DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES, VISIONS, AND OUTCOMES IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF CROATIAN HISTORIC TOWNS, 1945–1960

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Abstract
The historic towns of the People's Republic of Croatia greeted the triumph of the partisan forces in 1945 mostly with war damage and in ruins. In the first post-war years, the new political authorities at both federal and republican levels required society as a whole, and those professionals who were in charge of the preservation of historic monuments and urban planning, in particular, to make a radical turn towards the Soviet model. Croatian architects, urban planners, and conservators responded to these requests in different ways. What united them was an attempt to establish a form that could integrate multiple damaged historical environments. While a number of conservators tried to remain faithful to the heritage management traditions and theory developed in the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires at the turn of the 20th century, the practical needs of art historians – who were soon followed by architects and urban planners – demanded a turn towards reconstructions or new architectural creations. A new vocabulary of reconstruction was thus created, one that drew on the theoretical positions of Dehio, Gurlitt, Dvořák, and Riegl, but was also in accordance with the political demands of the communist elite. Visions of the future of historic buildings and sites were accompanied by doubts, debates, and polemics comparable with those taking place in other European countries, which tried to steer a course between the principle of reconstructing lost forms and the principle of substitution with new architectural works. The common point of the two interest groups was accompanied by another: the desire for social transformation. This sought not just the physical replacement of lost forms with new ones, but also the reorientation of the meaning of the reconstructed sites in line with the political purpose of re-education and the creation of a harmonious socialist society. This chapter discusses the fundamental concepts, actors, ideas, and accomplishments in the preservation and transformation of Croatian historical towns in the first fifteen post-war years.

Keywords
People's Republic of Croatia, conservation, urban planning, Post-Second World war reconstruction, historic towns

1 INTRODUCTION

An increasing number of recent studies dedicated to reconstruction after the Second World War have sought to raise new questions (such as Treccani, 2008; Nerdinger, Eisen & Strobl, 2010; Bullock & Verpoest, 2011; Stefani & Coccoli, 2011; Glendinning, 2013, pp. 235–256, 268–283; Mlikota 2021). This chapter conducts discourse analysis of the historical records, proclamations, studies, plans, and programmes of politicians, architects, urban planners,

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and conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia in the first fifteen years after the Second World War. It is structured chronologically by key legal and political changes in Yugoslavia: the establishment of a new socio-political system in 1945, and the adoption of the second Constitution of the Federation and a new Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1960 (Špikić, 2022a, pp. 141–179). It should be added that this chapter will not discuss events in the wider Yugoslav context. The reason for this is not the political reality that began in the early 1990s. From the very beginning of the Yugoslav federal system, the conservation institutes of the individual republics were entrusted with autonomous management. The head of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, Ljubo Karaman, wrote in 1950 that individual nations and regions of Yugoslavia often developed separately from each other in the past, so he considered the centralisation of institutions intended for the study of culture and historic buildings inappropriate (Karaman, 1950, p. 153). Although brief reviews of this topic were already carried out during the 1980s (Marasović, 1983, pp. 77–82), research into architectural reconstruction after the Second World War truly only began in Croatia in the last decade (Špikić & Vanjak, 2013–2014, pp. 7–24; Špikić & Raič Stojanović, 2016, pp. 83–95; Špikić, 2017, pp. 35–49; Mlikota, 2017; Špikić 2018, pp. 145–159; Špikić, 2019a, pp. 281–292; Špikić, 2019b, pp. 69–74; Špikić 2022a, pp. 141–179). This chapter is based on research in the archives of conservation institutes in Zagreb and Rijeka (which are kept in the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia and the State Archives in Rijeka), as well as on systematic bibliographical research of the main post-war newspapers (*Vjesnik, Novi list, Narodni list, Slobodna Dalmacija*) and professional magazines (*Arhitektura, Čovjek i prostor* from Zagreb and *Zbornik zaštite spomenika* from Belgrade).

The aforementioned topic has not yet received the attention it deserves. Yet there is a great deal to study: Whether we are interested in how politicians discredited their predecessors or made predictions of a bright future, in the promotion of the architectural and urban visions of international modernism, or in the revision of pre-war concepts in conservation circles, prophecies, visions, and practical achievements were always preceded by written or spoken words.

Most of these words were intended for public consumption. Although they targeted different audiences, the various discourses were united by the demands of political ideology. From the rise to the fall of the communist system in Yugoslavia, this meant insisting on the political unity of previously discordant, polarised, and warring nations and on the firm integrity of the federal state. One of the aims of this chapter is, therefore, to discuss whether the political insistence on the "brotherhood and unity" of the peoples of Yugoslavia had a practical impact on the aspiration of the professionals in Croatia to "fill the voids" created by the war, in order to achieve a new integrity and harmony in historic towns and in society as a whole.

2 DIAGNOSIS AND PROGNOSIS: PERCEPTION AND FUNCTION OF RUINS FOR COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Analysing the discourse of post-war political and professional actors seems pertinent for two reasons: The first is the need of partisan leaders to implement radical social reforms among the united Yugoslav peoples and to replace their collective trauma and memory by rhetorical means using the political "new speech." The second lies in the fact that the performance of the new historical drama was to begin within the crumbling scenography of ruined historic towns and villages.

