. The entrances are grouped in pairs at three corners of the cubic house volume [FIGURE 03].



02 Drawing of the workers' neighborhood in Vareš by Juraj Neidhardt, 1942. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 279.



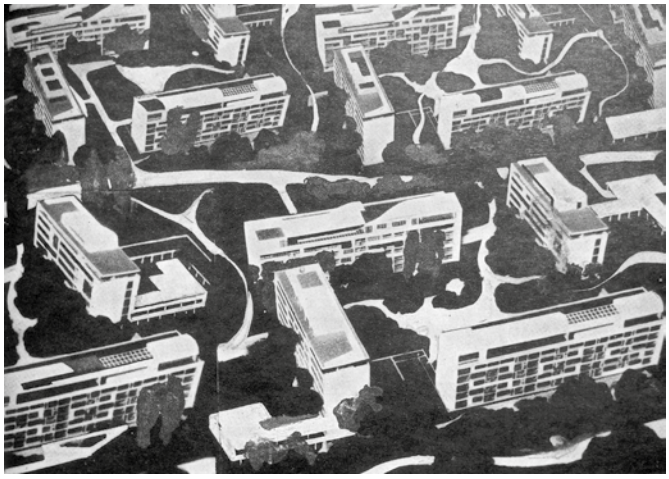
03 Drawing of the workers' neighborhood in Vareš by Juraj Neidhardt, 1942. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 279.

In the case of the garden housing form, one could argue that despite the seemingly rigid geometric composition of the houses, the neighborhoods truly come alive when attention is given to the open space and the integration of the housing form within the natural environment. The houses serve as hubs of domestic activities that radially flow from the house into a shared outdoor space. The rational and minimal interior space is augmented with a garden and orchard, as well as a yard for small-scale farming activities in the shared open space with no fences. Each house features a row of six storage and farming utility sheds, which can be seen as supplementary elements of the urban composition and spatial components contributing to the visual enclosure of the common yard. The overlap of the domestic activities with the collective rest, play, and recreation in the shared outdoor space renders this housing form a unique collective arrangement.

BACKDROP NEIGHBORHOOD

The terms *kulisa* (theater backdrop) and *paravan* (screen, curtain) were used by Grabrijan and Neidhardt to explain the formal relationship between built, open, and green space, relevant in the urban design of housing (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 324, 366). In the text and drawing, the authors described the genealogy of the housing form, developing from the atrium, which completely encloses nature and separates domestic activities from public life, to the meander form that simultaneously embraces nature and allows it to pass through. In contrast to atriums and meanders that are part of the traditional formal language of residential architecture in Bosnia, Neidhardt adds a third form that he calls *kulisa*–the backdrop. The author explains that according to the principles of modern urbanism, the arms of the meander need to be separated to achieve the continuity of open and green space, but should still strive for the visual impression of semi-enclosure offered by the traditional meander form. According to the authors, this design strategy results in what is referred to as "spatial-plastic architecture," characterized by the interrelation of architectural elements and the landscape, which stands in contrast to conventional urban planning that primarily involves architectural solids (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 215).

The backdrop housing form prominently features in Neidhardt's designs for the expansion of larger Yugoslav



04 Study of housing forms for Zagreb and Sarajevo, 1953-55. Collage by Juraj Neidhardt, © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 351. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2023.

cities as a response to the pressing post-Second World War housing demands. These large-scale neighborhoods, as he termed them, first appeared in the ambitious 1930 expansion project of Zagreb. The concept was later adapted for smaller neighborhoods, such as those in the Zenica urban plan (1950-55) and the Grbavica neighborhood in Sarajevo (1953-54), although these plans were never realized [FIGURE 04]. The backdrop housing form is a defining feature of one of Neidhardt's most significant housing projects–the ensemble on Alipašina Street in Sarajevo, designed in 1947 and constructed between 1952 and 1954. The distinctiveness of this ensemble arguably stems from the application of the backdrop form on a sharply inclined terrain.

The backdrop housing form can be described as a large-scale composition with elongated residential slabs in a regular geometric grid and a park-like green environment. Although the buildings are free-standing, the distance at the latent joints is minimal, giving the visual impression of the continuity and meandering of the built structure and, at the same time, visually noticeable volumes of open space. According to Grabrijan's theoretical interpretation, the "L" corners that are separated do not have the problem of a deep shadow and inadequate visual proximity of apartments (Grabrijan, 1973, p. 173). The central focus of the semi-enclosed courtyards is an intersection of pedestrian paths and recreational facilities, which, in Neidhardt's view, constitute the social heart of the neighborhood (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 348).

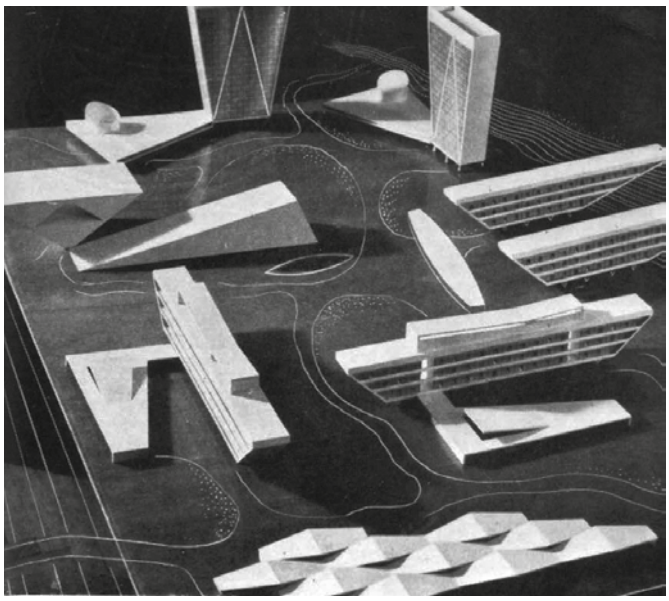
The primary residential building type that constitutes most backdrop neighborhoods is the "house-ship"–a conceptual design of a large residential building that Neidhardt formulated during his formative years in Paris. Its name unambiguously alludes to the influence of Le Corbusier. The building's main feature is the access to two-story apartments from an open gallery [FIGURES 05 AND 06]. According to the author, this gallery replaces the dark central corridor, providing a space for walking and playing among the plants during rainy days (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 382).

Within the context of the backdrop housing form, architecture could be seen as a facilitator, modulating the perception of dwelling space from inside to outside and reciprocally. The open gallery, directly accessible from the apartment, offers an immediate encounter with the atmosphere and climate upon leaving the private domain of the apartment. Moreover, the gallery moves the focus towards the shared open space between the buildings. Conversely, when observed from the open space, the residential buildings function as backdrops, serving as an instrument for managing the perception of spatial continuity. Therefore, architecture operates as a regulating membrane that mediates the perceptual and spatial relationship between the private realm of the apartment and the expansive shared space interspersed among the buildings.

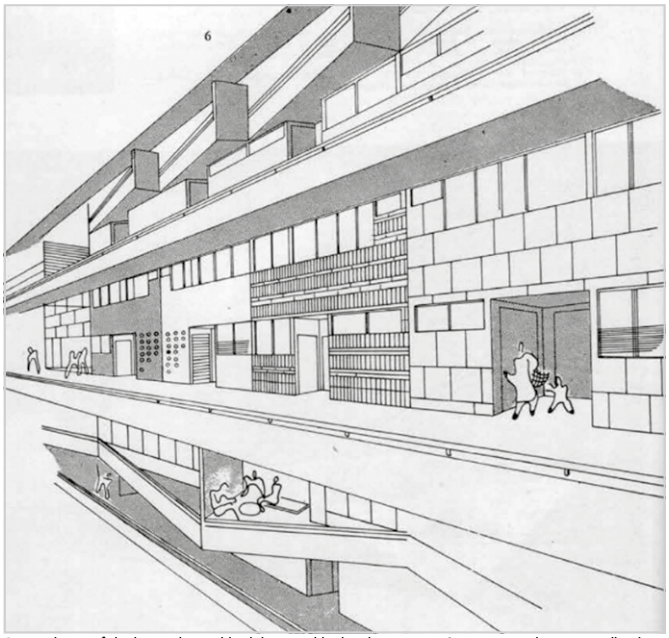
BEEHIVE NEIGHBORHOOD

The beehive housing form subtly appeared in a 1942 publication as a sketch by Neidhardt, illustrating potential housing layouts (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 207). The author revisited the concept only in the latter half of the 1960s, considering housing for denser populations [figure 07]. This was due to his critique of the mass housing construction happening in Yugoslavia during that period. He was opposed to it because, in his view, the high-rise residential architecture lacked contextual relevance.