If the state of the war-torn historic towns of Croatia is considered, especially those of Istria and Dalmatia, which lost their Italian populations, one can talk about a *Year Zero*. These towns greeted the arrival of the partisans mostly in ruins. Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Zagreb, Lepoglava, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Poreč, Pula, Rijeka, Osor, Senj, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Makarska, and Korčula stand out as the most affected. The damage scale established in 1948 by the general director of the Administration for Antiquities and Fine Arts in Rome, Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat, classified individual buildings and sites as having suffered "limited damage", "major damage" or "practically complete destruction"[1] (De Angelis d'Ossat, 1957, pp. 19–20). Though Croatian conservators were unlikely to have been familiar with this scale, it readily applies to the situation they faced: The towns of Osijek, Zagreb, Osor, Šibenik, Split and Korčula belong to the first group. The second group included Lepoglava, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Poreč, Pula, Rijeka, Senj and Makarska, while the third group was represented by Slavonski Brod and Zadar. Significant individual historic buildings in these cities include the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava; the Romanesque House in Poreč; the ancient Temple of Augustus and the cathedral in Pula; the cathedrals in Osor, Senj, and Zadar; the Vukasović palace in Senj; the Venetian Loggias in Zadar and Šibenik; the Lazzaretto in Split; and the Municipal Palace in Korčula.

One of the starting points for understanding the challenges of the post-war era is to analyse how the ruins were perceived at the time. The response to the devastation left by the war was similar throughout Europe: While Carlo Ceschi noted the "brutality of the events", which caused "internal anxiety" (Ceschi, 1943, p. 2), Gustavo Giovannoni was impressed by the "terrible carnage caused by the war" (Giovannoni, 1944, p. 218), and in 1945 he wrote about the "cataclysm of war" (Giovannoni, 1945, p. 43), as did Jan Zachwatowicz a year later (Zachwatowicz, 1946, p. 52). The destruction of German towns triggered Hans Schwippert to write in 1944 about "disorder, confusion, misery, and worry" (Schwippert, 1947, p. 17). In 1945, Guglielmo de Angelis called for the restoration of the "bony stumps" of the Roman basilica of San Lorenzo *fuori le mura* (De Angelis d'Ossat, 1945, p. 44), and Ambrogio Annoni gazed at "tortured, wounded and disfigured" Milan (Annoni, 1946, p. 82). In 1946, Carlo Lodovico Ragghianti described the destroyed Florentine bridges as symbols of "damaged civilisation and humanity" (Ragghianti, 1946, p. 613). Paul Clemen spoke of "monstrous ruined places" as the fruits of an

1 Unless otherwise stated, this and all subsequent translations from non-English-language sources are by the author.

"apocalyptic" and "demonic age" (Clemen, 1947, p. 36, p. 41), while Walter Dirks wrote about the "bitter logic" and the "rightful downfall" of Goethe's house in Frankfurt (Dirks, 1947, p. 826). In reaction to this, Italian, Polish, French, and German experts argued either to preserve the ruins and wounds as a warning, or to combine the fragments with new architecture by means of "critical restoration" (Carbonara, 1997, pp. 285–301) and "provisional architecture" (Will, 1999, pp. 59–80), or to reconstruct the historic buildings, "where they were and as they were" (*com'era e dov'era*) (Dell'Omo, 2014).

In Great Britain, *The Builder* magazine carried a front-page story as early as 1941 arguing that that war ruins should not become "the graveyard of the past" but "the cradle of the future" (N. N., 1941, p. 253). The following year, J. M. Richards wrote about the "architecture of destruction", which "possesses an aesthetic peculiar to itself" (Richards, 1947, p. 8), and in 1945 Hugh Casson asserted that the ruin is "a place with its own individuality, charged with its own emotion and atmosphere" (Casson, 1945, p. 15). Similarly, Eberhard Hempel wrote about *Ruinenschönheit* (beauty of ruins) in 1948 (Hempel, 1948, p. 76).

The attitude towards ruins in post-war Croatia was both dismissive and selective. Initial reactions were affective, including the desire for retribution, but also hope and the need for reform, which led Croat politicians, architects, and urban planners to prophetic visions. By analysing contemporary publications, we see that the ruins encouraged renunciation and the need for a new beginning, rather than the permanent commemoration of collective trauma. This can also be seen in the pictures taken from afar by photographers from the Agency for Photo Documentation such as Milan Pavić (preserved as a separate collection in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb), who, only two or three years after the war, cautiously began to record the damage, mainly for the purpose of promoting recovery.

At the beginning of March 1945, the writer and journalist Ivo Žic visited Zadar, where only 20 percent of houses were undamaged. He saw the ruins as wounds in the souls of the survivors, who felt despondent and helpless before the collective clearing of the ruins began: "After all the horrors of war, Zadar lies before you as a seriously wounded man" (Žic, 1945, p. 3). A few weeks later, the poet and first president of the parliament of the People's Republic of Croatia, Vladimir Nazor, entered Zadar and gave a speech at a rally. He saw the town's destruction as an allegory of the fall of Austrian and Italian oppression. His closing words were symptomatic and fateful:

> It is sad to see the ruins in our country. But we, who have suffered and overcome so much, are not afraid of them. We will kiss every stone of our beloved, now demolished building and save it as a memory; and we will sweep the stones of the enemy's ruined tower from our soil and throw them into the deep sea of oblivion. We are not afraid of the ruins and voids created as a result of the war; what was destroyed to us, we will rebuild; what is empty, we will fill again. On the place of the fascist, now destroyed Zadar, a new, purely Croatian Zadar will be built. (Nazor, 1945, p. 3)

FIGURE 1 Tipping rubble into the sea, Zadar. (Photo: Ratko Novak, 1945, Zadar Scientific Library, Photo collection, 1642, CC BY-NC-ND)

The ruins of other towns were described in newspaper reports, accompanied by the numbers of workers employed, days spent, cubic meters of rubble removed, and sometimes by photographs (Figure 1). In June 1945, the architect and urban planner Milovan Kovačević (1945, p. 3) observed that "from the pile of ruins of old and unhygienic houses and monstrous fascist buildings, completely undamaged historic monuments and buildings of our national past protrude." Since the town was almost entirely destroyed by bombing, he advocated the construction of a "new Zadar, which will be connected to the past with the remaining historic monuments and buildings" (Kovačević, 1945, p. 3). Two weeks later, the Minister of Construction, Stanko Čanica Opačić, spoke more generally, announcing to radio listeners: "With united forces, barehanded, we defeated the enemy; with united forces we will also remove the ruins" (Čanica Opačić, 1945, p. 3).

One could therefore argue that, as in other countries and their historic towns, *Enttrümmerung* (debris removal) represented one of the primary postwar tasks. This complex procedure was carried out in Europe with different intentions and results. The rarest case was the conservation of the state of destruction (as in the case of Dresden's Frauenkirche); the second was clearing the most important historic monuments of collapsed material, and the third the complete removal of the ruins. In Croatia, the propagation of civic fervour for clearing the rubble initially prevented any discussion of the tragic symbolism of the ruins. This may explain why, apart from examples in Poreč and Šibenik, there was no systematic and publicly promoted mapping of war damage in Croatia. It does not mean that thousands of workers callously demolished the last remnants of the bombarded towns. As in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany (most significantly in Dresden, Magdeburg, and

FIGURE 2 Removal of ruins in Zadar, 1945. (Photo: Ratko Novak, 1945, Scientific Library Zadar, Photo collection, 1636, CC BY-NC-ND)

Rostock), individual buildings among the ruins were recognised as national monuments, thus forming *Traditionsinseln* (islands of tradition) (Paul, 1992, pp. 313–333; Berger, 1992, pp. 299–312; Hohn, 1992, pp. 117–137). For conservators, these represented oases of artistic and commemorative value. Depending on the decisions of the city administrators, for the modernist planners they became reference points for considering tolerance, adaptation, symbiosis, distance, competition, and contrast.

As can be seen in Nazor's speech, the perception of ruins was accompanied by an appeal to the public to renounce the specific symbols of the past and a chiliastic turn to the future. Both aspirations had practical consequences. For instance, entire war-damaged blocks of Zadar, Šibenik, Senj, Pula, and Poreč were removed. One of the earliest incentives to renounce the past can be found in the speech Marshal Josip Broz Tito gave in Zagreb on 21 May 1945. Emphasising that the Yugoslav peoples "are at a great historical turning point in the unification of the Slavs in the Balkans", he added: "Enough with everything that used to be! Now there is new Yugoslavia, and the sacrifices made for it were necessary, they are sacred, they will be remembered for thousands of years by our future generations" (Tito, 1959-I, p. 270). Soon after Nazor's and Tito's speeches, the removal of ruins began to take place in practice, especially in badly damaged Zadar (Figure 2).

Tito expressed a more explicit assessment of history, and implicitly of cultural heritage, in November 1947, when he became honorary member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. On that occasion, he asserted that "our history" is not "accurate", for it was falsified by the ruling classes, cliques, and individuals. He then called on Yugoslavs "to work tirelessly to remove the veil from our history, to find the truth", and

"to clean our history of all falsifications and unnecessary admixtures" (Tito, 1959-III, pp. 208, 213). On 3 November 1952, at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Zagreb, Tito created a dichotomy between "outdated understandings" and "positive cultural achievements from the past". Consequently, he offered a synthesis:

> Our socialist culture builds precisely on these positive achievements, refining them with the scientific achievements of Marxism in the field of social development. We just have to reject what does not belong in the new social system, what had to die with the old social system, what hinders further development (Tito, 1959-VII, p. 278).

The new communist authorities thus found themselves among the ruins of historic towns, in looted villages, museums, and sacral monuments. For them, the entire cultural landscape of Istria was *terra incognita*, where the historical and cultural existence of the Slavs had yet to be proven. Their view of the past was initially guided by the dogmatism of the Stalinist USSR and, after the break with Stalin in 1948, by selective commemoration (rejection, removal, clearing) and aspirations for integration. After the war, tangible symbols of the past were fragmented, unrecognised, uncomfortable, or unacceptable.

3 AESTHETICS OF INTEGRITY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CROATIAN HISTORIC TOWNS

The discursive strategies of post-war Croatian conservators and urban planners were implicitly influenced by Tito's request to "clear our history of all falsifications and unnecessary admixtures" (Tito, 1959-III, pp. 208, 213). Before discussing the concepts of addition and reintegration, it is necessary to say something about the post-war use of the concepts of destruction and demolition. These originate in William Morris's *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (SPAB, 1877) and Gustavo Giovannoni's publication *Roman Split* (Giovannoni, 1942, p. 12) and were known to Croatian conservators. Reflection on the relationship between the Croatian people and the heritage of Istria and Dalmatia can be observed in the work of art historian and director of the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia Cvito Fisković (1908–1996). Before the Second World War he started to evaluate the contributions of "native masters", meaning Slavic artists, and to oppose Adolfo Venturi's, Giacomo Boni's, and Pericle Ducati's claims about the *romanità*, *venezianità*, and *italianità* of the Dalmatian historic monuments (Špikić, 2022b, pp. 137–151). It inspired him to transpose his archival discoveries into practical conservation work. Under his leadership, immediately after the war the removal of "parasitic additions" (*parasitske nadogradnje*) to Diocletian's Palace was carried out in Split (Fisković, 1946, p. 3), more radically than Giovannoni envisaged (Giovannoni, 1942, pp. 10–12), and contrary to Alois Riegl's request to "preserve the interests" of mediaeval and modern additions to the late antique Palace (Riegl, 1903, p. 334).