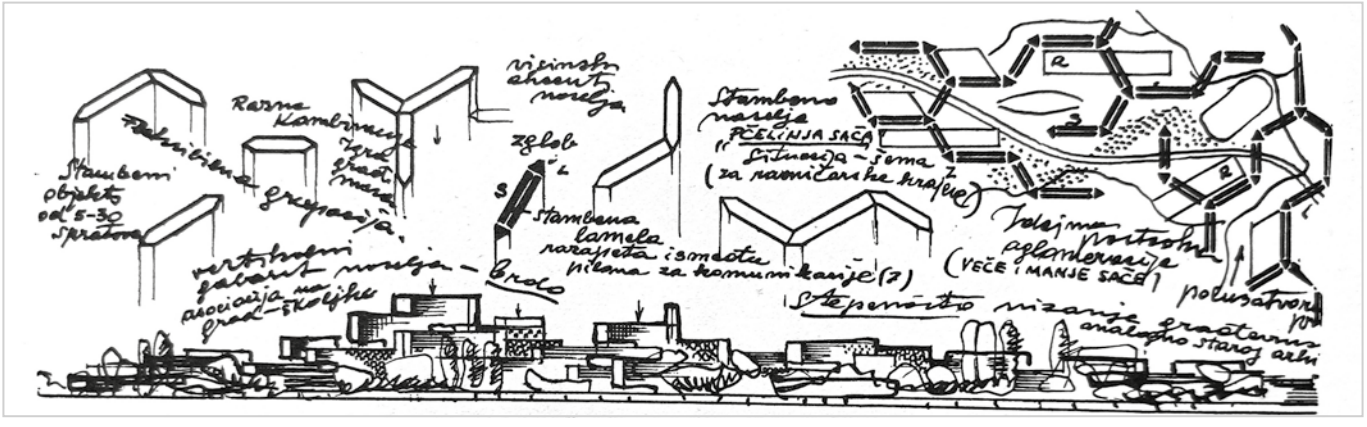
In the two decades succeeding the Second World War, Yugoslavia transformed from being one of the



05 Redesign of the house-ship and backdrop neighborhood concepts, 1964. Model photography by Juraj Neidhardt, 1964. © Neidhardt, 1964, pp. 45.



06 Redesign of the house-ship and backdrop neighborhood concepts, 1964. Drawing by Juraj Neidhardt, 1964. © Neidhardt, 1964, pp. 46.

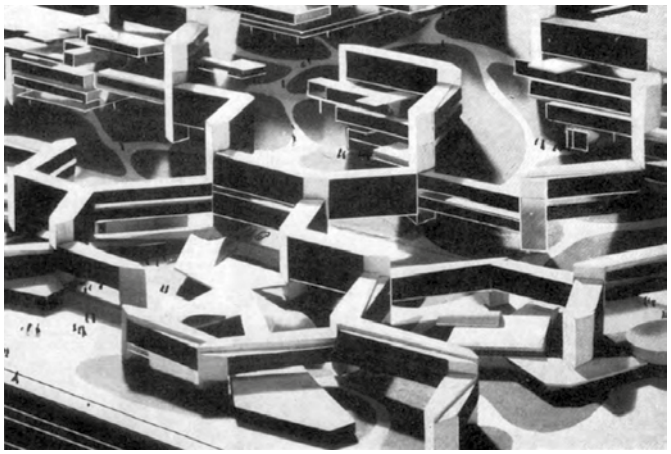


07 Beehive concept–study of housing form for higher density. Drawing by Juraj Neidhardt, 1990. © Jelica Karlić Kapetanović, 1990. Karlić Kapetanović, 1990, p. 306.

most war-torn countries in Europe to boasting one of the fastest-growing economies by the mid-1970s, with an annual production of approximately 150,000 homes. This substantial housing construction was underpinned by meticulously planned, rationalized, and mechanized construction processes, resulting in various forms of collective housing.[4] Furthermore, a significant perspective on the topic of mass housing construction emerged through urban planning and the concept of a dwelling community (*stambena zajednica*), seen as an urban and administrative unit of residential space, grounded on quantitative measures such as area size, population, and walking distances.

Neidhardt expressed his criticism regarding the homogeneity of urban designs, the lack of diversity in architectural forms, the neglect of human scale in both architecture and urban planning, the unsuitable placement of skyscrapers within the urban fabric, the absence of a systematic approach in residential architecture, and the copying of foreign models without considering the context. These views were articulated in his 1967 article on Yugoslavia's development (Neidhardt, 1967). The Koševo Valley housing project in Sarajevo serves as the author's counter-argument and epitomizes the beehive housing form.

The collaged photography of the Koševo Valley housing model, which appeared in periodicals until 1973, depicts a complex housing form composed of two modules–a vertical triangular prism serving as a circulation core and horizontal volumes with apartments that hung between circulation joints in three directions (Neidhardt, 1970; Neidhardt, 1972a; Neidhardt, 1972b). In the horizontal plane, the two modules create a regular beehive configuration, while in the vertical plane, the composition becomes playful and layered, conforming to the topography. The distinctive, low-height, branched structures extend at ground level, encompassing other neighborhood functions, along with organically shaped pedestrian pathways and greenery. Despite the structure's large scale and three-dimensional complexity, the terrain appears open and fluid [FIGURE 08].



08 Conceptual design for Koševo Valley housing, 1967. Collage by Juraj Neidhardt, 1967. © Neidhardt, 1967, p. 35.

In the beehive housing form, one could argue that Neidhardt achieved a synthesis of principles that he employed in other housing designs. While residential buildings remain separate entities in functional terms, they evolve into a continuous elongated built structure. Nonetheless, Neidhardt achieves a meandering form in the truest sense of the term. The perception of the enclosure of the outdoor space is softened by raising the structure from the ground and adapting the heights of the buildings to the topography. Even in densely built forms, such as a beehive, Neidhardt achieved horizontality and open views from the interior dwelling space towards the valley. The architecture in this housing concept can be viewed as a new topographic layer.

LANDSCAPE CONTEXTUALITY OF NEIDHARDT'S HOUSING DESIGN

Three housing concepts exhibit significant differences in scales, densities, and forms. Nevertheless, Neidhardt's housing forms have distinctly noticeable common characteristics of the modernist idiom. The houses are designed as an architectural type, and compositions are groups of identical houses arranged in a regular geometric pattern. The open space is plentiful and green, interlaced with a network of pedestrian paths that sometimes pass under buildings on pilotis. Neighborhoods feature a social center, formed by buildings and spaces dedicated to culture, education, and recreation, often located centrally within the composition and frequently as an additional volume of the residential buildings. However, it is possible to identify common urban design principles that are relevant from a landscape perspective and specific to Neidhardt's approach to modern housing design.

In all concepts of the housing form, the author strives to establish an extension and continuity of the interior domestic space towards the broader environment of collective use through architecture. One of the instruments of continuity is the placement of entrances to the apartment directly from the outdoor space. In Neidhardt's interpretation, this design principle serves as a means of individualizing the apartment within a collective scheme and creating an experience akin to living in a family house. It can be added that the juxtaposition of the interior as a private space and the exterior as a shared one contributes to a layered dwelling experience, both perceptually and socially. The apartment is simultaneously an integral part of the landscape and the architecture of the residential building.

Another instrument for achieving integration of domestic space and environment is the application of the traditional

principle of the right to an open view. In flat terrain, the buildings are taller and inherently overlook larger open spaces, while on the slopes, where the houses are lower, compact, and distances between them smaller, the principle of the right to an open view should also apply. Through this principle, Neidhardt establishes a visual and configurational relationship between the domestic domain of the apartment interior and the surroundings by regulating the spatial relation of the house with the topography and neighboring houses. The landscape becomes an integral part of the interior dwelling space.

Further, the housing forms contribute to the preservation of the visual integrity of the topography on the scale of the neighborhood and the city. Neidhardt articulated this principle through the methodological term "the art of placement" (*umijeće plasiranja*), which he defined as the positioning of architectural elements in relation to the landscape. "The basic point is to experience that nature and incorporate buildings into it. Every slope, hummock, and shore has its specificities, which should be noticed, and only then place the buildings and model the architecture" (Neidhardt, 1953, p. 18).

It is easily identifiable that these design principles originate from the vernacular architectural culture of Bosnia. In this manner, Neidhardt's design approach is distinctly contextual. However, it needs to be emphasized that the author's contextualism does not merely suggest that the housing design incorporates the existing state of geography, nature, and culture as mere input information. Rather, it profoundly contemplates the traditional approaches to the landscape or architecture-landscape dialectics. Neidhardt's contextualism is rooted in the pursuit of continuity of these principles through modern architecture. He engaged the recognized traditional principles concerning landscape in housing design, as well as elements of vernacular architectural form.

Neidhardt's contextual approach, which was firmly established with the release of the book *Architecture of Bosnia* in 1957 (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), resonates strongly with the new way of conceiving modern architecture that manifested from the beginning of the 1950s. As Dirk van den Heuvel succinctly describes, the buildings and cities at the time were no longer considered discrete, isolated objects but were to be understood as part of a larger whole, an environment or a habitat (van den Heuvel, 2020, p. 9). Among the CIAM circles and specifically Team X protagonists, architecture was considered as something relational, embedded, conditional as well as contextual. The same author recognized a landscape perspective in several design proposals and studies in the context of CIAM's preoccupation with the habitat theme that culminated at the Dubrovnik meeting in 1956. A series of housing designs presented at Dubrovnik display careful attention to the existing environmental, geographical, and ecological conditions in which the designs were to be embedded, such as the "Houses riding the landscape" by Alison and Peter Smithson (p. 47). However, Neidhardt's contextual methodology is unique as it embodies his enduring dedication and consistency in approach, deeply ingrained in the landscape of a single country.

CONCLUSION

Throughout his productive architectural practice, Neidhardt continuously contemplated the terms of modern habitation. His approach is distinctly contextual. The author not only dealt with transposing elements of vernacular Bosnian residential architecture into a modern expression but also with transposing the relationship between architecture and landscape that he recognized as Bosnian heritage. In his approach, we can read the dialectical nature of modernity. It is simultaneously a civilizational necessity for change and a means of achieving the historical continuity of local architectural culture. In that culture, each place of residence is an integral part of a much larger landscape–a neighborhood, a city, and a wider territory. His approach to modern housing form serves as a valuable insight from history in the contemporary context of technological domination and ecological considerations that are often reduced to measurable metrics and result in an abstract comprehension of the environment.

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ENDNOTES

1 The term mahala stems from Ottoman Turkish with Arabic origin and refers to city quarters intended exclusively for residential purposes.

2 See more on the formative years of Yugoslav housing economy in Jovanović (2020).

3 Neidhardt approached the theme of workers' housing design before returning to Yugoslavia. He participated in the international housing competition for the Bata factory in Zlín in 1935 while still working in Paris and won the purchase prize. Le Corbusier was a jury member alongside architects Edo Schön and Vladimír Karfík. See in Karlić-Kapetanović (1990, p. 55).

4 See more on the Yugoslav mass housing in Milinković et al. (2023).

SYNTHESIS OF THE ARTS WITH THE REGION

Juraj Neidhardt's Sculptural Architecture of the 1960s within Regional Planning of Tourism

Mejrema Zatrić

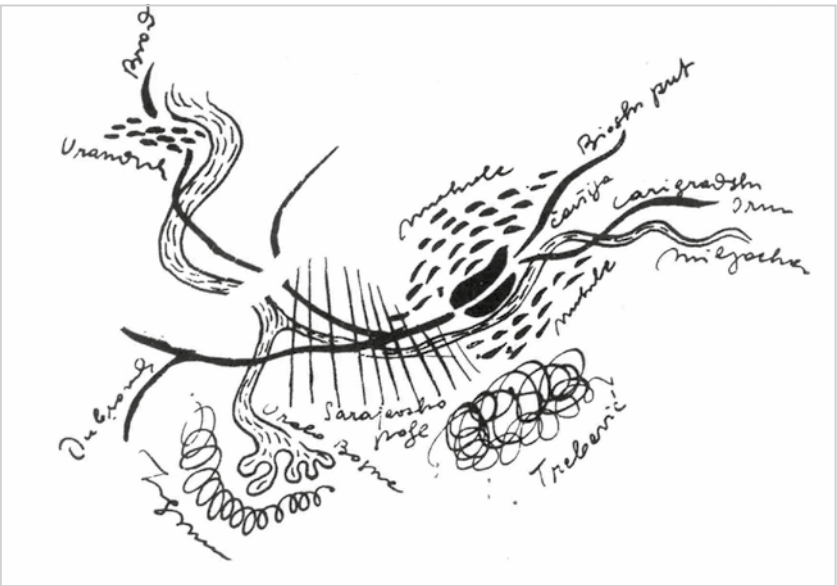
ABSTRACT: Some of Juraj Neidhardt's most emblematic projects are situated in pristine, non-urban settings. From the Ski House in the pine forests of the Bosnian hills to the Hotel Agava immersed in the Mediterranean shrubbery of the Adriatic Coast, his designs in the landscape were key for him to define his architecture as seeking proximity to and harmony with nature. The design strategy that Neidhardt utilized to realize this ambition was, however, far from constant. While in the 1950s, he relied solely on the "unwritten laws" of the vernacular models to define techniques of new design integration into the specific regional environment, in the 1960s, he produced a series of striking artistic compositions of natural and architectural visual elements, which he described with the notion of "phantasy in tourism."

This paper analyzes Neidhardt's writings and several projects of the 1950s and 1960s in order to situate his 1960s architecture excursus into the visual arts within the post-war discourse of the "synthesis of the arts." Under the influence of his and Dušan Grabrijan's geography-informed understanding of the unity between art, life, and the regional environment and his research in the regional planning of tourism (both presented in the book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), Neidhardt developed an original architectural language that synthesized not only architecture and sculpture but also the specific regional landscape into one harmonious visual whole. This aesthetic synthesis, however, communicated a deeper synthesis between architecture, geographic region, and modern state economy, facilitated by the emerging regional planning as the ultimate absorption of the total environment into the comprehensive kind of modernism.

KEYWORDS: Juraj Neidhardt, Yugoslav modern architecture, Geography, Regional landscape, Regional planning, Synthesis of the Arts, Dušan Grabrijan

INTRODUCTION: Throughout his mid and late career, Juraj Neidhardt emphasized the importance that the natural setting held for his architecture and urban design. His 1957 magnum opus of architectural theory *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (coauthored with Dušan Grabrijan) defined "relation with nature" as one of the "unwritten laws" of the "oriental vernacular" architecture of Bosnia (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 302-311). Ten years later, in 1967, Neidhardt still maintained that architecture needed to "merely complement nature, to adjust to it and to remain as restrained and unobtrusive as possible" (Neidhardt, 1967, p. 72). While this declarative position was, therefore, constant, Neidhardt's elaboration of design techniques that facilitated such a balanced union of architecture and nature changed considerably. His early post-war projects, such as the Ski House on Trebević Hill and the Guesthouse near Boračko Lake, featured "unwritten laws" and "elements" of Bosnian architecture–cantilevers, pitched roofs, atria, and masonry walls–defined on the bases of his and Grabrijan's architectural-ethnographic research of the Ottoman historic core of Sarajevo. His 1960s projects, such as the Vranjača tourist settlement near Sarajevo and the Agava hotel on the Adriatic coast, however, were characterized by biomorphic sculptural forms that interspersed with rocks, water streams, and vegetation.

This switch from the rule-based, rationalized design process to the inspired form-giving agency of an architect-artist was present in the post-war work of several modernist architects, including Neidhardt's lifelong



01 Juraj Neidhardt, "Areas addressed in the book," drawing published in Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity, 1957. © Tatjana Neidhardt (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 4).

reference, Le Corbusier. Much of this transformation of modern architecture's fundamental repertoire of forms and priorities unfolded under the banner of the "synthesis of the arts," both in the countries of the Western and the Eastern Block (Torrent, 2010, p. 9).

Around 1957 in Yugoslavia, the official discussions on the unification of architecture with other visual arts presented "the synthesis" both as a means of tempering modern architecture's exceeding rationalism and as a political tool of social transformation, all the while upholding the values of abstraction. Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's long-anticipated book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, published the same year, was seemingly unrelated to this officially propagated version of the "synthesis of the arts." If anything, its emphasis on "people's architecture" may inspire a hasty association with the Eastern European version of the "synthesis," which had often provided a national inflection to architecture (Drosos, 2016, p. 134). A closer inspection of Neidhardt's portfolio, however, presented in the second half of the book, easily dispels such conclusions: thoroughly avoiding the blunt typological or formalistic quotations of the vernacular, his designs produced between 1938 and 1957 display a combination of Le Corbusier's geometric formalism and consistently applied social-spatial topologies and materialities identified in the Bosnian oriental historical agglomerations.

Observed on the backdrop of this idiosyncratic orthodoxy of Neidhardt's 1950s mid-career opus, his sculptural architectures of the 1960s may seem to expose a radical discontinuation in the development of his personal architectural language.

This paper proposes that the meaning and importance that the idea of the geographic region held for his work must be understood to identify the consistency and continuity of Neidhardt's approach to architecture, including the incorporation of visual arts into his architecture of the 1960s. Defined in the early 1950s as part of the preparatory research for the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, the notion of the geographically specific regional environment became the main determinant of Neidhardt's architecture (Zatrić, 2018, p. 129). Based on human, geographic, and theoretical references and extensive ethnographic research, *Architecture of Bosnia* represented the Central Bosnian Basin as a geographic whole inside of which natural landscape and human forms were seamlessly and harmoniously interspersed. The specificities of the Basin that made up this balanced unity were mapped in the book, including both its natural features and its vernacular architectures [FIGURE 01]. Under the influence of his professional development (particularly his retreat from the realm of urban planning), Neidhardt changed his design tools, but the final goal of integrating his architecture into the regional specificity of the Central Bosnian Basin remained the same throughout his mid- and late career.