Already in 1945, Fisković published a study on the destruction of Dalmatian cultural heritage by the Nazi and Fascist occupiers (Fisković, 1945), and in 1947 he wrote about the work of "our" builders and stonemasons. Here he pointed out that in "the development of art […] the work of foreign, mostly Italian artists is very often highlighted, while the persistent, sweeping work of domestic workshops has not been sufficiently investigated […]." And further: "However, archival research of historical data about these monuments

FIGURE 3 Diocletian's Palace in Split, Removal of the "Venetian Wall" at the Silver Gate, 1945. (Photo: Unknown photographer, Ministry of Culture and Media, Archive of the Conservation Office in Split. Inv. number 3430, 515, CC BY-NC-ND)

convinces us more and more that our masters played an initially imperceptible, but essentially important role in the spread of art on the Adriatic." (Fisković, 1947, p. 3)

In November 1945, Fisković held a lecture on *Urbanism and old monuments*, calling for the preservation but also for the adaptation of historic monuments to "new requirements". In his words, "Where there are monuments, they should be highlighted in such a way that their place is foreseen in the regulatory plan. Where they are compacted or suppressed by new buildings, the monuments should be liberated or cleared" (Fisković, 1946, p. 6). Fisković thus followed up on Kovačević's views from the summer of 1945, although their focus was on the treatment of individual historic monuments, not their surroundings.

Immediately after the war, under Fisković's guidance, the "isolation" (*Freilegung, dégagement,* or *isolamento* in older conservation tradition) of the late classical Silver (Eastern) Gate of Diocletian's Palace was carried out by removing the "Venetian wall", demolishing the ruins of the nearby Church of Good Death, and partially reconstructing the ancient gate (Fisković, 1946, p. 3) (Figure 3).

FIGURE 4 Removal of buildings attached to the Northern side of Diocletian's Palace in Split. (Photo © unknown creator, Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA 1422, Photo fund of the Agency for Photo Documentation (AGEFO-TO), Album 61, O-2614, CC BY-NC-ND)

Fisković also contributed to the demolition of the Lazzaretto on the Split waterfront, which "obscured the view to the southeast part of the Palace". Along the northern side of the Palace (Figure 4), the demolition of "the tattered and tasteless complex of the former military hospital" was carried out, so that "with the demolition of the other houses to the east, the northern wall of the Palace became almost entirely visible" (Fisković, 1950, pp. 166–167). Fisković defended his actions on aesthetic grounds. In Italy, his contemporaries and promoters of "critical restoration", Roberto Pane and Renato Bonelli, pursued similar goals, but with a truly aesthetic rather than an implicit ideological motive. Revising the principles of the pre-war Restoration Norms of 1931 and using their professional authority, they called for the substitution of the documentary with the "genuine artistic" value of the damaged historic buildings (Pane, 1944, p. 71; Bonelli, 1947, p. 3).

One of the most prominent examples of harmonious integration can be found in Šibenik. Opposite the Renaissance cathedral, a large void in the centre of the city had been left by the bombing of 1944 and the subsequent removal of the remains of the Venetian Loggia. Thanks to Fisković's persistence, the

Renaissance building was not replaced by a modernist one. In 1949, the architect Harold Bilinić, who was in charge of the work, published an article about the reconstruction of the Loggia. It was promoted in order to reinstate the "peaceful and aesthetic appearance of the whole" (Bilinić, 1949, p. 30). The reconstruction of the building (without the original Venetian inscriptions on the facade) was supposed to serve as a source of pride for posterity, arousing aesthetic feelings and encouraging further creative work (Bilinić, 1949, 32). The example of the Šibenik Loggia (Figure 5) stands out because the reconstruction of an individual historic monument became the reconstruction of the ensemble, which in this way regained integrity and the desired harmony. After 1945, Bilinić proved himself as one of the main promoters of the reconstruction principle with his projects for the cathedral in Senj (Perčić, 1950, p. 190; Perc, 1950, pp. 66–68) and the Venetian Loggia in Zadar (Mlikota, 2021, pp. 190–193).

The other perspective was offered by the modernist architects who, until the late 1950s, planned industrial complexes and residential districts for the growing proletariat, mostly outside the historic town centres. As sources testify, conservators and architects recognised the value of the "protruding" historic monuments (Kovačević, 1945, p. 3) that helped shape the "islands of tradition". Thus, in Poreč, Senj, Zadar, Šibenik, and Split, the better-preserved historic monuments surrounded by ruins should have become beacons, that is, correctives that could guide urban planning. Although Milovan Kovačević did not take it into account in the first regulatory plan for a thorough urban transformation of the damaged Zadar in 1946, prepared with Božidar Rašica and Josip Seissel, he later wrote that "when erecting new buildings in the old part of the town, care should be taken of the old monuments so that they are harmoniously connected with and adapted to them." This required that the new buildings "create a certain integrity and harmony by their external forms and volume" (Kovačević, 1945, p. 3; Kisić, 2023, pp. 537–546). Similarly, Rašica wrote in July 1945:

FIGURE 5 The Loggia in Šibenik, April, 1952. (Photo: Milan Pavić, Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA 1422, Photo fund of the Agency for Photo Documentation (AGEFOTO), Album 112, E 284, 2, CC BY-NC-ND)

> [The] architect will have to take care of the existing monuments, and to plan the regulation of that part of the city in such a way as to adapt it as best as possible to them. New Zadar, in that part, should be shaped with free-standing buildings, which will create harmonious wholes with cultural and historic monuments. (Rašica, 1945, p. 3)

This did not imply submission and mimicry, but “honest modernist expression”. Valid design and planning meant “mutual tolerance and complementation”. While Kovačević died in 1946 and did not see the implementation of the plan to reconstruct Zadar, Rašica became one of the main actors in that process, designing several new buildings. He was accompanied by architects Alfred Albini, Juraj Denzler, Srebrenka Gvozdanović, Mladen Kauzlarić, Bruno Milić, Neven Šegvić (Figure 6), and Ivan Vitić (Mlikota, 2017, pp. 49–93).