THE "SYNTHESIS" IN ARCHITECTURE OF BOSNIA AND THE WAY TOWARDS MODERNITY

The straightforward message of the book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity was relatively simple: it defined principles of the vernacular "oriental" architecture and urbanism and argued that these needed to serve as bases for socialist architecture and urbanism in Bosnia. The heterogeneous principles were either systematized as "unwritten laws" (that linked architectural knowledge with social-spatial practices and customs) or as "elements of Bosnian architecture" that specified elementary formal principles, akin to Le Corbusier's "Five points."

The book's underlying endorsement of the "synthesis of the arts" was, however, implicit and complex. Dušan Grabrijan's contribution, defined already in the 1930s,

provided a conceptual link of his and Neidhardt's ethnographic research with art history. It came from his studies with Slovenian master Jože Plečnik and his affinity with the Austrian art historian Alois Riegel's conception of "will to art" (*Kunstwollen*)–which postulated authentic artistic consciousness of specific people in a specific historical moment (Alić, 2010, p. 37). This understanding framed Bosnian oriental "people's art," including vernacular architecture, furniture, and utensils, as the possible model for the unification of art and life. However, while the mainstream discourse relied on abstraction as a binding agent of the "synthesis," *Architecture of Bosnia* underlined the importance of the specific regional ambiance as a unifying determinant of Bosnian oriental art and architecture. The geographic component was already implicit in the notion of *Kunstwollen*, described by France Stele as "geographic constants of art history" (Alić, 2010, p. 47). Inside this specific geographic realm of Bosnia, Grabrijan recognized a unique decorative "register" characterizing Bosnian "will to art"–one that relied on the abstraction of oriental Islamic art and permitted people's artistic production to "enframe" untouched nature (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 272-275). Yet it was Neidhardt's research in the realm of human geography and ethnography that clearly linked the region's geography to the people's artistic expression. Most importantly, a reference to Serbian human geographer Jovan Cvijić's work provided a particularly clear link between the local "ways of life" and the material culture (including the vernacular house types), as well as the role of the specific regional geographic environment in shaping both, as it existed in continuous interaction with human agency (Zatrić, 2020, pp. 141-143).

Based on this new research, the authors presented the "unwritten laws" and "architectural elements" as bounded to a determining geographic reality. The cantilevered first floors, pitched roofs, atria, and masonry walls were now understood to be uniquely and systematically suited to the region. The purpose of "laws" and "elements" as design tools was, therefore, to make new architecture a part of this regional system. One of the book's captions read: "Blending with nature is a fundamental law followed by every oriental builder (*dundjer*)" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 299).

Accordingly, Neidhardt's designs presented in the subsequent pages explicitly pursued similar "blending." The projects for the guesthouse of the Society of Engineers and Technicians near Boračko Lake [FIGURE 02] and the ski house on Trebević Hill [FIGURE 03] employed a series of "principles" and "laws": the relatively vague guidelines such as "relation to nature", "right to view," "art of placement" and "right to sunlight" were combined with more precise

02 Juraj Neidhardt, The guesthouse of the Society of Engineers and Technicians near Bora ko Lake, 1948-49. © Tatjana Neidhardt.

03 Juraj Neidhardt, The ski house on the Trebevi Hill near Sarajevo, 1947-48. © Tatjana Neidhardt.

typological ones, such as "house atrium," "porch house", and "structural surface" (aesthetic expression of local materials) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 334-39). Both houses featured the semi-open structure which referenced the traditional Bosnian house's first-floor veranda called *divhana*. Both had sloped roofs, brisolei, and masonry walls securing lower tiers of the structure. However, the most striking aspect making these projects obvious parts of the same oeuvre was how they visually integrated into the non-urban site. Placed on steep slopes, both houses rested their porch-fronted, cantilevered façades on a series of *piloties*. The volumes and roof lines defined low-lying, flat bodies adorned in local materials (wood and stone), reachable by narrow pathways, with almost no paving around them. In the accompanying text, Neidhardt explained that it was "necessary to experience nature and compose the buildings into it–each slope, hilltop and waterfront feature their specificities that need to be observed and only then it is possible to position the buildings and model them"

04 Juraj Neidhardt (1901 - 1979), Touristic Settlement of Vranjača project, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina 1967, Gelatin silver print, 3 9/16 × 4 3/4" (9 × 12 cm), Committee on Architecture and Design Funds, Digital Image, the Museum of Modern Art, New York / Scala, Florence.

(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p . 334). Read against the backdrop of *Architecture of Bosnia*'s larger thesis, it is possible to conclude that the artistic "synthesis" Neidhardt pursued in such projects superseded the buildings themselves, as well as their relations with their immediate sites, and approximated the idea of the unified artistic sensibility, uniquely suited to the Central Bosnian Basin.

THE SYNTHESIS IN THE REGIONAL "PHANTASY" OF TOURISM

The presentation of the Boračko lake house and the Trebević house projects in Architecture of Bosnia demonstrated how, beyond the seemingly fixed "laws" and "elements" defined in the book, Neidhardt still recognized the importance of architects' mandate to produce designs as answers of their specific artistic sensibilities to the particularities of the regional landscape. This position was indeed reinforced in the years following the publication of the book, in part due to several disappointments and Neidhardt's gradual retreat from the realm of urban planning (Zatrić, 2020, pp. 245-47 and pp. 281-82). In striking similarity to his "master" Le Corbusier, who sought "reconciliation for the thwarted reformism of the public man" (Oackman, 1993, p. 64) in the liberated artistic-architectural expression, Neidhardt opened his architectural language to a radically reinvigorated repertoire of sculptural forms. But while Le Corbusier's exploration of the "morphological transactions between architecture, painting and sculpture" (which became a novel trademark of his post-war work) was a result of "the dialogue with his own various selves" (Moos, 2010, p. 97) (including, but not limited to, professional alter egos of an architect and a painter), Neidhardt's art's spark remained dependent on its flowing exchange with the specific regional environment.

The new architectural language was tested throughout the 1960s, most radically in the projects located in non-urban settings and dedicated to the theme of tourism. Although, unfortunately, none of them were realized, the elaborate models and photomontages that Neidhardt produced make it possible to appreciate the efforts he put into designing these forms to uniquely fit in the regional landscape. The hanging hotel designed in 1964 effortlessly levitates over the canyon of the Miljacka River, akin to a bird in flight; the 1966 tourist settlement in Vranjača near Sarajevo is imagined as a set of modular units carefully arranged over steep and bumpy rocky terrain, to avoid any recognizable Cartesian logic and make the ensemble reminiscent of a family of fantastic (non)organic creatures [FIGURE 04]; the 1969 Agava hotel, designed for

the Adriatic coast, stretches out its blooming, wiggling blocks deep into the surrounding Mediterranean groves; the 1969 Hotel in Baško field, and even the late 1960s "ethno park" complex in Bileća are compositions of complex, often sculptural bodies that have abandoned both the strict geometric formalism and much of the "laws and elements" of the 1950s. What remained unchanged, however, as testified by Neidhardt's publications, was the desire for the architecture to become one with the surrounding landscape.

"It is necessary," he wrote about the Vranjača tourist settlement, "that the organic permeation ensues between architecture and nature in order to evoke a similar feeling to the one we have when we look at the flock of birds that landed on the boulders" (Neidhardt, 1967, p. 72). "Fauna and flora," he argued in a later text," need to become an integral part of the composition of new ambiances" (Neidhardt, 1974, p. 19).

While Neidhardt's idea of this intertwinement in the 1960s still tributed the topologies of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional architecture, his attention was dominantly dedicated to the immense visual artistic strength of specific locations that seemed to be "designed by the best sculptor–nature itself" (Neidhardt, 1967, p. 72). It is thus not surprising that his works sought to become worthy elements of these gigantic plastic compositions of Bosnian canyons and Adriatic coastlines–crawling, hanging, landing in order to get lost inside the inspired strokes of the invisible artist's hand. Without reference to a human figure and intertwined with the landscape, these projects' visual representations evoke a feeling that approaches the sublime. This striking new quality of Neidhardt's architecture invites a valid question, not only on the abandonment of regionalist architectural language but also on the entire theoretical project of architecture's insertion into the delicate balance between the ways of life and the regional environment, so carefully elaborated in the 1950s.

Neidhardt's way to identify and partially explain this deliberate indulgence in sculpture-like "biomorphism" and structural exhibitionism of his 1960s designs was to label it "phantasy," always quickly associated and justified with the reality of tourism. Apart from the "intertwinement with nature" and "art of placement," it was this element of his 1960s architecture's theoretical framework that provided the soundest (if surprising) link with his 1950s human geographic epistemology.

In a series of articles throughout the 1960s, Neidhardt argued for the importance of architecture in the development of "contemporary tourism." "Contemporary tourist," he wrote in 1967, "loves nature, loves change, loves dynamic tourism (…) If we follow that instinct of his and give him what he needs, we will keep him in every such place as Trebević, Vranjača…" (Neidhardt, 1967, p.72). A way to provide for this need was to create new "touristic ambiances" imbued with phantasy generated by the symbolic potency of new architecture. "Without phantasy there is no contemporary tourism!" he concluded (Neidhardt, 1968).