In addition to designing and planning, Vitić was part of the discussions that had already begun at an urban planning seminar held in liberated Šibenik in 1944 and continued in newspapers and the first professional journals, which began to be published in Croatia in the late 1940s. In 1950, in his native Šibenik, Vitić installed a public school on the site of a demolished building (Figure 7), combining the remains of the historic building with the school’s geometric forms (Vitić, 1950, pp. 24–28). While Fisković wrote that “conservators protect ensembles made up of different styles and therefore must enable the construction of modern buildings that are, naturally, harmonised with existing frameworks” (Fisković, 1950, p. 179), Vitić delivered a paper entitled *On Reconstructions* at a meeting of architects and urban planners in Dubrovnik, held in 1950. His understanding of the term differed from that of the conservators. He was aware that “the people’s authorities pay great attention to the preservation of historical values”, but maintained that “the

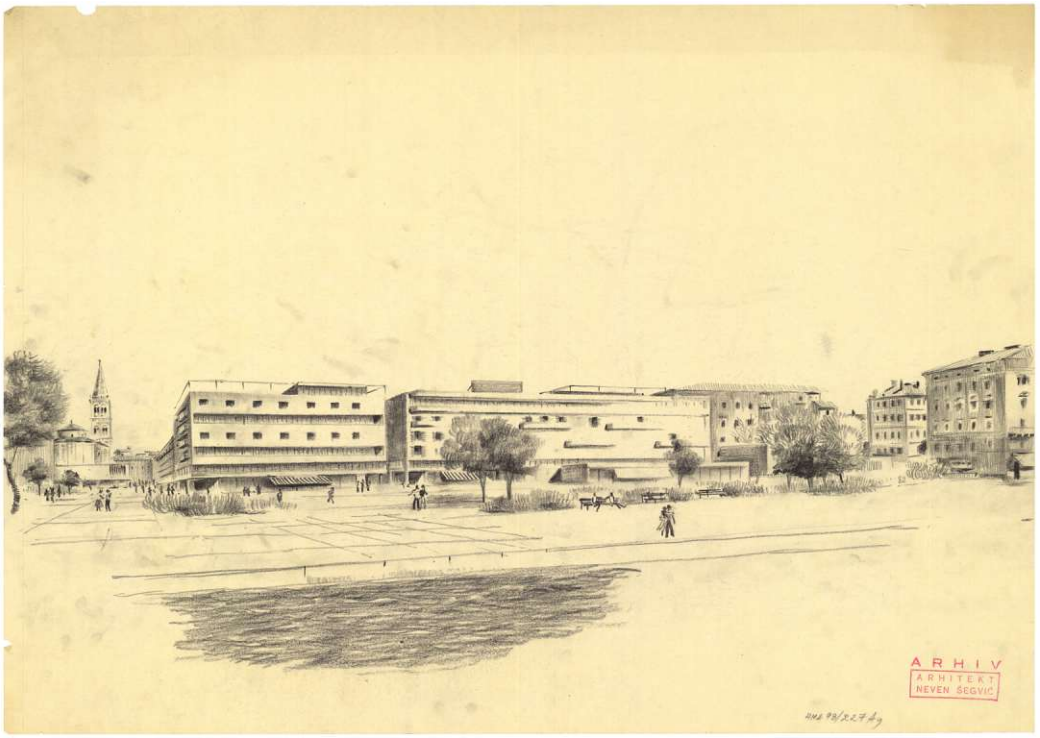

FIGURE 6 Tender project for new buildings in the centre of Zadar by Neven Šegvić. (From Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Croatian Museum of Architecture, Personal archival fonds of Neven Šegvić, HMA 98/227-A9, 1955, CC BY-NC-ND)

FIGURE 7 Simo Matavulj Elementary School in Šibenik by Ivan Vitić, around 1953. (Photo: Jerko Bilać, Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA 1422, Photo fund of the Agency for Photo Documentation (AGEFOTO), Album 149, F 428, 37, CC BY-NC-ND)

needs of life often cannot eliminate the need for construction in these areas" (Vitić, 1950, pp. 45–46). He distinguished three approaches: faithful reconstruction of lost forms (Šibenik Loggia), reconstruction of an object or block using a modern plan and construction methods (the adaptation of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar), and construction using contemporary methods and incorporating elements of a former structure (school in Šibenik) (Vitić, 1950, pp. 46–48).

Writing about the first approach, Vitić agreed with the views of his contemporaries on reconstruction: "Such a method comes into consideration for buildings that are too damaged, […] and it is necessary for the purpose of

architecturally rounding the space into a unique whole." In order to achieve unity and completeness, the new parts had to be subordinated to the historical environment, and not to act intrusively (Vitić, 1950, p. 48). Although in his paper he sought the cooperation of architects and conservators (mostly art historians), his newly created, modernist architectural accents (representing the third approach) in the old parts of Šibenik, Zadar, and Zagreb provoked controversy and condemnation, primarily from art historians.