In turn, contemporary tourism provided the most straightforward justification for the survival of "old traditional architecture." One of Neidhardt's most persistent and exuberant design ideas was a regional and management plan for the "Bosnian-Herzegovinian Tourist Axis" (at times alternatively addressed as "highway" or "transversal"). First "sketched" in the book *Architecture of Bosnia* in 1957 and published in fully developed form in the Yugoslav architecture journal *Arhitektura* only in 1972, the Axis represented a survey of all authentic vernacular culture and art of Bosnia and Herzegovina mapped around a literal roadway spanning between the river Sava and the Adriatic Coast (Zatrić, 2020, pp. 348-349).

The practice of route planning as a way of tying the development of tourism to the organization of the territory was initiated already in the late 19th century by the Habsburg regime in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has since then been perpetuated and increasingly bounded to the economic development discourse (Zatrić, 2020, pp. 345-348). In keeping with this practice, the Tourist Axis Plan accordingly envisioned the incorporation of the entirety of the historical-natural milieu, including landscapes, architecture, crafts, costumes, and other traditions, into the fast-growing economic branch of tourism.

Neidhardt argued that the collection of diverse regional ambiences assembled by the Axis was a special endowment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a first-class tourist attraction" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 444). Since the early 1950s, he campaigned for the dual approach to the Bosnian historical agglomerations: the "soft operations" of curating the existing "attractions" of the historic cores were to be combined with necessary "surgical operations" that added new "attractions"–works of modern architecture that, by the 1960s, acquired increasingly striking and sculptural formal features (Zatrić, 2020, p. 348).

The guarantee of coherence for these different operations was the emerging expertise of regional planning (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 444), put to the service of the national economic development. Neidhardt argued that regional tourism planning should be taken as seriously as the one of industry and particularly emphasized its potential in the economic development of underdeveloped regions (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 447). Considered in relation to Neidhardt's regional and economic vision, his sculptural architectures seem as integrated

into the geographic-economic regions of the socialist state as the works of Bosnian Oriental *Kunstwollen were* integrated into the historical-geographic region of Bosnia.

CONCLUSION

The transformation and growth of Juraj Neidhardt's architectural formal language were deeply bound to his urban and regional planning ideas. The design belonging to the geographic region was an important criterion of integrity for his work throughout his career–oscillating between the understanding of the geographic-historical region, characterized by its people's *Kunstwollen*, and the understanding of the geographic-economic region, reinforced and built up by regional economic planning. The artistic blending of his sculptural works of the 1960s with the elements of the regional landscape can then be considered a signifier of this dual regional integrity, realized through the absorption of the total geographic-historical environment into the comprehensive kind of modernism.

This absorption, in turn, was the necessary condition and ultimate authentication of the contemporary integrity of the regions. As Neidhardt observed already in the 1950s, it was urgent to "save our old settlements from further deterioration, give them contemporary purpose, and approach that work in a planned manner…" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 444). The Tourist Axis plan answered to this urgency, but it also created a framework for validation of Neidhardt's principle thesis: that the task of humanely functional modern architecture was to become a seamless part of regional integrity while taking into account new circumstances brought about by industrial modernity (including rapidly developing modern tourism). In Neidhardt's works of the 1950s, just as in those of the 1960s, the art of this integration became a determinant of architecture's artistic unity. His "fantastical" works of archi-sculpture were, therefore, parts of a much larger "phantasy" of Bosnian and Herzegovinian regions, symbolic forms of modern architecture inserted inside a curated testimony of regional *Kunstwollen*–a modernist synthesis of arts, environment and state-led development.

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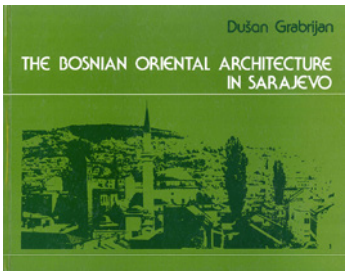
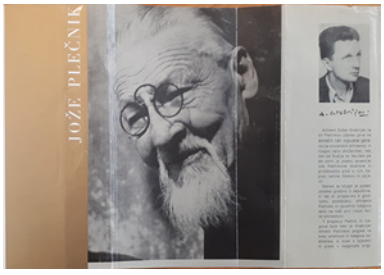


THE BOSNIAN ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURE IN SARAJEVO: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY ONE

1984
DUŠAN GRABRIJAN

Among the first three graduates from Plečnik's school (Dragotin Fatur, France Tomažič, Dušan Grabrijan), the first place was occupied by Grabrijan. After his initial attempts at creating architecture, he delved into theoretical work. His long stay in Sarajevo directed him to research traditional Bosnian architecture, about which he wrote a great number of texts. The book *Bosnian Oriental Architecture in Sarajevo* presents a work grown out of Grabrijan's enthusiasm and conviction of a great future for modern architecture. He saw its realization closely linked to the victorious development of technology. However, he was instinctively aware that novelties would never be quite successful if the centennial traditions of vernacular architecture were not taken into account. Thus, this was the reason for his interest in the Bosnian house, his study travels, his research into the Macedonian house, and his general interest in vernacular architecture. Grabrijan's book manifests the ideas of the period when it was written. There are accurate analyses of the individual buildings, their constructions, functions, furniture, environmental values, and the like. He made a series of thorough appraisals of the built organisms, penetrated deeply into the unwritten laws of the constructing settlements in Bosnia, and conducted research into the public and private spheres of the town-planning structures, values, and language of the symbolic therein and the like. Hardly could we find in former Yugoslavia such a brilliant culturological synthesis, observed with the eyes of an architect and pondered by the scales of the space and dwelling qualities. Grabrijan appears as an interpreter of the phenomena in the traditionally built space through numerous photographs, drawings, perspectives, and explanatory sketches. The book has not lost this value; to the contrary, it is more valuable at present. Grabrijan will always remain an incentive from a less usual aspect, a basis that can and should be critically appraised but not neglected.

Peter Krečič



PLEČNIK IN NJEGOVA ŠOLA
[PLEČNIK AND HIS SCHOOL]

1968
DUŠAN GRABRIJAN

The book *Plečnik and his School* was published sixteen years after Grabrijan's death. It was edited by Grabrijan's widow, Prof. Nada Grabrijan, who also wrote the foreword. Architect Niko Bežek, who is the author of Grabrijan's tombstone in Žale Cemetery, wrote the afterword. Two of Grabrijan's students and later professors at the Ljubljana Faculty of Architecture, Niko Kralj and Dušan Moškon, wrote an outline of Grabrijan's life and work.

The book content is divided into three parts. The first part consists of Grabrijan's articles about Plečnik's built works; the second and largest part shows Plečnik's school in detail, often including Plečnik's own words, which Grabrijan wrote down during the lectures, and Plečnik's letters to his students; the third part is an attempt to critically evaluate Plečnik's architecture and compare it to contemporary Slovenian architecture. At the end of the book, there are notes to the text explaining interesting facts about the timeline, origins, and concepts of the published texts.

Plečnik and his School includes Grabrijan's elaborated, already published articles, very early notes, and raw studies on architectural theory and history and on Plečnik's work. The book is rich in black-and-white illustrations. The melange of raw and elaborated makes the book very unique and authentic. It gives us a very rare and sincere insight into Plečnik's school and to Dušan Grabrijan's own education and development of thought. The findings–nowadays understood to originate from Edvard Ravnikar–have roots in Dušan Grabrijan's thoughts and writings, many of them published in this precious book.

Nataša Koselj

FRA JOSIP MARKUŠIĆ – JOŽE PLEČNIK
KORESPONDENCIJA 1932-56

2023
JOZO DŽAMBO AND DAMJAN PRELOVŠEK

The letter correspondence between Franciscan Josip Markušić and architect Jože Plečnik during the years 1932

to 1956 is now available in two scientific volumes, published jointly by Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian publishers and accompanied by a summary in Croatian, Slovenian, German, Czech, and English. The first idea to publish this interesting correspondence came from Slovenian art historian France Stelè in 1967. It was only realized in 2023 by the precious initiative of Jozo Džambo, with Damjan Prelovšek as a collaborator.

The two volumes' content is mainly about Plečnik's St Anthony of Padua Belgrade church, which was Fra Josip Markušić's initiative and main preoccupation and who described it as the most important of Plečnik's work in The Balkans. The Belgrade church for the Bosnian Franciscans was Plečnik's attempt to approach the architectural tradition of Serbia, which had been relatively unknown to him until then. He took the Pantheon in Rome as his model and used this for the ratio between the width and height of the space. He also took several design cues from one of his unrealized Bogojina proposals.

There is interesting illustrated data in Volume I about the fact that there is only one very small-scale work by Plečnik in Bosnia and Herzegovina–a miners' chapel bell tower in Ruda Cemetery in Vareš built on the top of Ivan Meštrović's stone chapel. This information had been hidden from the larger public until now.

The two volumes have a strict scientific form with glossary, index, and reviews by Franci Lazarini, Ivan Lovrenović, and Ivan Šarčević.

Nataša Koselj

MAKEDONSKA HIŠA
PREHOD IZ STARE ORIENTALSKE V SODOBNO EVROPSKO HIŠO
[MACEDONIAN HOUSE TRANSITION FROM OLD ORIENTAL TO CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN HOUSE]

1976
DUŠAN GRABRIJAN

The Slovenian translation of Grabrijan's book *Macedonian House*, published in 1976, is an enhanced version of the original book published in 1955 in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian language. It is a result of a trip to Macedonia in 1949 that Grabrijan made with three of his Slovenian students: Mitja Jernejec, Dušan Samec, and Fedor Škerlep. In the book, Grabrijan claims that Le Corbusier's concept of »the house for everybody« is closer to the Macedonian house than to the Oriental house because, in his view, the traditional Macedonian house is closer to the traditional European house. In conclusion, he describes the differences between the traditional Macedonian and Oriental houses as follows: 1- the traditional Macedonian house is a closed house, *trem* (porch) and *čardak* (balcony) are closed as opposite to the Oriental house where the house and *divanha* (traditional livingroom) are always opened, 2- Macedonian style is a salon in the air or *čardak* under the roof, which is meant for summer dwelling, talks, and parties, 3- Macedonian style is a 'wet' kitchen battery around the *hima* (sheepfold) in the house as a pendant to the Oriental *banjica* (washing area), 4- Macedonian style is a person's working position at table height in contrast to the Oriental house, where they enjoy squatting or laying. In general, Grabrijan saw the Macedonian style as the European way of living, which people never abandoned but tried to adapt to the Oriental dispositions. He concludes that if we want to go from the Oriental to the modern house, we need to go through the Macedonian house.

Nataša Koselj

KAKO JE NASTAJALA NAŠA SODOBNA HIŠA
[HOW OUR MODERN HOUSE WAS CREATED]

1959
DUŠAN GRABRIJAN

Grabrijan's book *How our modern House was created,* published just two years after the celebrated *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (coauthored with Juraj Neidhardt), is probably his most elaborated posthumously published book. It was prepared for publishing already in 1951, but in 1952, Grabrijan tragically and unexpectedly passed away during a medical surgery. He had already written the introduction to this book in which he addressed the already-known publisher Mladinska knjiga, asking himself: »Why should we always accept foreign models if we live originally?« In the book, besides describing the evolution of the traditional regional house (Alpine, Mediterranean, Panonian, Dinaric, Bizantinian, and Oriental), he refers to Adolf Loos, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, and Juraj Neidhardt. The book has a very clear structure, with chapters as follows: Tradition, Construction, Organisation of a Dwelling Unit, Space Differentiation, Space, Furnishing, Installations, Hygiene, and Location. It reads as a fresh 1950s manual for the formative years of architectural studies; it is rich in illustrations made by himself, his students, Juraj Neidhardt, and by artist

Zoran Didek, who also wrote a foreword for the book describing Dušan Grabrijan as his best friend. The two books *How our modern House was created* and *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* have much in common in terms of the texts, drawings, photos, and book design. Comparing the two books would be challenging, especially in redefining the role of Dušan Grabrijan in the context of the history of 20th century architecture in the region of former Yugoslavia.

Nataša Koselj

ARHITEKTURA BOSNE I PUT U SAVREMENO
[ARCHITECTURE OF BOSNIA AND THE WAY TOWARDS MODERNITY]

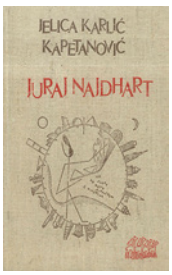
1957
DUŠAN GRABRIJAN AND JURAJ NEIDHARDT

The book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* crowned the long-term cooperation of Juraj Neidhardt and Dušan Grabrijan. Between 1938 and 1952, the authors carried out a detailed architectural-ethnographic research of the historic core of the city of Sarajevo, described its unique combination of oriental civilization and Balkan geography, and defined its "unwritten laws," which they claimed could ennoble modern architecture. Determined to have a didactic effect on the architectural culture of early socialist Yugoslavia, the authors conceived the book as a combination of an architectural-ethnographic monograph and an architectural manifesto: the first part of the book presents the architectural heritage, encountered, studied, and valorized (on which Grabrijan and Neidhardt worked together); the second part of the book, which refers to "the way towards modernity," presents the collected material on the design practice of architect and urban planner Juraj Neidhardt.

After Grabrijan's death in 1952, Neidhardt continued work on the *Architecture of Bosnia*, directing most of his creative energies to the design of its graphic layout. Neidhardt understood the book's form as a powerful means of argumentation, comparable in power to its written discourse. Dozens of different representational techniques arranged with the greatest care so that the pages become a medium of the atmosphere of Bosnia. This approach to shaping the book was completely coherent with its basic thesis: that material culture, including architecture, should be an "organic" continuation of the regional milieu.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt's focus on the unity of Bosnia's regional environment, architecture, and ways of life enriched modernist universalism with local values, representing a unique contribution to the revision of modern architecture after the Second World War.

Mejrema Zatrić



JURAJ NEIDHARDT - ŽIVOT I DJELO
[JURAJ NEIDHARDT - LIFE AND WORK]

1990
JELICA KARLIĆ KAPETANOVIĆ

This intellectual biography of Juraj Neidhardt, which has been generally accepted as a textbook account of his life and work, is based on Jelica Karlić Kapetanović's doctoral dissertation (defended in 1988). The timeframe of the book is determined by Neidhardt's birth in Zagreb in 1901 and his passing in Sarajevo in 1979, while its structure mostly corresponds to the discrete periodization of his career: education in Vienna, stints in the offices of Peter Behrens in Berlin and Le Corbusier in Paris, several years of practice as independent architect in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, work at the company Jugočelik in Zenica and, ultimately, his mature and final career phase in Sarajevo. As Neidhardt's assistant at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo, Kapetanović produced a history that both benefited and suffered from the uncommon proximity of the author to her protagonist. The core of her impressive pool of sources was Juraj Neidhardt's complete private archive (mostly destroyed during the Siege of Sarajevo in the 1990s), based on which she constructed an overview of his projects and other professional achievements (including the book *Architecture of Bosnia*). These privileges have enriched her history but also influenced her overwhelming reliance on Neidhardt's own late career discourse, which established his architecture as the "humanised modernism" and harmony of "old and new."

The book, nevertheless, establishes a sound chronology of Juraj Neidhardt's professional development and brief analyses of his most important projects. The book's appendix consists of an exhaustive list of Neidhardt's projects and research studies in chronological order, as well as a bibliography (of both texts by and on Neidhardt).

Mejrema Zatrić

JURAJ NEIDHARDT - ARHITEKT, URBANIST, TEORETIČAR, PEDAGOG, PUBLICIST

[JURAJ NEIDHARDT - ARCHITECT, URBANIST, THEORETICIAN, EDUCATOR, PUBLICIST]

2019
IBRAHIM KRZOVIĆ AND TOMISLAV PREMERL

Since the 1970s, Juraj Neidhardt had been a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The book *Juraj Neidhardt - Architect, Urbanist, Theoretician, Educator, Publicist* was initiated and produced by the Academy to honor Neidhardt's immense contribution to Bosnian and Herzegovinian architecture and culture in general. The book is structured as a monograph, seeking to offer a complete overview of Neidhardt's life's work. It consists of two essays: a shorter one by Croatian architect Tomislav Premerl titled "Neidhardt's Modernism - shaping a new humanism" and a longer one by Bosnian-Herzegovinian art historian Ibrahim Krzović, titled "Neidhardt's Bosnian achievements." Between these two texts, there is a reprint of Le Corbusier's introduction to the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*. One of the book's greatest values lies in the high-quality reproductions of a bounty of sketches, drawings, photographs, and other primary documents eloquently suggesting the scope and quality of Neidhardt's immense oeuvre. A special contribution was made by photographers Dragana Antonić and Enis Logo, who produced an exhaustive contemporary photographic survey of Juraj Neidhardt's built work. The book's beautiful layout design by Asim Djelilović is in keeping with primary material's visual sensibility. The book is fully bilingual.

Mejrema Zatrić

THE PAINTER LE CORBUSIER: EILEEN GRAY'S VILLA E 1027 AND LE CABANON

2023
TIM BENTON

Le Corbusier was an easel painter before he was an architect. His partner in Purism, Amédée Ozenfant, defined their paintings as "machine[s] for evoking emotion." After seeing an exhibition of De Stijl-colored architecture, Le Corbusier polychromed his 1924 Villa LaRoche-Jeanneret in Purist colors. In 1925, he painted a colossal 'E' and 'N' on the long side elevation of his Pavilion Esprit Nouveau. Three years later, he designed the demountable Nestlé Pavilion as a building-sized collage of colored figures and written words that the viewer walked within. And in 1933, he covered the prominent curved stone wall in his Pavillon Suisse in Paris with a mural of forty-four photos. But only in 1936 did Le Corbusier begin to paint murals on walls: a creative endeavor distinctly different in his mind from what he had done with colored architecture so far. With architectural polychrome, he said in a discussion at La Maison de la Culture, Paris, in 1936, "Tumults can be disciplined by color, lyrical space can be created, classification realized, dimensions enlarged and the feeling for architecture made to burst forth in joy." And to this he added, referring to the painted mural, "But I can also, if the place is suitable, have recourse to a painter, ask him to inscribe his plastic thoughts in the spot, and with one stroke open all the doors to the depths of a dream, just there where actual depths did not exist."