A year later, Serbian architect and urban planner Nikola Dobrović published an article on urban development issues relating to the conservation of historic monuments. Instead of seeing a collision between old and new, he wrote about "harmonising various elements" and "the sublime harmonisation of spatial forms" (Dobrović, 1951, p. 32). The old and new parts of the town had to be united in symbiosis. While the new architecture was promoted as "added value", reconstruction of the lost historic monuments (for example, the Loggia in Šibenik) was understood as a deception presented to the public. For Dobrović, therefore, new architectural forms could help to achieve general harmony and balance between different stylistic expressions (Dobrović, 1951, p. 33).

As can be seen, what the two professional groups have in common, despite often being opposed, is the vocabulary used to discuss the reconstruction of damaged historic towns. Members of both groups frequently deployed such concepts as "connection", "adaptation", "harmony", "unity", "balance", "whole", and "integrity" – both while reconstructing damaged historic buildings and when inserting new architectural forms on the sites of destroyed buildings. These same vocabularies were used generally in conservations, architectural projects, and urban planning in Zadar, Šibenik, and Split.

Similar terms were used by other European experts in the field of that time. Even before the end of the war, Ceschi wrote about filling the voids of bombarded Genoa "so as not to disturb the harmony of a certain order" and "not to change the physiognomy of the structure formed by tradition" (Ceschi, 1943, p. 5). Harmony, balance and *ambiente* are also found in other texts by Italian writers of that era, regardless of whether they pursued harmonisation through reconstruction (Giovannoni, de Angelis D'Ossat, Bernard Berenson, Alfredo Barbacci, Ferdinando Forlati, Piero Gazzola) or via the introduction of new elements (Pane, Bonelli, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, Gillo Dorfles, Bruno Zevi, Liliana Grassi).

Pre-war views on historic buildings and their surroundings survive in Dagobert Frey's 1947 reflections on the problem of urban reconstruction of Vienna. The influence of Austrian conservation theory in Croatia dates back to the Habsburg Monarchy. It continued after 1945, as can be seen in the continued acquisition of publications from Austria, which can be found in the library of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb (now in the Ministry of Culture and Media). After the completion of the work of the demolition squads in Vienna, the "important architectural monuments" had to be saved from further deterioration, and they were perceived by Frey as individual objects of value that were important for the conception or reconstruction of the whole. However, cases of "extensive destruction" posed the problem of what to do when demolishing entire blocks, and this resulted in the introduction of the principles of *Neuplanung* (new planning) and thus the removal of "errors and

shortcomings" in planning, conservation, and traffic-engineering in the former urban development. Frey saw the war's destruction as a "turning point in European urban planning" (Frey 1947, p. 3). Nevertheless, remaining faithful to the ideas of his mentor Max Dvořák, he conceived the city as a "living organism", that had to be treated as a "totality", or "whole" (and frequently deploying words such as *Gesamtentwicklung*, *Gesamtstruktur*, *Gesamtbild*, *Gesamtkomposition*, *Gesamtcharakter*). In 1947, Paul Clemen recalled the discussions of the 1905 *Tag für Denkmalpflege* (Heritage Conservation Conference) in Bamberg on the relationship between the care of historic monuments and modern art. He saw the success of the post-war "continuation" of construction and the achievement of "a rhythmic connection" with "the language, the characteristic dialect of the historical world" in the inclusion of "great artistic talents" (Clemen, 1947, pp. 42–43). Therefore, Clemen saw the basis of reconstructing the lost integrity in the discursive connection with the "language" of the forms of the destroyed historic monuments.

Similar aspirations can be seen in the discussions held at the Conference of Yugoslav Conservators in Split in 1953. It brought together experts from six Yugoslav republics, in which diverse organisational systems had been developed. The main topics included discussions on the preservation of immovable and movable historic monuments, on the legal and organisational issues of monument protection, as well as discussions on the preservation of monuments to the memory of the Second World War (known as the National Liberation War). On that occasion, art historian, conservator, and university professor Milan Prelog called for the revision of the conservation principles of Gurlitt, Riegl, and Dvořák, just as Renato Bonelli did in the same year in relation to Giovannoni's "scientific restoration" (Prelog, 1953–54; Bonelli 1959, pp. 41–58). Prelog was prompted to do so by "the question of the treatment of the severe wounds inflicted by modern weapons to the inventory of historic monuments", so it was necessary to revise some "dogmatic postulates that arose from those strict conservation principles" (Prelog, 1953–54, p. 33). When it came to harmonising new buildings within a historic environment, Prelog preferred the opening of green areas at the site of destruction rather than the risk of building "an unsightly improvised construction" (Prelog, 1953–54, p. 41). However, in historic towns, which then became one of his research topics, he agreed to the principle of "closing the cavity between two older parts" by inserting new buildings. While in Poreč, to which he dedicated a monograph (Prelog, 1957), the problem of closing the cavities had not yet been solved, in Šibenik both Bilinić's reconstruction of the Renaissance Loggia and Vitić's modernist school from his point of view represented acceptable solutions (Prelog, 1953–54, p. 43).

In the general conclusions of the Split conference, the conservators agreed that historic buildings should be seen as "unique organic entities". It was necessary to take care of their "integrity", which was to be achieved by "removing recent, unprofessional and unaesthetic deformations" or by new architectural interventions. Until then, an agreement was reached that historic buildings from every period were "in principle equal", but every conservation intervention had to be adapted to the "unique integrity of the object" (N. N., 1953–54, p. 115).