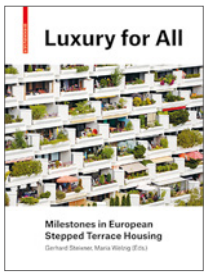
Tim Benton's *The Painter Le Corbusier: Eileen Gray's Villa E 1027 and Le Cabanon* tells the story of Le Corbusier painting architecture, particularly the story of Le Corbusier's initial foray into mural painting. In April 1936, he painted his first mural—nudes and a seashell—in the Vézelay house of his friend and publisher, Hungarian-born Jean Bodovici. Bodovici then invited Le Corbusier to paint murals on the walls of E1027, the vacation house he and Irish designer Eileen Gray had built in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin on the French Riviera between 1927 and 1929. Le Corbusier painted his first two murals in E1027 in April 1937, nearly five years after Gray had left both Bodovici and the house forever. In August 1939, he painted five more murals in E1027. He then painted murals in the small restaurant next to E1027, and, after the War, he painted still more murals in 'Le Cabanon', the one-room vacation house adjoining the restaurant overlooking the sea he built for himself in 1952. These were Le Corbusier's first murals, all painted in small, private places.

Benton's first and best chapter, "Le Corbusier, Art and the Wall," is an extensive, impressively illustrated history of the then-contemporary painting-architecture scene in France and Holland. Gray's Villa E1027 is discussed in great detail. Built slightly earlier than the Villa Savoye, it has none of the overwhelming didacticism of Le Corbusier's masterwork. It isn't an argument but a pleasant place on the sea, an extraordinarily modern house of beautifully modulated light and evocative space. Benton details Gray's original coloration of E1027 in his second chapter and tells of Le Corbusier's friendship with Bodovici, his respect for Eileen Gray, and his heartfelt admiration for E1027. He documents each painting in detail, describing the murals as 'easel paintings': transpositions of works painted on canvas years earlier by Le Corbusier, wall paintings that *adorned* E1027 but failed to "open all the doors to the depths of a dream." The latter part of the book adopts the tone of an in-depth guide to the murals of all three buildings and to several murals Le Corbusier painted later elsewhere. As the account unfolds chronologically, an unexpected history of a very important and little-understood period in Le Corbusier's life appears.

An evolution from architecture as a phenomenal object toward architecture as a phenomenal space is made obvious.

Tim Benton is the best historian of Le Corbusier. And the subject of this book—Le Corbusier's Roquebrune-Cap-Martin murals, initial steps in the great initiative to realize 'ineffable space'—has been neglected (and sometimes shamelessly abused) for far too long. It is nice to bring it to the surface.

Daniel Naegele



LUXURY FOR ALL
MILESTONES IN EUROPEAN STEPPED TERRACE HOUSING

2020
GERHARD STEIXNER, MARIA WELZIG (EDS.)

The stepped terraced house is a type of building that meets modern housing requirements: it is economical and offers ample living space with the comfort of a terrace or a garden. Rising to popularity with the advent of new social movements it was forgotten with the progressive erosion of the new ideas of society and relegated to obscurity or even disqualification as eyesores. Yet the enduring satisfaction of residents and ecological advantages of greened houses make terraced housing as attractive as ever.

The buildings studied in the book have not only become architectural icons; even today, one can still learn from them about what residential buildings need. One proponent of this building style was Austrian architect Harry Glück; part of his text pleading the case for a green city is reprinted here.

The twelve case studies documented in this book include the well-known Brunswick Centre in London (Patrick Hodgkinson, 1972), the Olympic Village in Munich (Heinle, Wischer und Partner, 1972), and the Koseze Housing Estate in Ljubljana (Viktor Pust, 1981). All projects are illustrated with scaled drawings specifically prepared for this publication and with new photography. Among the international contributors are Nataša Koselj, Mark Swenarton, Clare Melhuish, and many others.

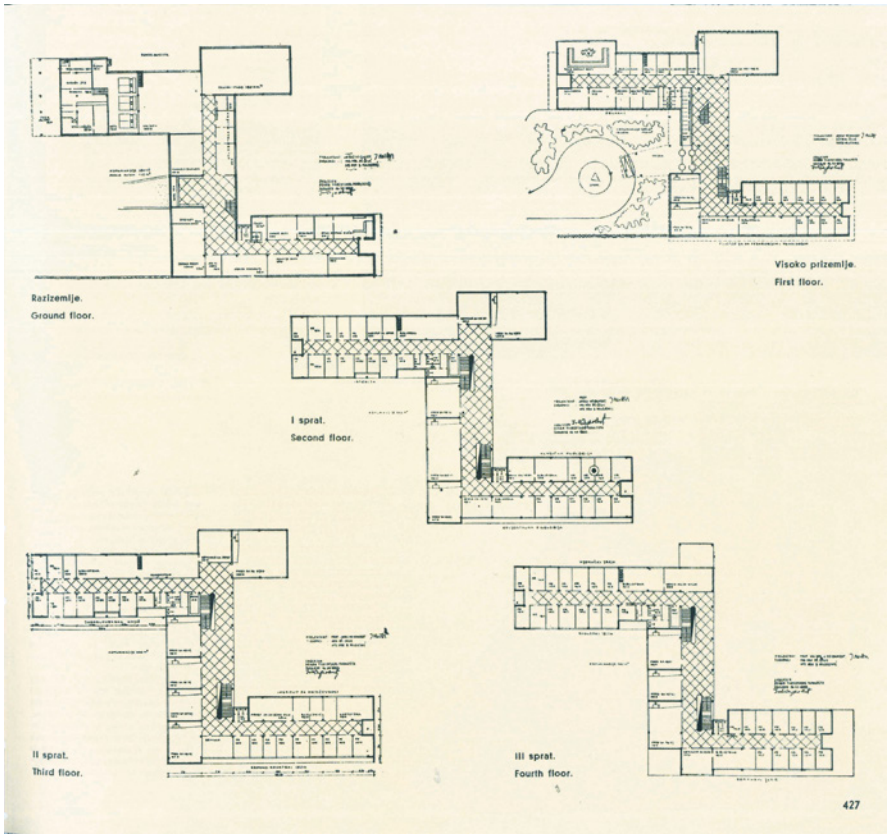
HERITAGE IN DANGER

BUILT WORK OF JURAJ NEIDHARDT

Exterior view of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, around 1960. © Unknown, Slavko Maksimović's private archive.

Almost the entirety of Juraj Neidhardt's built work was created in the decades of his late career. Although several emblematic projects—notably the 'Sextuplet' collective workers' housing type—were designed before World War II, Neidhardt's work as modernist heritage is historically firmly situated in the socialist Yugoslav era. The proper evaluation, listing, and conservation of modern architectural heritage is a relatively new subfield of heritage conservation in many countries around the world. In the majority of ex-Yugoslav states, the institutionalization of these endeavors has been complicated by the political and historical controversy surrounding the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the opposing interpretations of the social, cultural, and historical values of modernist Yugoslav heritage.

This situation is even more complicated in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the dissolution of Yugoslavia unfolded through full-blown warfare and resulted in severe damage to the building stock, often disastrously impacting some of the



Plans of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, 1954. © Tatjana Neidhardt, Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 427.

Bird's eye view of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, around 2018. © Dragana Antonić and Enis Logo in Krzović and Premerl, 2019.

key modernist works. As a result of these general circumstances, Juraj Neidhardt's built *oeuvre* displays a broad spectrum of very different concrete situations of (dis)repair: from non-listed but fully and unconventionally reconstructed monumental buildings, such as the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (1955-79), to listed yet severely dilapidated 'monuments of the everyday' such as internationally acclaimed residential buildings on Alipašina Street in Sarajevo, 1952-53, and poignant ruins such as the Bileća Lake ethno-park in Bileća, 1974.

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, SARAJEVO 1954-1959

The Faculty of Philosophy is one of several Juraj Neidhardt's designs conceived as elements of his winning entry to the 1954 federal Yugoslav competition for the urban design of Marijin Dvor, the new modern city center of socialist Sarajevo. In the larger conception of Neidhardt's plan, its built mass was composed to mediate between

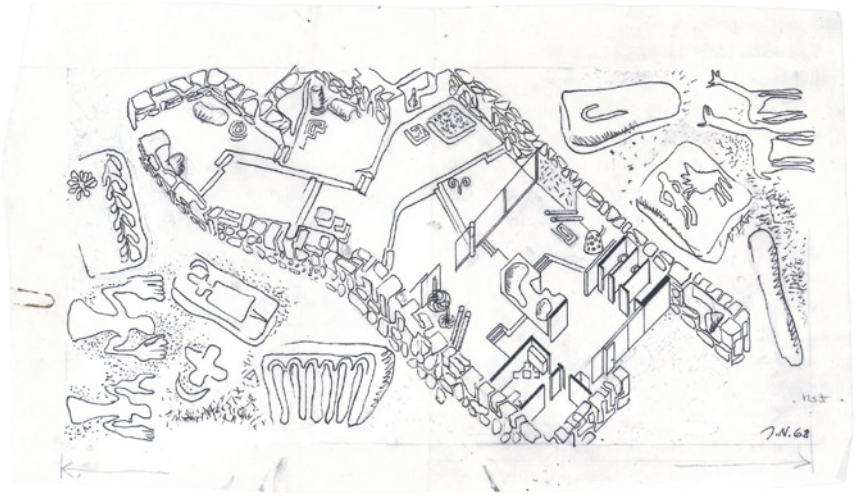
Façade detail of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, around 2018. © Dragana Antonić and Enis Logo in Krzović and Premerl, 2019.

the street façade line and the height of the building of the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (also designed by Neidhardt) and the neoclassical National Museum in its vicinity.

The outline of the Faculty of Philosophy building's plan is based on the figure of the meander, which Neidhardt related, in his writings, to the Bosnian oriental vernacular building principles and employed frequently in his designs of the 1950s. The form of the faculty building is carefully composed to evoke qualities of the local Bosnian building tradition. Elements such as a cantilevered upper floor, incorporation of greenery into the semi-enclosed space (what Neidhardt referred to as "atrium"), and rustic stone walls were combined with ribbon windows, flat roofs, and *pilotis*. The resulting composition is uncompromisingly modern, yet, at the same time, features a clearly legible and comforting specificity that can be described as both geographically local and domestic.

The faculty building has been less of a specific target of shelling during the Siege of Sarajevo than its neighboring governmental complex, so it is relatively well preserved. However, it is plagued by the problems common to most aging modernist buildings, notably the thermally inefficient fenestration, which causes energy losses and thermal discomfort for the occupants. The process of researching design and financing options for the replacement of the original fenestration was initiated by the faculty administration. The issue is critical to preserving the building's integrity, particularly as the glazed surfaces are large and window partitions complex, an important formal and visual element of the façade design. Although the Faculty of Philosophy is

Historic view of the Regional Museum at Bileća lake ethno-park, around 1975. © Tatjana Neidhardt, Juraj Neidhardt's private archive.



Schematic plan of Bileća lake ethno-park by Juraj Neidhardt, around 1973, © Tatjana Neidhardt, Juraj Neidhardt's private archive.

Exterior view of the Regional Museum, contemporary condition, 2022. © Nevena Novaković.

not listed by the National Commission for the Preservation of Monuments, Sarajevo's Cantonal Institute of Heritage Protection was involved, indicating recognition of the values and subtleties of Neidhardt's work.

BILEĆA LAKE ETHNO-PARK, BILEĆA, 1974

The master plan for the tourist and cultural center of Bileća is one of the least studied and published of Neidhardt's works. Neidhardt worked on this architectural and landscape design with great enthusiasm between 1968 and 1974, finishing it when he was over 70 years old.

Bileća is a place characterized by layers of cultural and natural beauty, to which Neidhardt was highly sensitive. According to his idea, the ethno-park included an extensive program: a regional museum, library and archive, a botanical garden with Herzegovinian plants, hotels and restaurants, and a beach. The new facilities were carefully positioned in the dramatic topography around the lake, which was supposed to be surrounded by „a stone necklace": the composition of weekend homes, individual and collective houses, and hotel pavilions. The design of the stone residential architecture was based on the sophisticated transposition of the architecture of traditional houses of the region into a modernist idiom.

The Regional Museum (*Zavičajni muzej Bileća*) was the only element of the ethno-park project that was built. It was a House-Museum: the Neidhardt's interpretation of a local household as a simple, modest house with a yard and stone fence. The building is the one-space stone volume at the cliff's edge, with a *lapidarium* and a magnificent view of the lake. The museum's shallow gable stone roof rests on one central pillar and enveloping stone walls. The local Bosnian-Herzegovinian medieval tombstones "stećci" found at the location made a part of the museum's open exhibition and contributed significantly to the intensity of the environment and design.

The Regional Museum building had a short lifespan. It was completely devastated and destroyed by fire during and immediately after the 1990s armed conflict. This small-scale building, born from a large-scale master plan, never had the opportunity to be valued as an architectural and cultural heritage. Even the mesmerizing landscape cannot distract attention from the museum's current state–it is the empty shell and the ruin, a reflection of devastating human power and ignorance.

In the course of the last decade, however, modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina has slowly begun to be researched and re-evaluated. The standing and quality of Juraj Neidhardt's built and theoretical work have been among the key drivers of this positive change. The nearly consecutive publication of his monograph (in 2019) and of the second edition of his and Dušan Grabrijan's magnum opus of architectural theory, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (in 2023), has placed modern architecture and its values at the forefront of local architectural culture.

Docomomo Bosnia and Herzegovina, founded only in 2021, has been determined to enhance the impact of these positive developments and channel them toward better stewardship of Juraj Neidhardt's built work.

Mejrema Zatrić, Nevena Novaković

APPENDIX

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https://docomomo.com/iscs/

ISC/REGISTERS

The docomomo ISC/Registers was created to engage national/regional chapters in the documentation of modern buildings and sites. Its mission is the development of an inventory of modern architecture, including both outstanding individual buildings and 'everyday' examples.

- Louise Noelle (chair, docomomo Mexico), louisenoelle@gmail.com
- Horacio Torrent (vice-chair, docomomo Chile)

ISC/TECHNOLOGY

The mission of the docomomo ISC/Technology is to promote documentation and conservation through studies of, and research into, technology, and into the material qualities of modern architecture. The committee organizes seminars; it also supports and participates in workshops related to the technology of modern buildings.

- Robert Loader (co-chair, docomomo UK), studio@gardenrow.net
- Rui Humberto Costa de Fernandes Póvoas (co-chair, docomomo Iberia/Portugal), rpovoas@arq.up.pt

ISC/URBANISM & LANDSCAPE

The mission of the docomomo ISC/Urbanism+Landscape is to promote research, documentation and protection of modern ensembles and environments, as opposed to individual 'setpiece' monuments. In practice, our current work focuses almost exclusively on research and documentation.

- Ola Uduku (chair, docomomo Ghana), o.uduku@liverpool.ac.uk
- Miles Glendinning (vice-chair, docomomo Scotland), m.glendinning@ed.ac.uk

ISC/EDUCATION & TRAINING

The docomomo ISC/Education+Training has the mission of educating to protect "by prevention". This means to preserve not by action-reaction to specific threats, but by creating a general awareness and appreciation of modern buildings in the younger generation, general public and the society at large. The workshops in the framework of the Docomomo International Conferences are increasingly successful and prove that young people like to be involved in assignments concerning modern heritage. The ISC on Education and Training would like to provide these young people the possibility to excel in the Documentation and Conservation of modern heritage.

- Andrea Canziani (co-chair, docomomo Italy), andrea.canziani@polimi.it
- Wessel de Jonge (co-chair, docomomo The Netherlands), w.dejonge@tudelft.nl
- Daniela Arnaut (secretary, docomomo Iberia/Portugal), daniela.arnaut@ist.utl.pt

ISC/INTERIOR DESIGN

The docomomo ISC/Interior Design focus on Interior Design, an issue of major relevance for the Modern Movement and Modern Living. Interior Design gives us important spatial, ideological and aesthetic information necessary for a full awareness and experiencing of Modernity. The Modern Movement considered Interior Design as being in close relation with architecture and the other arts. This implied the demand for a new aesthetics in response to new technology and a need for a total work that embraces all the expressions into a unitary (and also utopian) environment for humanity. The Modern Interiors' identity is characterized by a strong and coherent style which results from a unity between architecture, furniture, design, decorative arts, utilitarian objects, equipment, textiles and light.

- Bárbara Coutinho (co-chair, docomomo International), barbara.coutinho@tecnico.ulisboa.pt
- Zsuzsanna Böröcz (co-chair, docomomo Belgium), zsuzsanna.borocz@kuleuven.be
- Marta Peixoto (secretary, docomomo Brasil), marta@martapeixoto.com.br

ISC/PUBLICATIONS

In order to have more coordination between the ISC's and other docomomo bodies regarding publications, the Advisory Board unanimously agreed on the creation of a Docomomo International ISC/Publications, integrating all the ISC chairs and the Docomomo International Chair. This may concern their content and editing status (indexed) but also the use of funding and external resources and the contacts with publishing houses.

- Ana Tostões (chair, docomomo Iberia/Portugal)

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