4 PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL PROMOTION

In addition to the removal of “unacceptable additions”, Nazor’s concept of “filling the void” in terms of conservation and urban planning was implement in a variety of ways in the years up to 1960. This chapter shows that five ways of dealing with historic monuments can be distinguished in the post-war context up to the 1960s: first, by restoring and reconstructing historic buildings in the destroyed centres (the Romanesque house in Poreč, the Temple of Augustus in Pula, the facade of the cathedral in Osor, the Vukasović Palace and Cathedral in Senj, the Venetian Loggias in Zadar and Šibenik); second, by creating open, green zones on the sites of bombed blocks and districts (parks in Poreč, Pula, Šibenik, and Split); third, by introducing modern architecture on the site of demolished buildings (projects by Kazimir Ostrogović in Pula (Figure 8) and Rijeka, Ivan Vitić in Zadar (Figure 9) and Šibenik, Neven Šegvić in Trogir and Split); fourth, by substituting entire blocks with modernist planning (Zadar, Senj, Slavonski Brod), and fifth, by urban expansion on previously undeveloped areas building new residential blocks (in Osijek, Zagreb, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik and Split) at a distance from the old towns but with the potential to affect the overall character of the town (*Stadtbild*). These different types of intervention were carried out simultaneously, often causing collisions between the old and the new, and leading to conflict among conservators and modernist architects and planners.

FIGURE 8 The Waterfront in Pula with the residential building by Kazimir Ostrogović on the site of the demolished part of the tobacco factory building. (Photo: Drago Rendulić, Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA 1422, Photo fund of the Agency for Photo Documentation (AGEFOTO), Album 77, R 198, 27, CC BY-NC-ND)

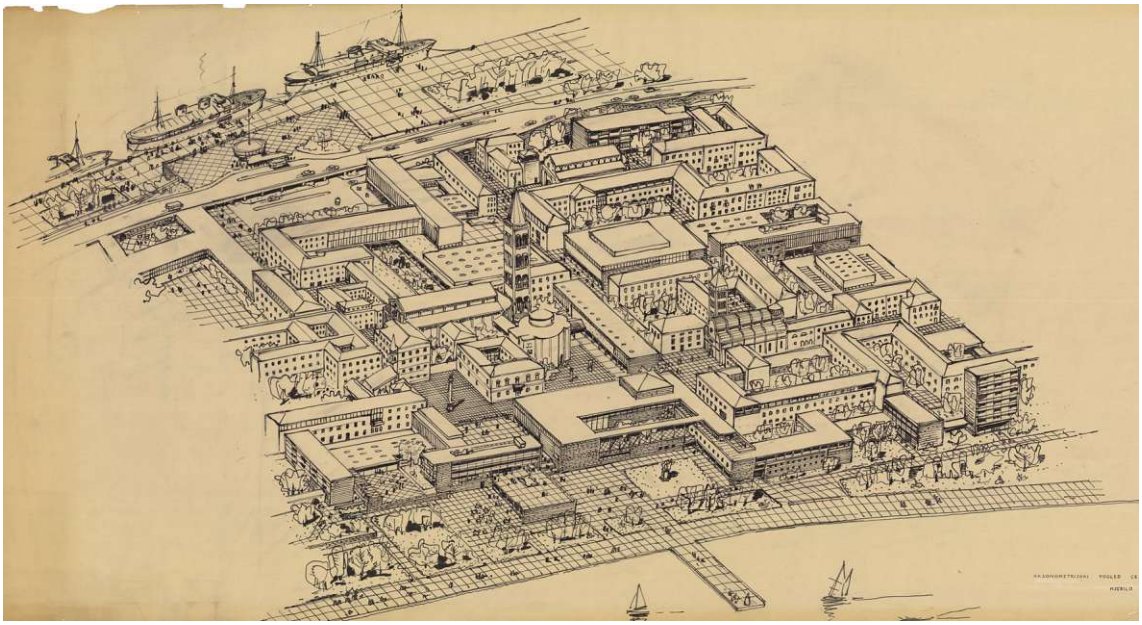

FIGURE 9 Plan of Zadar, tender project by Ivan Vitić. (From Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Croatian Museum of Architecture, Personal archival fonds of Ivan Vitić, 1955, CC BY-NC-ND)

By the end of the 1950s, conservators, architects, and urban planners had carried out a number of projects and plans with the aim of integrating the fragmented and ruined ensembles. They include reconstructions of individual historic monuments, the construction of residential blocks and industrial complexes next to centres of Split and Šibenik, and the increased activities of the Urban Planning Institute of Croatia in Zagreb and Urban Planning Bureau in Split. By 1960, Zadar had been gradually rebuilt on the basis of a plan from the mid-1950s (Figure 9). In Senj, reconstructions and adaptations of destroyed historic monuments were carried out and new structures were inserted into the core. And in the centres of Poreč and Pula, green areas were arranged on the site of war ruins. From the second half of the 1950s, the increasing presence of modernist architecture was felt in the city panoramas with the construction of the first skyscrapers, which caused indignation and led to protests both by Roberto Pane in Naples (Pane, 1959, pp. 76–77) and Croatian art historians.

When Yugoslavia began to liberalise in the late 1950s and "cultural workers" were allowed to travel more widely abroad, the European conservation movement was ripe for global expansion. Italian experts played an important role in this process. Before the gathering of architects and specialists in charge of historic monuments in Venice in 1964, Pane and his colleagues organised a conference on the relevance of the monument and the ancient environment for contemporary urban planning at the Milan Triennale in 1957 (Perogalli, 1958). Five Yugoslav architects and urban planners were invited to the conference. Following a period of tense political relations between Italy and Yugoslavia in the immediate post-war period, this was the first opportunity for an exchange of experiences. As the minutes of the discussions in the book published in 1958 show, the presentations made by the Yugoslav

conservators did not instigate significant discussion. Three speakers from the People's Republic of Croatia reported on the problems of revitalising historic ensembles. While Zdenko Sila discussed the problems of preserving the historic towns of Istria and Quarnero, which had been damaged in the war and had experienced population replacement (Sila, 1958, pp. 131–142), and Tomislav Marasović presented the results of archaeological excavations and the revitalisation of Diocletian's Palace in Split (Marasović, 1958, pp. 83–90), Bruno Milić discussed the practical problems of assessing the destroyed town of Zadar as part of the plan for development and reconstruction (Milić, 1958, pp. 61–68). Their papers emphasised the need to continue pre-war conservation principles (care of urban ensembles), to revise these principles by establishing new paradigms (isolating and adapting historic monuments to contemporary life, which became Marasović's paradigm of "active approach" (Marasović 1985), and to discuss the (dialectical) relationship between the conservation of historic buildings and modernist urban planning.

5 REACTIONS TO POST-WAR ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS AND URBAN PLANNING

From individual buildings to entire urban complexes, in the first fifteen post-war years, conservators, architects, and urban planners helped to transform Croatia's old towns into vibrant industrial, cultural, scientific, and tourism centres. At the same time, lively debates and polemics were conducted, which could be followed in daily newspapers and professional magazines, such as *Arhitektura* and *Čovjek i prostor*, which were published in Zagreb from the late 1940s and early 50s, respectively.

At the end of the fifties, the art historian and university professor Grgo Gamulin started publishing critical reviews about modernist architecture in historic towns. He criticised functionalists and advocated the principles of Wright's and Aalto's organic architecture, also foregrounding projects by Paul Maymont, Walter Jonas, Bruce Goff, and Juan Antonio Tonda Magallón. Sensitised to the values of traditional landscapes, Gamulin was concerned about the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as the sudden expansion of tourism on the Adriatic coast. In 1967, he collected 27 reviews and published them in the book *Architecture in the Region*. Like Clemen in 1947, he wrote in April 1961 that the imperatives of his time were "to preserve and to continue" (Gamulin, 1967, p. 63). Gamulin believed that most contemporary architects could not fulfil any of these requirements. In his eyes, the continuity of construction, as determined by the relevant historical context, on the soil of post-war Croatia was mostly a failure.

Although he closely followed developments in global architecture, lecturing on the topic at the Department of Art History at the University of Zagreb around 1960, Gamulin retained convictions similar to those of Giovannoni in his defence of old ensembles. When considering the problem of encroaching on the existing urban ensemble, he asked architects to adapt to the "body and face of the town", to develop a "sense of continuity", in order to avoid "misunderstandings" and "injuries". In 1961, he wrote about Vitić's

architecture in Šibenik as a "violent imposition and destruction of urban integrity", as a "complete atrophy of artistic sensibility for everything that is not me", and "urban vandalism" (Gamulin, 1967, p. 46). He diagnosed injuries, collisions, morphological caesura, fatal mistakes, astonishingly poor invention, unbearable contrasts. In his own words:

> The barbarians are at work! Civilised, supplied with *Architectural Forum* and *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* […] Or are they, perhaps, just iconoclasts, fanatics of some new (technical) puritanism? Anyway, their fanaticism should be countered by the great principle of every culture, which is still alive: the principle of the sanctity of the environment. (Gamulin, 1967, p. 60)

Gamulin's texts are an indicator of the liberalisation of the country. Since the 1950s, texts pointing to problems and failures had regularly appeared in newspapers and magazines. This enabled the creation of a community of art and architecture critics, with contributions from Darko Venturini, Zdenko Kolacio, Ivo Maroević, Radovan Ivančević, and Žarko Domljan. Newly-established professional magazines, such as *Arhitektura* and *Čovjek i prostor*, therefore did not serve as propaganda tools, but were filled with scepticism and polemics.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Conservation, architecture, and urban planning activities in the Republic of Croatia in the first fifteen post-war years were coloured by both political ideology and the professional aspiration to secure the physical cohesion of damaged buildings and sites. After the horrors of war and facing the ruins, almost everyone involved reacted in two ways, whether in text or image: by calling much of Croatia's legacy and history into question, and by predicting the future. The wounded "bodies" of monuments and historic cities were treated in line with an ideologised holistic ideal. With the exception of the village of Lipa near Rijeka, where, similarly to Oradour-sur-Glane, the ruins were preserved in memory of the crimes of the retreating Wehrmacht and collaborationist troops, in post-war Croatia the ruins did not receive the protected status they received in England (memorials) and West Germany (*Mahnmale*). The perception of the ruins and the commemoration of the events depended on the position and role of individual countries in the global conflict. In the early years, the views of experts were undoubtedly influenced by the ubiquitous socio-political demands for reconstruction and reform. With the advent of liberalisation in the second half of the 1950s, the general tendency to integrate fragments and voids became a key part of the conservation and urban planning process, now as an aesthetic requirement.

The conservators responded to the political demand for the removal of unacceptable admixtures and the discovery of the historical truth by removing individual elements and entire blocks that "obscured the view" of key national monuments. Architects and urban planners responded to the equally important socio-political demand for the revitalisation of historic towns, writing since 1945 about the need to connect the preserved, protruding remnants of the past with new buildings, thus symbolising the new hope of Yugoslav citizens.

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